

Child-Centered Education in Kenyan Primary Schools

A Qualitative Study of Teachers and Pupils Perceptions and Practices towards Child-Centered Education and the Perceived Outcomes of the World Teacher Program in Kisumu County (Kenya)



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Abstract

Aim in this study was to gain insight in the perceptions and practices of teachers and pupils in Kenyan primary schools with regard to child-centered education, and in the perceived outcomes of the World Teacher Program (WTP) in Kisumu County. In total 12 in-depth interviews with teachers, 4 focus groups with pupils and 12 observations in different classes were conducted. It was found that the perceptions of teachers are mostly child-centered, but the behaviour of the teachers is different in practice. The poor circumstances in the Kenyan context are possibly a barrier in the use of child-centered education. When talking about difficulties teachers only focused on external conditions, while they can also learn about their internal abilities to change situations. Social influences are not always supportive. WTP probably helped with creating a basis for child-centered education, but there is still a long way to go. Adjustments can be made to improve the program and to increase the use of child-centered education in Kisumu County. There could be more focus on the involvement of the whole community and on possibilities as opposed to difficulties in the specific context.

Key words: Child-centered education, Kenya, World Teacher Program

Samenvatting

Doel in deze studie was om inzicht te verkrijgen in de percepties en praktijken van leraren en leerlingen in Keniaanse basisscholen met betrekking tot kind-gericht onderwijs, en in de waargenomen uitkomsten van het World Teacher Programma (WTP) in Kisumu County. In totaal zijn 12 diepte interviews met leraren, 4 focus groepen met leerlingen en 12 observaties in verschillende klassen uitgevoerd. Het is gebleken dat de percepties van leraren grotendeels kind-gericht zijn, maar het gedrag van de leraren anders is in praktijk. De armoedige omstandigheden in de Keniaanse context zijn mogelijk een barrière in het gebruik van kind-gericht onderwijs. Wanneer gesproken werd over moeilijkheden focusten leraren enkel op externe condities, terwijl ze ook kunnen leren wat hun eigen interne vaardigheden zijn om situaties te veranderen. Sociale invloeden in de omgeving zijn niet altijd ondersteunend. WTP heeft waarschijnlijk geholpen in het creëren van een basis voor kind-gericht onderwijs, maar er is nog steeds een lange weg te gaan. Aanpassingen kunnen gemaakt worden om het programma te verbeteren en het gebruik van kind-gericht onderwijs in Kisumu County te vergroten. Er zou meer nadruk kunnen liggen op de betrokkenheid van de gehele gemeenschap en op mogelijkheden in plaats van moeilijkheden in de specifieke context.

Sleutelwoorden: Kind-gericht onderwijs, Kenia, World Teacher Programma

Child-Centered Education in Kenyan Primary Schools

Quality of education is a challenge all around the world. Many poor countries are faced with large numbers of young people who have not completed primary school (Edukans, 2014). In Kenya, one million children were out of school in 2012. One in ten children in Kenya never complete primary school. Although this is almost half of the number in 1999, it still is the ninth highest country in the world (UNESCO, 2012). Since the access to education has slightly improved, the improvement of the quality of education is high on the political agenda in many Sub-Saharan countries (Maas, Sieswerda, & Hoeksma, 2012).

In the Kenyan vision plan for 2030 the government aims at the development of a country in which lifelong learning is possible for all citizens (Metto & Makewa, 2014). Individuals who will have a real added value in a fast changing society should continue to develop skills and knowledge throughout their lives (Edukans, 2014). A child-centered way of education is focused on these abilities for lifelong learning (Serbessa, 2006). The education improvements are often summarized as a shift from teacher-centered practices to a more child-centered approach (Maas et al., 2012).

In a child-centered approach of education the needs and qualities of the child play a central role (Sablonière, Taylor, & Sadykova, 2009). The individual uniqueness of every child is taken into account and children are active in their own development. This means children's ideas, interests, and preferences are considered in the learning process of the child (Morrison, 2010). In child-centered education the teacher is a mediator in the learning process, instead of a receiver of knowledge. This is opposed to teacher-centered education, in which the pupil is expected to follow the instructions of the teacher, who brings pupils the needed information without any reflection (Sablonière et al., 2009).

Child-centered education corresponds with the ideas of Vygotsky (1978) with regard to constructivism. In this theory learners construct knowledge through social interaction: the interaction between pupils and the environment is the key factor in the development. The learner reflects and co-operates in dialogue with the teacher. This is in contrast with the one-way transfer of knowledge as described in the banking model of Freire (1970). In this theory pupils receive, fill and store knowledge. Freire criticizes this form of education, in which the teacher talks and disciplines while pupils are passive. Education will be more meaningful when pupils' voices and experiences will be central in the learning process (Freire, 1970).

This study is carried out in co-operation with Edukans, a Dutch non-governmental organization that concerns itself with the wellbeing and development of the learning child. When focusing on the quality of primary education, the idea of the STAR-school is used. The

pillars of the STAR are: safe learning environment, good support in the learning process, well-educated and motivated teachers, organized school management and involvement of parents and community (Edukans, 2017). Edukans develops interventions to improve the quality of education bottom-up, the starting point is the existing daily practice of the teachers, and learning by doing is a central aspect (Edukans, 2011). The World Teacher Program (WTP) is one of the projects of Edukans. This program is implemented in five countries. In this program teachers from the Netherlands and Finland travel to a Third World country to learn from each other. The teachers from various countries exchange ideas and competencies (Edukans, 2014). One of the goals is to inspire and motivate participants in the Third World country to improve the educational system (Edukans, 2011).

In Kisumu County, a district in Kenya, Edukans works together with a local partner named Pamoja Child Foundation (PCF). In Kisumu County the WTP will be held in co-operation with PCF for the third and last time in a row in the summer of 2017. This local development organization aims at an improvement in the quality of life and wellbeing of children. They strive at a supporting environment for children to grow up in, which promotes a development to the child's full potential. In the final report of the WTP of 2016, it was stated that PCF has worked very effectively on facility level. Given the fact PCF has a lot of knowledge as well, they can possibly participate more on content level in the future. They can continue with the sharing of the ideas and practices of the WTP when it is finished (Edukans, 2016). Edukans aim with the program is after all to be demand-driven and sustainable (Edukans, 2011).

General aim

The general aim of this thesis is to *gain insight in the perceptions and practices of teachers and pupils in Kenyan primary schools with regard to child-centered education, and in the perceived outcomes of the World Teacher Program for the teachers in Kisumu County.* In response to this several recommendations can be made to tailor the program to the local expectations and the specific situation.

