

Chapter 6

Analysis of the Interviews and the Classroom Observations

This chapter presents a qualitative analysis of the data collected by conducting interviews with the community leaders, school principals, and teachers and observing two Grade 3 classrooms. The qualitative analysis attempts to give evidence only on one factor, namely, the teacher's first language rather than all factors discussed in Chapter 5.

6.1 Overview of the Data

The information collected by conducting interviews, by making casual observations in the village, and by carrying out careful classroom observations was qualitatively analyzed. Interviews with teachers, principals as well as the village leaders and community leaders were conducted by the researcher. There were altogether 12 main informants including 3 education field officers who were staff from local non-governmental organizations which mainly focus on community education programs. The background information of the villages collected from the community leaders is described in detail in chapter 4.

Both classes were observed for eight days each. There were four sessions a day; Burmese, and English in the morning and Mathematics and Science in the afternoon. There were 23 learners in the class in class 1 and 24 learners in the class in class 2. The teacher in the Grade 3 class in class 1 was taught by a Burmese-speaking teacher while in class 2 the Grade 3 class was taught by a Sgaw-speaking teacher. The learners from both classes had gone through Grades 1 and 2 with Sgaw-speaking teachers.

Table 4 Summary of classroom process

	Class 1		Class 2	
	Situation	Remark	Situation	Remark
Text books	Burmese-medium	Except English subject	Burmese-medium	Except English subject
LOI	NL	The teacher is a Burmese native speaker so she used only Burmese when she taught the lessons	NL + MT	The teacher is a Sgaw native speaker. She taught everything in the NL, but sometimes gave some extra informal explanation in the MT.
Talking during the lesson	Mostly the teacher talks.	The teacher tried to lead a discussion but it failed. She talks a lot using many words and examples to stimulate the children to talk. The children seem to be interested or happy to hear what the teacher said but they do not talk back to the teacher.	Both the teacher and the learners talk.	Always have a discussion on the topic of the lesson.
Giving instructions	Not always clear		Clear	
Explaining concepts	Not always clear	Teacher struggled and took a lot of time using many illustrations, but	Clear	

	Class 1		Class 2	
	Situation	Remark	Situation	Remark
		sometimes the learners remained confused sitting silently without asking questions back to the teacher		
Checking comprehension	Rare		Frequent	
Questions & prompts	Rare	Takes a long time	More often	Very successful
Range of feedback from the teacher	Rare	Communication problems	More often	Wide range
Language support	Very rare	The teacher asks Sgaw teacher for help to explain the concepts.	Always	
Approaching the teacher to asking questions	Very rare		More often	
Group, pair and individual work	Rare		More often	
Range of respondents from among the learners	Very rare	Usually only one or two girls lead the whole class. The class is silent most of the time.	More often	Wider range of respondents; all the learners participate

Classroom processes observed in both classes in schools 1 and 2 can be seen in Table 4. The data in Table 3 shows how well the teachers could carry out the classroom activities and how well the learners could perform in the classroom.

6.2 Analysis Procedure

The rich and complex raw data from the observation notes and interviews was transcribed and entered into the computer in order to arrange all types of data neatly. The data was entered manually by the researcher using the transcript. The data was carefully investigated through many cycles of searching for key words or phrases that fit or support the research questions. Over time, and through multiple rounds of such analysis, constant repetitions of the same problems and recurrent pedagogical and interactional patterns in the data were identified. After having analyzed the data, the patterns of the data are discovered. Then the patterns are sorted into related groups. Finally after having done the categorization of the patterns of the data, the significant features that have an effect on teaching and learning were discovered.

The significant features found from the data:

Features of the classroom where only NL is spoken

- Difficulties for the teacher teaching in NL
- Difficulties for the learners in understanding difficult content
- Difficulties for the learners in memorizing and writing/answering tests
- Difficulties for the learners in developing confidence and good personal study habits

Features of the classroom where both NL and MT is spoken

- Advantages for the teacher teaching in MT
- Advantages for the learners in understanding difficult content
- Advantages for the learners in memorizing and writing/answering tests
- Advantages for the learners in developing confidence and good personal study habits

General Features

- Using the national language in the early years impedes comprehension
- Using the mother tongue promotes the development of cognitive skills
- Using the mother tongue facilitates both good teaching and good learning strategies

6.3 Evidence of the Impact of Language Choices

Based on the analysis of the data from the interviews and classroom observations, we can clearly see the weakness of teaching in a language the children are not familiar with and the strengths of teaching in the mother tongue. The features which are mentioned in the previous section are the evidence that proves a clear answer to the second research question: How does classroom interaction demonstrate the effect of the language of instruction on children's experience of learning in school?

