

ABC OF GENDER ANALYSIS

*Prepared by
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CONTENTS

FOREWORD	5
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	6
INTRODUCTION	7
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	9
PART I	
A COMPONENTS OF THE FRAMEWORK	12
B USE OF THE FRAMEWORK	26
C ANALYSIS AND STRATEGIES	28
PART II	
CLASSROOM INTERACTION AND ABC OF GENDER ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK	31
BIBLIOGRAPHY	39

Foreword

The **ABC of Gender Analysis** was commissioned by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) in response to the urgent need to raise the consciousness of teachers, writers, curriculum developers, etc., on the dangers of a gender-neutral curriculum. Recent analyses of school textbooks (Obura: 1 991) among others pointed to the often biased and educationally damaging portrayal of gender roles and relationships within texts and to the continued perpetuation of gender stereotypes.

The **ABC of Gender Analysis** provides a reliable and simple gender screen for the review and analysis of textbooks, and other educational materials and resources. It is a tool for all those interested in ensuring that education becomes an empowering force for girls, boys, women and men.

FAWE is grateful to Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira and Masheti Masinjila and the Gender Team in the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development for the preparation of this framework.

Users may translate, reproduce or use the information contained in this ABC of Gender Analysis freely, as long as they acknowledge the authors FAWE and the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development.

After being in use for one year, the framework was subjected to a review in a workshop organized by the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development initiated and supported by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).

The countries represented in the review workshop were Seychelles, Ghana, Senegal, Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Tanzania.

The workshop recommended the framework as appropriate and adaptable within the African region and elsewhere.

Eddah Gachukia
Executive Director,
Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE)

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- *Dr. Okwach Abagi* - *Kenyatta University*
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- *Mr. Njogu Waita* - *Egerton University*
- *Ms. Wanjiku Mbugua* - *Journalist*
- *Mrs. Pauline Beautah* - *Kenya Institute of Education*
- *Mr. Masheti Masinjila* - *Kenyatta University*
- *Dr. Wanjiku Kabira* - *Nairobi University*

The team, which is composed of members of the Centre, is grateful to Dr. Eddah Gachukia, the Executive Director, FAWE, who through the Gender Team initiated and supported the initial exercise that led to the conceptualization of this framework.

Dr. Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira and Masheti Masinjila, from the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development, and the Gender Training Team have been involved in efforts to mainstream gender awareness in all aspects of development for many years. In this process, the team has used various frameworks and modules to achieve its objectives. Among these frameworks are the Harvard Model, Women in Development: (A framework for project analysis), Caroline Mosers' Framework, Sarah Longwe's Women's Equity and Empowerment Framework, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees', People Oriented Planning (POP) and FEMNET's Gender Analysis Module (FGAM), among others.

INTRODUCTION

One of the experiences of the Gender Trainers Team has been the recognition that while there are some very basic and crucial variables, such as division of labour by gender, and access and control of resources, each sector and each situation that has to be subjected to gender analysis needs re-thinking each requires the development of a module that is appropriate and accessible. The case of the refugee is a good example. Here are people whose social, cultural, political and economic life has been uprooted. They are not even sure that they have a right to live in their new situations. The changes they go through are incredible. They are at the mercy of others, and they are vulnerable in every sense. This kind of situation calls for re-thinking if one has to do gender analysis. The issues that are of utmost importance have to be identified. Priorities have to be addressed.

The experience of the Gender Trainers Team indicates that various sectors and situations call for different approaches. In the education sector, it has been clear that the Harvard model works very well when applied to development projects, and that is as it should be. It was designed so that if one wants to build a school, for instance, then one can go through the four components of the framework. However, if one wants to analyse text books, how gender relations appear, how images and models are created, how power relations are perpetuated, etc., then one has to look for a different model. *The ABC of Gender Analysis* was conceived out of this realization. The framework presented here has been found useful not only for teachers but also for researchers, writers, illustrators and artists, curriculum developers, publishers, and examiners, among others.

ABC of Gender Analysis is the result of an exercise that the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) requested the Gender Trainers Team to do. The exercise involved looking at school textbooks to analyse their gender sensitivity. When the exercise started, the team went beyond the texts to the hidden curriculum, extra-curricular activities and resources as well

as space. It became clear that the total education sector perpetuates and legitimizes gender discrimination. In the end, this exercise gave birth to the **ABC of Gender Analysis**.

The title **ABC of Gender Analysis** was chosen because the module provides the basic tools of gender analysis that teachers, researchers, artists and illustrators can easily use to analyse the texts they read, write or illustrate.