In order to make real changes in Kenyan education, it is necessary to know how the society conceptualizes education and childhood. There are cultural differences that determine what children should learn and how children should behave (Ansell, 2005 ; Edukans, 2014 ; Evans, Matola, & Nyeko, 2008). When transferring educational concepts, it is important to keep in mind that initiatives in Africa will only be sustainable if they fit the African way of upbringing (Nsamenang, 2008). These ideas are culturally and historically specific and can never simply be an export from the West (Ansell, 2005). Educational methods borrowed from

the West should be analysed critically in their new African setting, to discern how universally applicable the methods are (Kay, 1975). The analysis should start with local understanding and traditional practices, while new knowledge is introduced by dialogue. If initiatives are not supportive of the culture or local needs, they will not improve a situation but harm people by giving them the feeling they are incompetent (Evans et al., 2008).

It is scientifically relevant to gain insight in perceptions and practices of local teachers and perceived outcomes of the World Teacher Program, to improve the programs that are following. This will make the program more evidence-based. Throughout the history of education, the adoption of practices has been driven by ideology and politics rather than evidence. An evidence-based reform has the potential to substantially change the practice (Slavin, 2008). The societal relevance of this study focuses on an improvement of the quality of education in the specific context. If the WTP is better adjusted in the local context, teachers and other stakeholders will be better motivated and inspired to improve the education. In an earlier study of the WTP it was found that some teachers had difficulties to use their competences to change education, the WTP can play a role in showing teachers how to achieve change (Heijker, 2012).

The central question in this study is: *What are the perceptions and practices of teachers and pupils in four Kenyan primary schools with regard to child-centered education?* And: *What are the perceived outcomes of the World Teacher Program for the teachers in Kisumu County?* To answer the first question with regard to the perceptions of the teachers, the structure of the ASE-model is used. This model concerns attitude, perceived social influences and experienced self-efficacy (Lechner, Kremers, Meertens, & De Vries, 2012). The aspects in the ASE-model predict the intentions teachers have with regard to child-centered education. This is the extent to which someone plans to carry out the behaviour. Positive intentions are important conditions in the change of behaviour, but provide no guarantee that the behaviour change will succeed (Fishbein & Yzer, 2003). Apart from personal determinants, there are also factors outside the person that influence the actual behaviour, such as barriers and protective factors (Lechner et al., 2012). These environmental conditions are also important in the prediction of the behaviour with regard to child-centered education. The actual practices of teachers are not always synchronous with their perceptions (Winsler & Carlton, 2003). A change from a teacher-centered approach to a child-centered approach means that the teachers and pupils need to change their perceptions as well as their practices in education (Sablonnière et al., 2009). For this reason, the practices of teachers and pupils with regard to child-centered education are also added in this study.

The last part of the study focuses on the perceived outcomes of the WTP in four Kenyan primary schools. With regard to this, the following outcome-indicators are used: satisfaction, goal realization, wishes and needs (Van Yperen, De Wilde, & Keuzenkamp, 2014). At the base of the perceived outcome-indicators the WTP can be improved where needed. This study evaluates the present situation. At this outcome level it is analysed if the project fit the needs in the specific context and how valuable the outcomes are for the involved persons (National Centre of Sustainability, 2011). Because it is not possible to examine the factual outcomes of the WTP, the experiences and appreciation of the Kenyan teachers with regard to the WTP and its effects are evaluated instead (Baar, Wubbels, & Vermande, 2007).

Perceptions

The first research question in this study is: *what are the perceptions (attitude, perceived social influences and experienced self-efficacy) of teachers with regard to child-centered education?* Firstly, attitudes play a role in the perceptions of teachers about child-centered education. Attitudes are overall relatively stable and formed by knowledge, appreciation, earlier learning experiences, judgments about pros and cons, manners and expectations about outcomes. Beliefs can for example concern thinking, knowing or feeling. When attitude concerns outcome-expectations these are related to the pros and counts people expect with regard to specific behaviour. These can concern short-term and long-term expected pros and counts (Lechner et al., 2012).

There is a difference in the way we view children in the West and in the Third World. In Victorian Britain childhood was seen in a Dionysian way, a time in which children learn discipline. By the start of the 21st century, Western childhoods are mostly described in an Apollonian way, which centralises happiness and playfulness. Nowadays, Western societies are more child-centered and the old Victorian childhoods are now regarded as harsh. Nonetheless, the Dionysian view – which was dominant in Victorian Britain in times of the colonialism - still influences policy about childhood in Third World countries many former British colonies in Africa, including Kenya (Ansell, 2005). In the most African cultures, children are thereby seen as a fundamental part of a collective. In collectivistic societies social-moral development of children is of the utmost importance (Hofstede, 1986). Western countries view children as individuals that are growing towards autonomy (Ansell, 2005). The focus in countries that center individualism is laid on the welfare and psychological development of individual children (Hofstede, 1986).

Edukans strives for a child-centered approach of education. In their view of quality, learning should be more than receiving and processing of information (Edukans, 2014). This fits the importance of the psychological development and welfare of individual children, values that are popular in individualistic Western countries (Hofstede, 1986). Teacher-centered practices in the classroom are probably more coherent with the origin of African respect for tradition and authority (Maas et al., 2012). It is expected that because of this context-related discrepancy between Western (individualistic) beliefs and non-Western (collectivistic) beliefs, the child-centered view of Edukans does not completely fit the attitudes of the local Kenyan teachers. It is expected that outcome-expectations as discipline and social-moral development are of greater importance in the Kenyan attitudes about education than expectations as autonomy and psychological development of individual children.

Secondly, perceived social influences play a role in the perceptions teachers have about child-centered education. It is the perceived expectation of important other's normative beliefs about certain behaviour that influences someone's own perceptions. Social support means there is a positive influence on the desirable behaviour in the social surrounding: a person is actively supported and helped to perform certain behaviour. Social pressure has to do with a negative influence on the desirable behaviour (Lechner et al., 2012).

Negative opinions of parents and government about child-centered education have an impact on the perceptions of the teacher. Nevertheless, the Kenyan government has advocated the use of child-centered teaching in primary schools to improve their education (Metto & Maweka, 2014). Yet, in many former British colonies in Africa, the education system is still focusing on required knowledge for exams and curriculums, even when the knowledge is not useful outside school (Ansell, 2005). Most parents want their children to be educated in the best way possible (Calhoun, Ligt, & Keller, 1998). In the idea of the pedagogical civil society, the upbringing is considered as a shared responsibility of the community (De Winter, 2012). Children's development is embedded in multiple systems and in interaction with their social environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Partnerships between family, school and community improve the quality of schools and increase academic achievement of pupils (Epstein, 2001). However, African parents often seem to have problems with seeing a connection between the school curriculum and skills learned at home (Booth, 1997). Additionally, it appears that the focus on individuality and autonomy in child-centered education is opposite to values in the home culture. In some societies youth is understood as a time to become more integrated into the family and community, rather than becoming more autonomous (Ansell, 2005).