6.3.1 Effects of teaching in the national language

The research shows the negative impacts of using only the national language in teaching and learning in class 1. The teacher is a Burmese-speaking teacher who does not know Sgaw which is the language learners speak. The teacher in class 2 uses both the national language and the children's mother tongue, so some negative effects can also occur in this class when the national language is used. The four important categories found in the data are: the difficulties for the teacher; difficulties for the learners in understanding difficult content; difficulties in memorizing and answering the test; and difficulties in developing confidence and good personal study habits.

6.3.1.1 Difficulties for the teacher

The teacher in class 1 found it hard to teach the academic knowledge in a language the children are not familiar with. She tried her best to explain those terms again and again to the children using easy everyday Burmese and many illustrations. For example, when teaching about the topic, "The Farmers" in the Burmese literature class, the words "plowing" and "geography" were difficult to explain. Based on what the researcher observed the classroom process and the report from a teacher, each new topic is to be taught four sections in a week. Every time they worked on a topic they had a time for discussion. The learners from the class in class 2 taught by Sgaw-speaking teacher, could take part in the discussion time fully from the beginning of the first session to the end of the last session. The learners came to absorb the knowledge and could think more and talk. On the other hand the learners from the class in class 1, taught by Burmese-speaking teacher, could not understand all the lessons in the topic and could not follow what the teacher was talking about from the beginning of the lesson. They could not even understand the lessons well and respond to the teacher by the last session. Therefore the only thing they could do to answer the questions in the lessons was to rely on their memorizing skills.

In the General Science class, the teacher struggled to explain the technical terms for the three different parts of the river. The more she used Burmese words to explain the more the children got confused. The children cannot understand unless the teacher explains in a language the children can understand.

The Burmese teacher in class 1 said, "I have to ask one or two girls in the class who are the only ones who understand Burmese better than the others to explain in Sgaw what I said. They explained the words to the class in Sgaw because the other learners did not understand when I explained in Burmese."

A Sgaw principal stated that Burmese teachers have to ask Sgaw teachers for help to explain the words in Sgaw. The researcher also happened to be asked for help to explain a word to the class while she was observing the class.

Sometimes, at least 2-3 times a month, especially at the end of the month, just before the chapter exams, Sgaw teachers are asked by Burmese teachers for help to explain the old lessons to the children (a Sgaw teacher in class 2).

A Burmese teacher once was teaching a Grade 5 class and he was explaining a topic. A Sgaw-speaking teacher who was teaching in the next-door classroom heard him and she knew that the learners could not understand what their teacher said so she asked him to let her help with explaining the terms when she could not bear to see her friend and the learners struggling to communicate the information in the lessons. Then the children could understand the topic. When the children understand the lessons well they can easily memorize them. The Burmese teachers who are assigned to be the teachers in Sgaw villages find it difficult to communicate with the children and they have to learn Sgaw. The learners asked their teachers questions in Sgaw and the teacher could answer only in Burmese if they could guess what the children ask otherwise the Burmese teachers need to ask for help from Sgaw teachers (the principal in class 2).

6.3.1.2 Difficulties for the learners in understanding difficult content

In the Burmese subject, there are many words in the text book like, "waso, wakaung, etc.," which are words for the names of the lunar months that Burmese people in present time do not usually use instead they use English names for them. There are

also words such as names of places like train station or hospital which could not be seen in the learners' environment. In General Science, there are short notes for the learners to memorize but it is difficult for the learners to understand the abstract or academic concepts since they have to learn the words in unfamiliar language. Besides, there are questions that can be understood immediately if they hear it in Sgaw but they had a hard time to answer when the teacher asked them in Burmese. For instance, "When you see a thing owned by other people will you (a) keep it (b) throw it away (c) give it back"? When the teacher asked this question to the learners, some of the learners answered by copying a student who picked one answer and other learners followed the first student. When the teacher asked them if they were sure then they changed their answer. In Mathematics, the key words in the text of the sum that give the instruction to calculate, add, subtract, multiply, or divide have to be learned by heart. For examples, how many pencils will be left? How much money will be added? When the learners are calculating the figures they were taught by a traditional method of reciting the multiplication tables in Burmese. It was very difficult for them to memorize the numbers and words in Burmese since they only use the numbers in Sgaw in their daily life. They have to do two tasks at the same time, reciting the words and calculating. English is taught as a subject by translating the words or the sentences into Burmese.