It is expected that normative beliefs of other important individuals sometimes promote the teacher to use child-centered education, but can also discourage the teacher. The Kenyan government has intentions to implement child-centered education, but still focuses on exams and results. Parents can encourage child-centered education, although it sometimes contrasts with some of their values. A promoting community can be a positive influence in the use of child-centered education. Nevertheless, it is expected that the teachers still experience pressure from the government and parents with regard to the use of child-centered education.

Thirdly, experienced self-efficacy is important in the perceptions of teachers about child-centered education. Experienced self-efficacy can be described as the expectation people have about their own capabilities. Magnitude points out how a person rates the necessary skills to carry out the behaviour in difficulty. Generality focuses on the estimation of how certain behaviour can cause problems in different situations. Strength entails the extent in which people have the confidence to carry out the behaviour (Lechner et al., 2012).

Teachers can be willing to change their way of teaching, but they additionally require skills to do so. When teachers have the needed skills, they automatically have more positive expectations about their capabilities to carry out specific behaviour (Maas et al., 2012). When teachers feel they cannot handle child-centered methods effectively they will not use it (Metto & Makewa, 2014). Apart from basic content-related and didactic skills, there are more complex skills that are important in child-centered education. These skills have to do with a teacher's personality, such as communicative skills (Edukans, 2014). In an earlier study about WTP in Malawi it was found that teachers considered the improvement of education as a task outside their responsibility (Van Straten, 2015). This probably relates to Kenyan teacher trainings, which do not focus adequately on reflection, innovation or creativity (Metto & Maweko, 2014). When teachers have a higher sense of experienced self-efficacy, they will feel more strength to experiment with new teaching methods (Thoonen, Slegers, Oort, Peetsma, & Geijsel, 2011).

It is expected that teachers have a low self-efficacy with regard to child-centered education, and lack confidence to carry out the behaviour. Teachers need skills to perform child-centered behaviour, for example communicative skills. Teacher trainings in Kenya do not focus adequately on reflection, innovation or creativity and teachers are therefore less likely to use new child-centered teaching methods.

Environmental conditions

The second research question of this study is: *what are the experienced environmental conditions (barriers and protective factors) of teachers with regard to child-centered*

education? In the previous part the personal determinants of teachers were discussed. Factors outside the person also influence the use of child-centered education. Environmental conditions can have preventive (referred to as ‘barriers’) or protective effects on the desirable behaviour (Lechner et al., 2012).

Literature advocating barriers pointed out several factors, which influence Kenyan public primary schools. Bad quality of education is in this case attributed to external conditions. In Kenya there is a lack of learning infrastructure and materials. Some classes have up to 90 children. In these overcrowded classes a child is often not able to receive personalized attention from the teacher (Metto & Maweka, 2014). When classrooms are dark and hot, it is difficult for children to pay attention (Ansell, 2005). Child-centered education only seems possible if both the teacher and pupils understand the language of instruction, and in Kenya this is often a problem (Metto & Maweka, 2014). With regard to protective factors, systematic training with teachers would be helpful to implement child-centered education in Kenyan primary schools. Additionally, stakeholders in the education process should continue playing a role in the implementation of more child-centered education (Metto & Makewa, 2014). Resources such as learning materials, buildings and furnishing can influence the quality of education (Ansell, 2005).

It is expected that many environmental conditions are a barrier in the use of child-centered education. The difficult circumstances in the local context will make it hard to improve this way of teaching in the schools. In the literature, barriers are more frequently found than protective factors. Systematic trainings, involvement of different stakeholders and a focus on resources can promote the use of child-centered education.

Practices

The third research question of this study is: *what are the practices of teachers and pupils with regard to child-centered education?* Efforts to improve quality in the classroom must focus on existing practices in the classroom. Apart from what happens in the classroom, the home situation is also taken into account, because it can influence the practices in class. When it goes about the development of children, pedagogy is not restricted to the context. Some practices and ideas of the pupils with regard to child-centered education are also taken into account in addition to the teachers.

It is expected to see more teacher-centered than child-centered education in class, based on several findings in the literature. Although the Kenyan government has advocated the use of child-centered teaching in primary schools to improve their education and reach the vision plan for 2030, teachers continue to use teacher-centered methods of teaching (Metto &

Maweka, 2014). There is still many traditional teacher centered education in the world (Edukans, 2014). The Western countries practice child-centered methods to a greater extent. Child-centered education is not always properly used or understood in Third World countries and teachers often continue to teach in the same way as their own teachers did (Edukans, 2014).

In a child-centered way of teaching, the teacher will not stand at the front of the classroom talking to rows of seated students. Instead, you will see children work in small groups, discussing with each other. The teacher walks around the classroom and talks with individual students and small groups (Metto & Maweka, 2014). Teachers also use real-life experiences in class (Sablonière et al., 2009). In teacher-centered education there are many closed questions from teachers to pupils, choral responses, whole class repetitions and memorization of facts. Not all pupils are involved in the classroom in this way. It includes a lot of silent listening and taking notes or copying things from the chalkboard, and barely any active participation (Metto & Maweka, 2014). Feedback of the teacher often consists of clapping without any comment on the pupils' response (Pontefract & Hardman, 2005). Students are passive receivers of knowledge and the teacher fulfils an active role. The teacher talks and possesses knowledge while the child listens. Students are not encouraged to question or to be creative (Freire, 1970). In accordance with this you will see a traditional setting arrangement with the desks facing the teacher (Pontefract & Hardman, 2005).

It is expected that the pupils are not being used to child-centered education either, in accordance with the teachers. There is no expected difference between teachers and pupils. Because of the focus on national examinations, the focus lays on the knowledge of factual information, rather than critical and analytical skills. Instead of teaching life skills to lead a meaningful life after school, teachers focus on preparing the students for secondary school (Metto & Maweka, 2014). The home situation will probably not contribute to child-centered education either. Instead of critical thinking and analytical skills different things are expected from the child, for example discipline (Ansell, 2005). It is expected that children do not have many perceptions about child-centered education: therefore the focus lays on their practices in this study. It is also believed they are not familiar with the goals of the WTP.