In the classroom in class 2, when the Sgaw teacher used Burmese, the learners became silent; the teacher could not move on with the lesson, so she needed to switch back to Sgaw.

6.3.1.3 Difficulties for the learners in memorizing and writing/answering tests (even when they understand the content)

Sometimes the learners can easily understand the content because it is very familiar to them from their daily life. However it is not an easy task for the learners to memorize a long Burmese text and keep it in memory for a long time. The principal at class 1 reported that she checked the answer papers. One girl could write down the whole text that she had memorized but the answers did not fit to the questions. The examples of the learners who had difficulties in memorizing and answering tests are mentioned in the following quotes from the teachers.

In the exam, the questions are in Burmese. Though I could explain the question in Burmese to the learners, they wrote down as they pronounced

the words with Sgaw accent. The words that they spell according to their Karen accented pronunciation are considered spelling mistakes and marked wrong by the teacher. Outside school, the children do not have access to the Burmese language used in textbook and not enough exposure to Burmese in their surroundings. Then the learners make many mistakes in spelling (the Grade 3 teacher in class 2).

When the learners answered the questions in the oral test, they made mistakes in pronunciation because they just pronounced as they had written down with the wrong spelling in the class. Then the answers did not make sense at all (the principal of class 1).

6.3.1.4 Difficulties for the learners in developing confidence and good personal study habits

Although the Burmese teacher explains many times, the learners do not understand well. As a result, the teacher could not be patient any longer and frequently beats the children. Then the children are afraid to approach the teacher to ask questions. When the teacher asked questions, one or two of the learners started to answer and the other learners followed them. If the teacher asked them individually they could not answer.

The learners are scared to approach the Burmese teachers since they know that their teacher will not understand what they ask because they cannot use Burmese. Even when they come to know the teachers and are not afraid to talk they tend to use Sgaw so there are still difficulties in communication (a Sgaw teacher reported).

A mother who is also a school teacher gave an example of the children having difficulties in understanding Burmese using her son's experience to cope with the language.

My son memorized the words that his teacher said in the class then came home and told them to me. Then I had to interpret those words into Sgaw. For example, 'The exam will be next week.' He knew what the word 'exam' means in Burmese but he did not know the meaning of the word, 'next week'. There are some other words such as, 'tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, the next two days, etc. Some words are really hard to understand if you are not Burmese (a parent of a student).

She also mentioned that other children are, like her son, bring words home and ask their parents to interpret the words. However, most of the parents finished only Grade 5 and do not speak Burmese well so they could not help their children with their lessons. Finally, the children have to go to the Sgaw teachers to get help.

When the question, “How do the children learn Mathematics?” is asked. The learners try to understand the important phrases and key terms that can give clue how to calculate the sum from the text. For examples, how many pencils will be ‘left’? How much money will be ‘added’? When they see those words they will do adding or subtracting. Then they will have to learn Burmese classifiers which categorize nouns differently from Sgaw classifiers. The learners could do better if they understood well and if the whole concept of the sum were explained in Sgaw; instead they just have to memorize the words.

There are some learners who really struggle with their lessons who come to me and I explain the lessons to them. There are also some learners who become afraid and unhappy to do the lessons since they don’t know the language. Then they don’t want to attend school anymore and finally they drop out. Once I was asked to move up from Grade 2 to teach Grade 3, because the principal and the other teachers from higher grades thought it would be more effective to have a Burmese-speaking teacher teach the lower grade. My learners were crying because they are afraid to attend the class taught in Burmese only. They prefer to learn the lessons with Sgaw teachers. Now I am teaching Grade 3 with my learners from the last year in Grade 2. But there are also four learners, the repeaters who were with a Burmese-speaking teacher. It is hard to make them participate in the class in the beginning of the year. However they are now more active than before (a Grade 3 teacher).

6.3.2 Effects of teaching in the mother tongue

The learners’ first language is used as an oral language of instruction in the class and the teacher switches between the languages, Burmese and Sgaw. This kind of language use in teaching and learning is seen in the classes taught by Sgaw teachers. There are four significant facts that explain why teaching and learning is positively affected if the language of instruction is in learners’ first language: advantages for the teacher; advantages for the learners in understanding difficult concepts;

advantages for the learners in memorizing and writing/answering tests; advantages for the learners in developing confidence and personal study habits.

6.3.2.1 Advantages for the teacher (easy to explain difficult concepts)

The teacher herself is more comfortable to use Sgaw with the learners. The teacher orally used Sgaw for the children's comprehension of the abstract or academic terms. She said, "We can't leave them with an explanation using only Burmese, instead we need to use Sgaw all the time." When the teacher gives the instructions and asks for the responses she uses Sgaw the first time and later repeats it in simple Burmese. The teachers can make sure that the concept in the written text is taught and reinforced in the child's first language. The teacher makes sure that children have an opportunity to hear, talk about, and retell the content of a topic in their home language, and to describe and discuss the related stories of their own in Sgaw. She switched the languages in accordance with the teaching strategies. Sgaw is the learners' mother tongue. The learners can clearly understand and pay attention to the teacher when the teacher uses Sgaw.

6.3.2.2 Advantages for the learners in understanding difficult concepts

The children learn new concepts and new language with the constant support of their first language. Sgaw is the only language that can really help the children comprehend the lessons though the textbooks are in Burmese. The learners could understand the lesson because the teacher used Sgaw when she explained the content of the subjects. The learners can write about the topic in Burmese but they could not talk about it in Burmese but in Sgaw.

The children do not understand the lesson if the teachers do not use Sgaw when they explain the content of the subjects. It is hard for them to memorize the lessons unless the lessons are explained in Sgaw. It would take so many hours to learn those by heart. The teachers try to talk in Burmese but the children do not understand, they have to switch from Burmese to Sgaw so that the learners could understand the lessons. Children from this village do not have contact with other Burmese villages. So, the children do not know Burmese at all. The children from other villages which are closer to the Burmese villages have contact with those Burmese speaking villages. So,

the children know Burmese a little bit. Even in Grade 5, the learners still need the lessons to be explained in Sgaw (the principal of class 2).

6.3.2.3 Advantages for the learners in memorizing and writing/answering tests

When working on the sums: after reading the text in the sum the teacher translated each word into Sgaw. Then they did calculation. Science subject is orally tested in the exam. The Sgaw teacher can use Sgaw to explain the questions so that the children can understand the questions and answer the test well. If the teachers are Sgaw teachers they explain the questions in Sgaw and the learners understand what the questions ask and they were able to write down the right answer to the questions in Burmese.

A Burmese teacher once gave the G 4 learners some time to memorize a lesson about the names of different parts of the rivers with the descriptions. I was there and I noticed that it took so long for the children to learn those words by heart. I knew that they did not understand what they were reading and trying to memorize. Then I went to the front of the room and explained the meaning of the words. After that I saw the learners could memorize the words in a few minutes. It is hard for them to memorize the lessons unless the lessons are explained in Sgaw (the principal of class 2).

6.3.2.4 Advantages for the learners in developing confidence and good personal study habits

In the discussion time, the whole class is noisy with the children's voices because all the children talk a lot and participate. The interaction between teachers and children is clearly going well since the language is well known by both the teacher and the children. The teachers got responses from every child so she could check learners' understanding of the subject lessons. The learners are not frightened to ask questions to the teachers. They need to make sure that they understand the lessons and the instructions for doing the homework exercises. Otherwise they would need to ask their parents who could not help them with their homework since they do not speak Burmese well or have no education beyond primary school. Therefore in this case, the learners learning with the Sgaw-speaking teacher can do their homework without asking anyone at home.

The children who had been through ECCD classes are not troubled when they attend a school with Karen teachers. If they are in a class which is taught by a Burmese teacher, they have many difficulties in learning. Even if the Burmese teacher is nice and kind to the children, the children will be very upset since they do not understand the language. Eventually they are upset and not interested in learning and they do not go to school regularly. If a Burmese teacher does not understand the children and he/she is not very nice to the children, there would be problems between the parents and the teachers. Some parents, who do not know the importance or the value of education very much, do not want to send their children to school and let them stay at home instead. They could not help or don't have time to help their children with the lessons. I myself did not recognize this kind of problem at first but I came to notice these when I gained more experience as a field manager of an ECCD program and primary school. (a field officer from ECCD).