Perceived Outcomes World Teacher Program

The fourth research question of this study is: *what are the perceived outcomes (satisfaction, goal realization, wishes and needs) of the WTP for the Kenyan teachers in Kisumu County?* It is important to evaluate to what extent the aims of the program are earned according to the participants (Baar et al., 2007). The goals of the WTP for going abroad are

inspiring and motivating the colleagues in underdeveloped countries, and come up with ideas for change and improvement. In Kenya the goal is to change the teacher-centered education towards child-centered education, by exchanging active learning methods (Edukans, 2010). It has been proved in a joint research project with Utrecht University that Dutch teachers who participate in this program grow significantly in competencies that are important for good education (Klarenbeek & Beekwilder, 2012). However, this study focuses on the external goals of the WTP, the goals in the Third World countries. The focus lays on the perceived outcomes of the Kenyan teachers, about how they value the approach of the WTP. In an earlier study about self-perceived competences of Kenyan teachers, it is found that the teachers showed a negative change on 'professionalism' and growth in 'ability to learn and self-reflection' (Blanckstein & Bos, 2014).

A high level of satisfaction may legitimate the further use of these child-centered methods. The WTP in Kenya and Malawi is mainly appreciated the last years. The teachers had the feeling that the program contributed to the quality of education (Heijker, 2012 ; Van Monsjou & Metsemakers, 2012). It is therefore expected that the WTP will be appreciated in Kisumu County as well. It is also expected that teachers admit the goals have been realized and something has changed. Because this study focused on perceived outcomes, this will not automatically mean that the changes are actually there. With regards to child-centered education, it remains important to realize that child-centered education is designed in an individualistic culture. It fits in the current western society, where choice and democracy are important concepts (O'Neill & McMahon, 2005). It is important to fit to the wishes and needs in the local context when thinking about quality of education (Ansell, 2005). In an earlier study about the World Teacher Program it was implicated that the way of learning in the specific context could have more attention in the WTP (Heijker, 2012). It is expected that teachers' wishes and needs with regard to the program focus on a better fit to the local expectations and circumstances.

Method

Qualitative research

In this study qualitative research methods were used. These methods focus on research questions that need explanation or understanding of social phenomena and their context. These are useful to explore issues that are complex or occur over time. They provide a holistic understanding of participant's views and actions in the context of their overall lives (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Sense making is a central aspect in this type of research. In this study it was used to discover how teacher and pupils value child-centered education and appreciate the

WTP in Kisumu County. After the collection of information, an iteratively process of fitting followed until a theory was found (Baarda et al., 2013). Different qualitative methods to gather data were used in this study: in-depth interviews, observations and focus groups. The use of different methods to collect data from the participants and situation is called data triangulation, and improves the validity and reliability of the study (Baarda et al., 2013). Integrating different perspectives on the context also means that the study can give detailed and holistic in-depth understanding (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Participants

This study was part of a research project from Utrecht University in cooperation with Edukans. Four schools in Kisumu City who have participated in the World Teacher Program in 2015 and 2016 took part in this study: Ayucha, Khamunda, Nyatao and Oren. Efforts have been made to reach substantive generalizability, in which the research group is representative for the total population (Baarda et al., 2013). The results of these four schools are expected to be representative for all the eight primary schools in Kisumu County that participated in the WTP. The research group was diverse: teachers varied in age, gender and years of experience.

The twelve teachers all attended one of the four schools in Kisumu County. In every school three teachers participated, eight female teachers and four male teachers in total. Their ages varied between 23 and 45. The years of teaching experience varied from 2 to 40 years. Five boys and seven girls participated in the focus groups with pupils. Their ages varied from 8 to 14. Two men who are connected to PCF were also interviewed, to receive some background information. All participants agreed to participate, after being informed shortly about the aims of this study.

Instruments

In-depth interviews

An in-depth interview is one of the main qualitative methods. In this study, the in-depth interview is used to give a view of the perceptions and practices with regard to child-centered education of local teachers in Kisumu County. To give structure to the interview and to make the four aims in this study operational, a topic list was developed. The topic list was mainly based on previous research with regard to the WTP (Blanckstein & Bos, 2014 ; Heijker, 2012). The main topics were: quality of education in general, perceptions about quality of education with regard to the ASE-model (attitude (beliefs & outcome expectations), perceived social influences (normative beliefs of important others, social support, social pressure), and experienced self-efficacy (magnitude, generality, strength)), experienced environmental conditions (barriers and protective factors), practices in class and the perceived

outcomes of the WTP (satisfaction, goal realization, wishes and needs). After analysing the first interviews, some questions have been changed. The perceptions about education were specified to child-centered education.

For the first broad question about quality of education, cards developed by Edukans were used. Teachers could choose three cards that would fit their view of education best. Examples of pronouncements were: 'Learners learn to think about what they consider important' and 'Learners learn in dialogue with each other and the teacher'. The rest of the topics consisted of questions with an open end. Examples of questions in the second part of the interview were: 'What is needed in the lessons for children to learn?' (Attitude, ASE), 'What do you think is the government's vision on education?' (Perceived social influences, ASE), and 'Are these skills easy or difficult to acquire?' (Experienced self-efficacy, ASE). The third part focused on the experienced environmental conditions. Examples of questions were 'What makes it hard for you to improve education?' (Barriers), and 'What makes it easy for you to improve education?' (Protective factors). The fourth part of the interview focused on the practices in class. Example of a question is 'When looking back to your lesson would you rate your lesson as more child-centered or teacher-centered and why?' (Practices). Examples of questions in the last part of the interview with regard to the perceived outcomes of the WTP were 'Can you tell me how you experienced the WTP?' (Satisfaction), 'Can you tell me about your teaching practices before the WTP and have these practices changed since the WTP?' (Goal realization), and 'Do you have any tips to improve the WTP?' (Wishes and needs).

Observations

Observations were used to verify the given information of the teachers in the interviews (Baar, 2002 ; Baarda et al., 2013). The researchers joined the class to make notations of all the actions with regard to the behaviour of the teachers and pupils. The observations were mainly used to complement the third research aim about the practices of teachers and pupils. The observations were added to the study to interpret the interviews, in which teachers talked about the behaviour in class. While the observations were carried out, better questions could be asked afterwards during the interviews. The addition of the observations fits the holistic approach of this study. The same teachers that were interviewed were also observed in class, to examine if the intentions of the teachers also matched with their practices.

The observations were semi-structured and based on key indicators of the EDUstar School Assessment with regard to teaching and learning of the pupils (Edukans, 2017). It is

for example observed if there was a variation in learning activities and if there was worked with materials in class. The observations in the classrooms were held in pairs. Both the researchers kept their own notes during the lesson and wrote a descriptive report after every observation. Afterwards the descriptions were compared and the EDUstar School Assessment was filled in together.

Focus groups

A few participants were brought together to discuss a research topic as a group. Participants were allowed to hear from others, which provide an opportunity for reflection and can deepen insights (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In this study the pupils were asked about child-centered education, as recommended in an earlier report with regard to WTP (Edukans, 2010). This information can be used in addition to the perceptions of teachers about child-centered education and the practices observed in the class. A topic list was used to structure the focus group. The focus group consisted of questions about education in general and child-centered education in specific. In the first part of the focus group some simple questions about hobbies were asked. Examples of questions in the second part of the focus group are: ‘What do you like more in lessons: listening to the teacher or working for yourself?’ In every school that participated in this study, one focus group with three pupils was carried out. The focus groups consisted of three children, in accordance with an earlier study that stated that a focus group with three or four children works better than a group of eight to ten children (Beuving, 2011). The pupils were chosen by the teachers, which possibly influenced the variety in participants.

Procedure

The data was collected in a period of five weeks, in the months March and April of 2017. The researchers were connected and introduced to the schools in Kisumu County by PCF. A non-probability sample has been used to choose the participating schools. PCF selected the schools deliberately, to reflect the target group in the best way (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). All the approached schools agreed to participate in the study. First, a trial observation and in-depth interview were held in Nyeng Primary School. After the trial a member of PCF gave feedback to make the questions as culturally sensitive as possible.

At all the four schools three interviews and three observations were conducted. Most of the times a lower, middle and higher class were observed in every school. The interviews each took an hour approximately. The observations lasted the duration of one class, which entails 35 minutes. At every school one focus group was held. The focus groups took about three quarters. Together with three other student researchers, all the schools were visited three days in total. Most schools were visited in sequence, and in exceptional cases with a few days

in between. Most of the time the first day was used for the observations, and the second and third day for the in-depth interviews and focus groups. Every day a contact person of PCF joined us to the school. After these weeks of data gathering at schools, we also interviewed two of the employees of PCF at the office.

The observations were held in pairs to guarantee the reliability and validity of the data gathering. The first two interviews at schools and the interviews at PCF also took place in pairs, for the same reason. The rest of the interviews and the focus groups were carried out individually, due to a lack of time. All the interviews and focus groups were recorded by formal consent of all the participants. Participants were informed in advance that the researchers are independent from Edukans. Both the researchers used the same topic list and listened to and reflected on each other's recorded interviews to increase the internal validity and reliability.

Data-analysis

The data was analysed by the qualitative methods of Baarda and others (2013), Ritchie and Lewis (2003) and Baar (2002). The transcriptions were analysed with an inductive approach (Baar, 2002). The interviews and focus groups were coded with labels to make the data more transparent and verifiable to improve reliability. To improve the internal validity the labels were matched as much as possible to the answers of the respondents. The analysis consists of three phases. The first phase contained open labelling and encrypting. The second phase consisted of defining, arranging and reducing labels into categories. The third phase was about integrating and relating the categories. As a result of this qualitative analysis, chore labels were developed that gave a concrete answer to the research questions (Baar et al., 2007). Because the method is repeatable by others, the reliability of the study is improved (Baar, 2002). The transcriptions of the first interviews even as the observations were analysed in pairs. The remaining transcriptions were done individually. The collected data was processed carefully and anonymously and not distributed to third parties.

Results

In this part of the research the most important results for each research question are discussed. Categories from the qualitative analysis are *italic* and included to clarify the results. Apart from the interviews with teachers and informants and the focus groups with pupils, observational notes are also taken into account in this section. It is mentioned after every quote if a teacher (T), pupil (P) or informant (I) stated it. The participant number and sex (M/F) are also mentioned. Most of the times no specific attention is paid to the amount of participants that belong to the categories, unless announced otherwise.

Perceptions

Attitudes are most of the time child-centered

Almost all teachers agreed with the importance of empowering individuality. They pointed out that *every child is different and children have to be self-centered to succeed in life*. They all agreed that every individual excels at something. By doing this, they often made a distinction between skills and knowledge. ‘Some children are not gifted academically, but in skills or creativity’ (10MT). When focusing on the importance of learning practical skills, it was mainly about helping the academically underperforming pupils. ‘He could not understand anything, but when you took him outside in the field, the garden, he was able to acquire something’ (2FT). Teachers want pupils to *learn skills to become independent*. Skills are developed when *children do things practically*.

Teachers stated that child-centered education means that the teacher introduces and gives examples, but the child does most activities. ‘Teachers need to supervise, motivate and help children’ (8MT). In this way *teachers have the role of a guide*. Teachers can *teach what life’s about*, to help the children develop a life-vision and become big people in life. Children should *use their own creativity*. ‘Children shouldn’t copy but do on their own’ (10MT). Additionally, *children should express themselves*. ‘Children should talk jump and laugh’ (7FT). Teachers also pointed out that *Kenyan children are sometimes too quiet*. Kenyan pupils often believe that the teacher knows best. To let pupils express themselves, a supportive learning environment is important. ‘It is the role of the teacher to create a free atmosphere in school in which children are loved’ (8MT). There are also several things acquired from child while learning *children need the curiosity to know*.

A teacher pointed out that *free expression is more important than discipline*. Nevertheless, all teachers stated discipline is very important, because *there is no way an undisciplined child can pass school and too much freedom will not help the pupils*. This does not always cohere with the child-centered attitudes most teachers have: ‘Children should not talk all the time’ (1MT), and ‘some children are undisciplined without use of gain’ (9FT). However, most of the time disciplining happens by guiding and counselling: *caning can do disservice to children*, and *being too strict makes pupils resistant*. The children also find it important that there is discipline in the class. ‘I like discipline to remind us not to joke around’ (P).

During the focus groups with the pupils, it became clear that they did not really know what child-centered education means or what the benefits are. The children seemed unfamiliar with critical questions concerning their education, they automatically respond by describing

the current situation. After a short explanation, a child said ‘this is not in our school’ (P). Interestingly, most pupils seem to prefer aspects that fit a more teacher-centered education. A pupil stated to prefer listening to independent working. Another pupil liked to make a few notes during lesson and read at home what the teacher has said. A boy also gave an example of his old school: ‘In my old school a teacher focused more on pupils than the exams, which made the pupils failed and did not pass’ (P). Pupils also pointed out that their teachers are humble persons, whom they could ask questions. Some children also preferred working independently to listening.

Government and parents pressure teacher

In the perceptions of the teachers, social influences sometimes pressure the teachers. Several teachers pointed out that *the government is result-oriented*. There is an exam-oriented system in Kenya at the moment, which *only wants children to conform and pass*. The government focuses on the curriculum, it is *required by the government to teach all lessons*. ‘Government pushes teachers to push children’ (11FT). The government wants to change the education system, and make the education more practical. It is stated by several teachers that earlier education was more teacher-centered. Nevertheless, the government ‘sometimes verbally encourages something, but not practical’ (5FT).