Why do the children face problems when they go to school after ECCD? The officer answered that the teachers in the ECCD program use the mother tongue with a child-centered approach (using many visual aids). The children learned the knowledge in a fun way. The children and the teachers used the same language. However in the primary schools the teachers did not use the language that the children understood. Besides, there were not enough visual aids in teaching for sure.

6.3.3 Reasons why mother tongue-based education is needed

As discussed in Chapter 2, international research findings are clear about the importance of children's mother tongue for their educational development. There are three main reasons for the need of mother tongue-based education: using only the national language in the early years impedes comprehension; using the mother tongue promotes the development of cognitive skills; using the mother tongue facilitates both good teaching and good learning strategies.

6.3.3.1 Using only the national language in the early years impedes comprehension

The achievement of the learners is negatively affected if their first language is not used for teaching and learning (UNESCO 2008). Children have to learn the subjects in Burmese but they do not have access to that language in their daily lives. Those

children can have access to Burmese only through the textbooks and the speech of Burmese teachers. The children cannot link the daily experience to the content of the curriculum since the language spoken at home and school is different. Besides, they copy the text from the board and memorize the lessons without completely understanding them. The Burmese teacher and the children do not understand each other. Instead of learning the lessons easily in their first language, they have to learn it in a difficult way by using the language they do not know. Burmese teachers could not teach in Grade 1, Grade 2 and sometimes Grade 3 since the children are not ready to learn academic concepts in Burmese and they did not even have literacy in their first language. Grades 5 and 6 learners still faced the same language problems of difficulties in learning academic content in Burmese. Besides, the teachers were asked by the education leaders to use Burmese only. Without being aware of the learners' difficulties in understanding Burmese, they instead think that using more Burmese can help the learners get in touch with the language and do well in the next Grade levels, the leaders sometimes even put pressure on the teachers to use Burmese only. However it is not possible in the real situation.

The principal asked me to use Burmese only. My classroom is just next to her classroom so I try to use Burmese a lot when I teach. If I use a lot of Sgaw she always reminds me to use Burmese. But I could see the learners' blank faces. Then I could not go on with the lessons. It was very difficult (the Grade 3 teacher at class 2).

The learners are frightened when they go to school because they do not understand what the teacher is saying to them. A Sgaw teacher said that the Sgaw teachers are asked to explain the lessons to the learners even in Grades 4, 5, 6, and 7 as well because they are taught by Burmese teachers and do not understand Burmese. The learners come to the Sgaw teachers asking for explanations for every subject. Teachers have to translate Burmese words which are not usually used in daily life into Sgaw. Sometimes the learners have to learn new Sgaw words as they were introduced to new concepts in the lessons. The learners are not familiar with the concept or word in either Sgaw or Burmese. So they learned new Sgaw words that would help them to acquire the words in Burmese.

6.3.3.2 Using the mother tongue promotes the development of cognitive skills

The way in which using the mother tongue certainly helps the children build cognitive skills can be clearly seen in the classroom taught by Sgaw teachers who use both Burmese and Sgaw. When the mother tongue is used in teaching, children can successfully learn the abstract knowledge. The Sgaw teachers using Sgaw encourage the children to think and share their experiences in the class. The learners have complete confidence in themselves to talk and discuss the topic in the class when they have the chance to use their own language. When they read the lessons, they are not just pronouncing the words but they fully comprehend what they are reading. Then it is easy to learn the text by heart for preparation for their exam. Learners have a real opportunity to build cognitive skills through the mother tongue. Learners find it most comfortable to learn new concepts and information based on what is already familiar to them, working from simple concepts to the knowledge that is more complex.

6.3.3.3 Using the mother tongue facilitates both good teaching and good learning strategies

The article EdQual Policy Brief No. 2 (2010: 2) stated, “When teachers teach in L1, their pedagogy is richer: they use more teaching strategies than in L2”. That statement is truly supported by the events observed in this research in the classrooms taught by Burmese and Sgaw. When the learners can use their mother tongue with the Sgaw teacher, they are not afraid to talk with the teacher to request her to correct their work. They are not frightened to respond to the questions and participate in the discussion. In the classroom activities, no one is left behind sitting on the bench instead they all enjoy the activities and are happy to compete with each other answering the questions. On the other hand, in the class taught by the Burmese teacher, the children are quiet and the teacher talks most of the time. In the discussion time, only one or two children respond to the teacher.