Parents also put pressure on the role of the teacher, by wanting to *see academic results*. Nevertheless, *parents often shift responsibilities to teachers*. Teachers also pointed out that the home situation is often different from the school situation: *teachers interact more with the children, and there is no full expression at home*. ‘Critical thinking is difficult for the children because they are not used to it at home’ (14MI). Teachers believed the school can be a protection for a bad home situation: *teachers can give children a picture some do not see at home*. The pupils were less clear in this, sometimes they said parents were stricter, sometimes it was the school. Teachers can also get social support from parents. Teachers stated that *the child should feel comfortable at home to perform in class*. Parents and teachers should work as a team. ‘You can’t compare a home with books with one without’ (9FT).

Teachers feel able to teach, but the circumstances make it difficult

Apart from social influences, the experienced self-efficacy is also important for the perceptions of teachers. Teachers mentioned they were *able to teach* but also that it is *difficult to teach*. They also mentioned the importance of the motivation of the teacher. Thereby, *teacher preparation is important*. Most teachers mentioned ‘we have these skills’. When talking about the consideration of the difficulty, teachers stated that *teaching can be*

challenging in a big class, and focus on syllabus makes practical teaching hard. One teacher stated she missed skills such as creativity and problem solving.

Environmental conditions

Circumstances hinder child-centered education

There are several factors that make the use of child-centered education in Kenya difficult. First of all, *some children in class are very vulnerable.* Many children are orphan, some pupils are hungry and there are pregnancy issues in upper classes. Some pupils also have *problems with the English school language*, which affects the quality of the education. A big barrier lays in the fact that all teachers pointed out that there are *not enough teaching materials in school.* ‘Without teaching aids we are forced to teach teacher-centered’ (4FT). *The buildings are often in bad conditions*, due to a lack of finances. *Overcrowded classes* make the use of child-centered education difficult. The researchers also noticed these difficult aspects in the environment during the observations. There are fewer factors that ease the use of child-centered education in the Kenyan context. Teachers stated that the community could play a protective role in the school. It was also stated by the teachers that their strength is that *teachers’ work together and support one and another.*

Practices

Teacher-centered or child-centered?

During the interviews, the teachers gave examples of what they practically do in class. Different things came forward. Teachers aimed to use *different teaching methods.* On the one side they mentioned aspects that fit a child-centered way of education. Teachers assumed they should *question individuals instead of groups.* Let children work independent in class: *pupils can do things without being told.* ‘If you only talk children will sleep’ (9FT). Teachers also told they *involve real-life materials in class* and stated to *use group work.* Children can discuss questions in small groups. The children confirmed they sometimes work in groups and help each other in class. On the other side teachers also mentioned some teacher-centered aspects. One teacher for example said that he does not talk with children during class: ‘In class you only teach and give knowledge’ (2MT). The pupils confirm this: ‘Sometimes the teacher comes and speaks the whole lesson’ (P) and ‘sometimes our teacher gives us many notes but no explanation’ (P).

Most of the times the observations did not match the child-centered perceptions of the teachers. Sometimes child-centered aspects were observed in the class, but most of the times the teacher had the central role. These lessons were about listening and chorus answering. Children did not ask any questions, and were sometimes taking notes. Teachers often asked

‘are we together’, to check if the children were still following. The pupils then respond with a choral ‘yes’, even if some perhaps did not understand or were not listening. Most of the times the teacher asked for a recitation of the content. Mostly this was asked to the class as a whole, sometimes also to individual children. There were only few questions observed whereby teachers were asking children to critically think or reason. In a few lessons there was an active use of textbooks, but only once there were enough books for all the children. In a few observations the class went outside, for example to make a windmill or to learn counting with the use of stones. The sitting arrangement of pupils was sometimes in rows, but most often in groups. The teacher sometimes gave possibilities for group work. In these activities only a few students were actively participating. There was barely any discussion between the pupils, only a few were doing the work. Most group activities were held in silence. Overall, the most striking observation was that children did not asked questions in class.

Perceived Outcomes World Teacher Program

Satisfaction

Teachers were overall very satisfied about the program. Many teachers stated that *WTP is seen as a great success*. ‘It is very re-energizing when the World Teachers come in’ (2MT). WTP motivated the teachers by seeing it practiced. ‘Co-teachers interact warmly with children, I never did that’ (5FT). Teachers also stated that *co-teachers also learned from them*. They found some differences between Dutch and Kenyan education, but overall: ‘education for self-fulfilment is universal’ (6FT). Teachers also stated that WTP has some difficulties. For example, sometimes the children did not get the accent. The children confirmed this. Thereby, the teachers stated that they *only use the WTP techniques when appropriate*. It is remarkable that many teachers believed that *child-centered activities require more time*. Some teachers also believed that *not every lesson requires something as discussion*. A teacher said: ‘Child-centered teaching is hard for children when the topic is complicated’ (1MT). Some teachers also thought there were a bit too many outdoor activities during WTP. ‘Some techniques did not work due to the lack of materials’ (12MT).

Goal realization

Teachers stated that there are *many improvements in education because of WTP*. Before WTP the teacher talked and children took notes, but ‘WTP breaks monotony in class’ (10MT). Most teachers claimed that they have *learned many new teaching methods from WTP*. Some examples are: ‘I learned outdoor activities to make children learn fast (7FT)’, and ‘my pupils are sitting in groups now’ (11FT). The teachers pointed out that WTP helped them realizing their views and goals. ‘WTP changed my teaching attitudes’ (6FT). Some other

teaching methods were a *reinforcement of existing knowledge*. Teachers claimed to *use more child-centered education now*. It is possible that socially desirable answers were given. An informant described the WTP as ‘WTP is like planting a seed, it needs to grow. For now, I think it is still in the soil. But it will grow’ (13MI).

Wishes and needs

When asked about wishes and needs, most teachers did not have many recommendations. They stated that they want the program to be continued. ‘The WTP should have maximum support to succeed’ (12MT). Teachers *wished the co-teachers could stay longer* and they would also like to *visit European schools*. They also pointed out that they *need more materials*.

Discussion

General aim of this research was to gain insight in the perceptions and practices of teachers and pupils with regard to child-centered education in Kenyan primary schools, and the perceived outcomes of the WTP. With this information, the program can be better tailored to the local situation. In this section, conclusions of the research questions will be discussed. After this a more general conclusion will be made, followed by limitations and implications of the study. The implications can be helpful for a better tailoring of the program in the specific context. Moreover, the findings of the study of Van der Wal (2017, in progress) will be discussed, in which the perspective of the school management is taken into account. The studies of Van Os (2017, in progress) and Vermeulen (2017, in progress) about the involvement of parents and community in Kisumu County will also be added.

The first research question focused on the perceptions of teachers with regard to child-centered education. Against the expectation, the Kenyan teachers pointed out the importance of child-centered education to the same extent as Edukans does. Their attitudes about child-centered education were very positive. Individualistic values were emphasized in a bigger extent than expected in a collectivistic culture. Teachers focused more on the importance of empowering of individuality than on issues as tradition and authority. Either way, social desirability should always be taken into account (Baarda, 2009). It is important to note that PCF already started with trainings about ‘appreciate teaching’ in 2017, which partially contains the same elements as child-centered education (PCF, 2017). This possibly explains the accordance in attitudes. Because PCF is a Kenyan organisation, the ideas are possibly already present in their culture. In accordance with the expectation, the teachers did point out the importance of discipline, something that is associated with a collectivistic culture.

The contradiction in the role of perceived social influences with regard to child-centered education was also something the teachers pointed out, in accordance with the expectation. There seemed to be more pressure than support from the government and parents with regard to the use of child-centered education. This fits the theory that due to the exam-oriented Kenyan education system, the focus still lays on knowledge of factual information instead of critical and analytical skills (Metto & Maweka, 2014). It is important to realize that the Dutch education was also teacher-centered a few decennia ago. The Western view that childhood should be Apollonian (happy and a time to play) as opposed to Dionysian (discipline) is relatively recent in the Western world as well (Ansell, 2005). It is possible that the period of contradiction is normal in the change from teacher-centered to child-centered education. The home situation does (as expected) not completely contribute to child-centered education either. Parents encourage different things than the aspects relevant for this type of education.

Although some teachers stated that they had the necessary skills for child-centered education without further explanation, the teachers in this study seemed not completely used to type of questions concerning experienced self-efficacy. Reflection of their own competencies as a teacher seemed new to them. This fits the literature that teacher trainings in Kenya do not focus adequately on reflection, innovation or creativity (Metto & Maweko, 2014). Based on these results, the expectation that teachers have a low self-efficacy with regard to the use of child-centered education seemed to be confirmed, even though it is found in an indirect way. The finding that attitudes in some African countries are not self-related or critical enough is not new (Evans et al., 2008). Related to the lack of being self-related, it was found in a study about WTP in Malawi that teachers considered the improvement of education as a task outside their responsibility (Van Straten, 2015). The same occurred in this study. When focusing on the difficulty of the necessary skills for child-centered education, teachers did not come up with their own behaviour but with difficulties in external conditions. Especially because child-centered education corresponds with the ideas of constructivism, the role of the teacher is of great importance in the development of the child (Vygotsky, 1978).

Apart from the perceptions, this study tried to show the experienced environmental conditions of teachers with regard to child-centered education. Coherent to the expectations, the teachers pointed out the many barriers in the environment that make the use of child-centered education difficult. Protective factors were more difficult to find, but focused mainly on the role of colleagues and school management. In the parallel study of Van der Wal (2017,

in progress) is found that for the improvement of the education in the schools, the school management could play a bigger role in the accomplishment of child-centered education.

This study also focused on practices of teachers and pupils with regard to child-centered education. Consistent with the expectations, teacher-centered aspects had a central role in the education. This fits the idea that child-centered education is not always used or understood in the right way in Third World countries, and teachers often continue to teach in the same way as their own teachers did (Edukans, 2014). Teachers claimed to use child-centered methods to a bigger extent than they actually did. It was for example mentioned in the perceptions of teachers that pupils should express themselves in class, but this is not something the observations showed. In accordance with the theory of Metto and Maweka (2014) classes included a lot of listening and taking notes. During the observations there were also some child-centered aspects noticed. The way the children were sitting in groups in some classes was different than expected from the literature. Anyhow, it still seemed that the teacher-centered methods were not always used or understood in the right way. Teachers showed the willingness to use child-centered methods when they for example were giving possibilities for group work, but instead of seeing children discussing with each other in groups, only one or two pupils were doing the work while the rest of the pupils were not stimulated to be active.

As expected, the children had few perceptions about child-centered education. Against the expectation, the pupils' perceptions seemed to be less positive about child-centered education compared to the teachers. When asking about the practices in class, they mainly mentioned teacher-centered practices. In accordance with the teachers, the pupils confirmed expectations at school are sometimes different from what they are used to at home. The parallel study of Van Os (2017, in progress) and Vermeulen (2017, in progress) also found that the home culture does not completely cohere with the school culture. Assuming the opinion of the teachers, the supportive role of teachers is new for the most children. This possibly explains why children are not very positive about child-centered education: simply because they are not used to it. The passive role was visible during the observations as well. Students were not encouraged to question or to be creative, in accordance with the theory of Freire (1970). This contributes to the oppression of students and a 'culture of silence'. It seems that the pupils are not completely used to child-centered aspects in upbringing as well as in education. Otherwise, the pupils would probably have fewer difficulties with a critical reflection on their education and what they find important.

Lastly, this study focused on the perceived outcomes of the WTP for the Kenyan teachers in Kisumu County. Consistent with the expectations, teachers were mostly satisfied about the program. However, the teachers also mentioned that they use the new methods only when appropriate. As expected, the teachers believed improvements have been made. In contrast with the expectation, they did not draw out many wishes and needs. This can be linked to the earlier difficulties with reflection as well, which will be discussed further in the limitations section of this study.

In sum, it can be said that the attitudes of the Kenyan teachers about child-centered education are very positive. Although social desirability probably played a role, the teachers gave the impression they want to use the child-centered methods. Despite these positive attitudes, the behaviour in practice is often still different: teacher-centered education is still common in the observed classes. Teachers continue with teacher-centered methods of teaching, in line with findings in an earlier study (Metto & Maweka, 2014). Perceptions influence the intention of specific behaviour, but this is not always the same as the actual behaviour (Lechner et al., 2012). This is one of the most important findings of the study: the perceptions of the teachers do not completely fit with the practices in class. The continuity of teacher-centered education influences the possibilities to reach the Kenyan vision plan for 2030 (Metto & Maweka, 2014). How can the discrepancy between the perceptions and practices with regard to child-centered education be explained?

The government and parents could stimulate the child-centered education more. Their role is still contradictory, it seems that they partly still have different perceptions about the quality of education. Another possible explanation why child-centered education is not completely visible in class has to do with the circumstances. Unless teachers seem to be willing to use the methods, some conditions in the environment make it difficult for the teachers to practice it. Their perceptions are child-centered, but the circumstances make it hard to achieve it. When talking about difficulties teachers only talked about external aspects, while they also can learn to see the improvement of education as their own responsibility. Additionally, teachers should improve their skills with regard to child-centered education. Possibly the teachers can be a bigger counterweight to government and parents afterwards.