If the learners were taught in Sgaw they would do school lessons better. If the test were in Sgaw, we could find the higher achievements of learners. It would be great. It is because of language problems that the learners got 40%. In Grades 1 and 2 the teachers are Sgaw. The learners find it really difficult to learn the lessons with a Burmese teacher when they immediately move on to the next level, Grade 3. They have trouble studying the lessons. The

learners are disappointed to go to school. The children in this village do not speak or understand Burmese well until they are in Grade 11.

If we could teach the lessons using learners' language in writing or speaking, it would be great. We could help them to express their own ideas and thoughts. They have many ideas. It would be very useful for them in their long term education.

In my opinion, it is not important for the children to be able to use Burmese but it is important to learn the knowledge from the curriculum. That could be possible if we taught in Sgaw. The knowledge can guide them for their better life. That is important. Especially, the subject social studies and lessons for morality from General Science are important for the children to understand. It is not good if the learners were only taught in Burmese and memorize just for passing the exam. It is not a problem if the sentences are not long. However in this subject it is difficult to catch the meaning and the sentences are long (The principal at school B07).

In the class, in which the learners are not familiar with Burmese, it has been clearly observed that learning is positively affected by the Sgaw teacher using both Burmese and Sgaw and negatively affected by the Burmese teacher using Burmese only. By using Sgaw the teacher gave clearer instructions and explanations. She also checked the learners' comprehension by asking question and getting responses. Then she gave feedback on what the learners had done in their homework.

6.4 Summary of Findings

To sum up, all the interviews and observations have revealed that the teachers teach more effectively and the learners learn better when the lessons are taught in the learners' mother tongue rather than in the national language. The learners are having difficulty with the language used in schools rather than the abstract knowledge of the lessons. When the learners have no language in common with the teacher, but nonetheless are taught through the teacher's language, the language of instruction (LOI) has a severe negative impact on all learning of the learners, particularly in early grades. Using the NL as the only LOI with children with no proficiency in the NL does not lead to good acquisition of the NL. When the learners are taught by a teacher with whom they share a language and this language is used even as an oral language of instruction, their acquisition of the NL is improved tremendously.

The checklist, adapted from Save the Children (2009: 2), in Table 4 can be used to find out whether the learners are having difficulty in learning or not with respect to the language use. If the answer to two or more of these questions is 'yes', language is likely to be one of the biggest obstacles to children's educational progress.

Table 5 Checklist for the student learning (Save the Children 2009: 2)

		class 1	class 2
1	Do children use a different language at home from the one used for teaching in school?	yes	yes
2	Is the language of instruction only national language?	yes	no
3	Are these children very silent in class?	yes	no
4	Do they answer questions with only one or two words?	yes	no
5	Do children find it difficult to follow the teacher's instructions?	yes	no
6	Are there only one or two children in the class who can easily answer questions?	yes	no
7	Can children copy text from the blackboard, yet are weak at completing tasks or passing tests?	yes	yes

The data in Table 4 shows that the learners in the Grade 3 in class 1 face a lot of disadvantages in learning because of the language barrier.

6.5 Discussion of Analysis

As a result of findings, it is clear that the learners learn better in their mother tongue, the language they speak well than in the national language. However, comparing the learners' test scores from the classes with Sgaw-speaking teachers to those from the classes with Burmese-speaking teachers, the former have scores only slightly higher than the latter. This may be due to at least the following five reasons:

- all testing is in the L2 in which the learners have limited proficiency, and several teachers acknowledged that if testing were in the L1, many learners would do much better than in the L2,
- the classroom situations in this study do not by definition represent first language-based education, but rather informal oral use of the L1 as an

auxiliary language, and thus full benefits of mother tongue-based multilingual education should not be expected,

- according to international research all learning benefits of first language-based education will be apparent only after several years of first language instruction and learning the L2 as a second language,
- learners taught by teachers sharing the L1 with them perform significantly better in Burmese subject (according to the quantitative analysis in chapter 5), than pupils having a teacher from the L2-language community, meaning that short-term use of the L1 as an informal oral language of instruction cannot necessarily address all underlying challenges in the education system, and finally
- learning achievement in general in these schools is rather low, irrespective of the language used, and thus teaching the L2 in a way that the pupils understand is a major part of the instruction by a teacher speaking the L1, the learning of the L2 and the consequent learning results are more dramatic than in other subjects whose contents most pupils seem to have a very low comprehension of (as stated by several teachers in the interviews).