There seem to be enough foundation for the WTP to be successful: the teachers seem to like the idea of child-centered education. These perceptions match with the enthusiasm for the WTP. The aspects in the environment that make child-centered education difficult, such as social influences and poverty, seem hard to change through the WTP. It is still discussable if there is more time needed for child-centered education to grow, or that this kind of education

does simply not fit in Kenya, due to differences in culture en environment. This can also explain the contradiction in the role of government and parents. It is at least hopeful that the government and PCF have the intention to aim at the same kind of things and the perceptions of teachers are positive. For Edukans it means the basis is there, this makes it valuable to keep returning to Kenya. WTP probably helped with creating a basis for the development of child-centered education, by letting the teachers reflect on their education and giving them examples of several new methods. This does not mean that the actual behaviour is automatically changed. This takes longer and is probably something they have to find out for themselves.

Limitations

There are several limitations in this study that possibly have influenced the results of this study. First of all, it is possible the teachers gave socially desirable answers. Although the researchers started every interview, focus group or observation with the note that the researchers were independent from the World Teachers and Edukans, the participants still seemed to associate the researchers with them. The participants seemed to have a feeling of what the researchers wanted to hear and tried to give the 'good' answer. This would mean that they answer what they thought the researchers want to hear - the things they remembered from the WTP - instead of actually giving their opinion about child-centered education. It is also possible that some questions are not interpreted in the right way because of cultural differences (Otten, 2012).

With regard to the observations, more or less the same occurred. It is also possible that the observations are not the best representation of the reality. Sometimes it seemed that the teachers prepared specific lessons for the attendance of the researchers in the lesson, to show what they taught the researchers would find 'good' instead of how they would normally give a lesson. These types of limitations are covered by the fact that different research methods are used, which increased the reliability. Additionally, often the same is found in earlier studies with regard to the WTP (Blanckstein & Bos, 2014 ; Heijker, 2012 ; Otten, 2012 ; Van Monsjou & Metsemakers, 2012).

It remains difficult to draw conclusions about the outcomes of the WTP, because there is no baseline measurement prior to the program. We do not know how child-centered teachers were before the WTP. For this reason it is not precisely clear to what extent the WTP contributed to the use of child-centered education. PCF is also working with the schools for a longer period of time. This makes it difficult to find out which outcomes can be attributed to Edukans and which ones to PCF.

Further research can focus on observing the behaviour of the teachers in a more structural manner, for example with a more specific observation scheme. It can also be valuable to add schools in this study that did not participate in the WTP. In this way there can be examined if there are differences between schools that have been in contact with World Teachers and schools that have not. It would also be valuable to start with a baseline measurement before attending at a new place with the WTP, to examine afterwards what the precise effects have been. Additionally, it can be a possibility to add the implementation phase of the WTP in the current study, to get a better understanding of the program. More research can be done regarding what Kenyan pupils think of child-centered education and the WTP. Perhaps it can have the full attention in a new study, instead of being an addition to interviews with teachers and observations in classes.

Implications

In order to make the WTP more durable and demand-driven, several adjustments to the local context can be made. As stated before, the WTP will probably not return in Kisumu County after this year. WTP probably helped with creating a basis for the development of child-centered education, but it is important to find out how it can develop further when the World Teachers are not around anymore. There are several things that can help with the continuity of child-centered education. These implications can help with the improvement of the WTP in other settings as well, by focusing on a better fit between the content of the program and the ideas and needs in the specific situation. Although the WTP is highly appreciated, there is always room for improvement.

First of all, with regard to perceptions it would be beneficial to decrease the gap between the home and school culture. In earlier literature it was found that a Pedagogical Civil Society could tackle the problem of the pedagogical mismatch between the home culture and the school culture (De Winter, 2012). It is important that the bigger community, including parents, teachers and the school management, look at the same direction with regard to education and feel responsible for the improvement of it. This also fits their collectivistic culture. Especially the parents and the school should work together in a better way. In an earlier study it is found that supportive parenting is the strongest predictor of school performance (UNICEF, 2007). In the parallel study of Van Os (2017, in progress) and Vermeulen (2017, in progress) was also found that the parents could be more involved in the education of their children. Parents can also be made more accessible for ways of upbringing that fits to child-centered education, for example in trainings.

Secondly, local teacher trainings could focus more on the needed knowledge and skills with regard to child-centered education, to increase the teachers' confidence to use the methods. WTP should continue with focusing on teachers' abilities to learn and reflect on themselves. This possibly increases the perceived self-efficacy of teachers to use child-centered education. The more complex skills that are important in child-centered education skills have to do with a teacher's personality (Edukans, 2014). Schools can probably focus more on the interchange of good practices between teachers, to help each other in their stronger and weaker characteristics.

Thirdly, it would obviously be helpful for the teachers if they would achieve more help in the providing of the needed materials, to improve the poor conditions (Van Monsjou & Metsemakers, 2012). In an earlier study it was recommended that teachers should make maximum use of the local environment to make improvisation of teaching and learning materials (Rotumoi & Too, 2012). Instead of focusing on the barriers, the focus could lay more on possibilities (Van Monsjou & Metsemakers, 2012). There should be focused on the pedagogical competences of teachers, instead of the lack of materials (Heijker, 2012). In this way teachers can learn what their own intern abilities are to change situations, instead of focusing on extern conditions. When they learn to make their own materials, for example, this will make them less dependent of shortages due to poverty (Van Monsjou & Metsemakers, 2012). The WTP can help in this process.

To let the content of the WTP last in the specific context, it remains important to pay attention to the specific circumstances. Ideas about the development of children vary between cultures (Ansell, 2005). Initiatives in Africa with regard to education will only be sustainable if they fit the African way of upbringing (Nsamenang, 2008). To actually change the situation, one should start with local understanding and traditional practices (Evans et al., 2008). The last recommendation emphasizes on the role of PCF in the continuing of child-centered education. Edukans develops interventions to improve the quality of education bottom-up, from the existing daily practice of the teachers (Edukans, 2011). PCF can play an important role in this bottom-up process, because they know best what is needed in the specific context in Kisumu County. It is possible that the WTP imposes too many Western values, which are not that simply universally applicable (Kay, 1975). PCF can adjust these values with regard to child-centered education to cultural-specific perceptions and circumstances in the local context, in order to actually change the situation. In other contexts it is also recommended to work together with local organizations in the best way possible.

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