It is a handbook and a guide to all those in the education sector. Being basic, it is a starting point. It is intended to open the eyes of the users to gender disparities and gender discrimination. Thereafter the exercise should lead to questions such as: Why these disparities? Why such discrimination? What can we do? In short, this ABC is a beginning point of a long process.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The ABC of Gender Analysis framework proceeds on the assumption that each and every textbook and all learning materials tells a story about people; how they relate to one another and to the environment within which they live. We are going to characterize the learning from a text as dual in nature: texts contain pure academic and technical knowledge about the subject and also knowledge about the world in general. Let us take elementary arithmetic as an example: the relevant text will make it possible for learners to know how to add, subtract, multiply and divide. In a nut shell, the immediate output of the text is the technical skill to make simple calculations. To facilitate such learning, writers of textbooks create a human world in which people do things that learners recognize and easily identify with to the extent that they can see themselves in the textbook world. The practice of humanizing even highly technical subjects, especially at an elementary level, makes it possible for learners to identify with the subject and see it as relevant. This enhances their capacity for the curiosity and memorability necessary for learning to happen.

Inevitably, then, writers bring alive their texts by indirectly narrating a story about how people relate and organize themselves to survive and to produce life supporting goods and services. If we pursue our example of the elementary arithmetic textbook, child learners will read about other children being sent by their parents to perform such tasks as buying goods as part of their relationship with the complex world they occupy in which other people are also shown playing their part.

Apart from learning how to add and subtract, children will at the same time learn about what people do, how they relate to one another and generally how the world is constructed from the same arithmetic text. It is therefore possible that this arithmetic textbook also serves as a socializing agent in terms of knowledge about people and their relationships, over and above that of calculation that is transmitted to learners. It follows from the situa-

tion above that since the world painted in textbooks is inhabited by women, men, boys and girls, textbooks present a gendered picture of the world. This means they tell a story about women and girls, as well as about men and boys that can be determined through a process of textual analysis. We are referring to the process of understanding and analysing the story told in a textbook as narratological analysis. Under narratological analysis we are interested in illuminating the story as well as showing the process through which the story has been transmitted to the learner to the extent that it gives the impression that it does. Narratological analysis recognizes that any written, visualized or (and) spoken text contains within it a gendered perspective that purports to mirror the reality of that which is written about, that which is spoken about and that which is visualized. To give an example, if in a text girls are consistently shown as the ones who are constantly helping parents in the home with little visibility of boys in the same roles, it is probable that learners would take this as representative of what things are really like or what they should be like.

Narration here refers to the process of presenting, representing or making something come alive in such a way that it makes an impression on the learner. As we have established, what is being narrated here is both the concepts of a subject such as mathematics and, at the same time, the nature of the society the learner occupies. It is also the operating assumption within this framework that learning materials have of necessity to appeal to male and female learners alike in order to make knowledge equally accessible to both sexes.

This means that textbooks have to be women- and men-friendly by representing and presenting their worlds in such a way that both can identify closely with the narration. In this way, none will feel alienated and the content of textbooks will be easily accessed by both male and female learners.

The framework operates on the premise that reducing a text to its smaller components and systematically analysing it, enables one to understand inter-relationships within the text and their underlying implications.

The primary aim of the systematic analysis is to bring out as objectively as possible, the gender dynamics within a text as the basis for drawing conclusions on whether it responds to the different gender interests and expectations of the learners.

The framework seeks to quantify the portrayal of women, men, boys and girls under different analytical categories, which we will outline below. Alongside the quantitative data is qualitative analysis that seeks to explain the gender map of the text and possible implications to the learner. This process, which we referred to earlier as narratological analysis, proceeds by asking and seeking answers to a series of questions that ultimately show the level of gender responsiveness of a text. The questions cover both the verbalized items and illustrations. The latter are considered an inalienable part of the story being told and are therefore assessed under narratological analysis.

COMPONENTS OF THE FRAMEWORK

The framework has two interrelated parts:

Part I deals with presentation, use of the framework and analysis and strategies. The first has to do with the composition of the text, while the second deals with the identification of gender gaps through the use of both qualitative and quantitative data, leading to the identification of appropriate strategies for bridging the gender gaps.

Given the importance of the classroom environment for the equal participation of boys and girls, and its influence on retention, completion, and performance of girls, Part II focuses on the school environment. This last component of classroom dynamics asks questions about the physical and human interaction such as between teachers and pupils of both sexes and also among themselves. The reader should appreciate that the framework can be extended to cover many other aspects. It is actually open ended and the more a teacher, writer, publisher or critic uses it, the more they can appreciate how adaptable and expansible it can be.

I. PRESENTATION

1. Narration

This component asks you to look at who tells the story if it is fiction or who the authors are, if it is a textbook. Who focalizes? In other words, whose view do we have? Is the focalizer a man or woman?

Narratological analysis recognizes that any written, visualized or broadcast (spoken) text contains within it a gendered perspective that mirrors the reality of the subject and object, i.e., that which is written about, that which is spoken about and that which is visualized. Narration here refers to the process of presenting, representing or making something come alive. In the case of a textbook, for example, that which is presented is material that constitutes knowledge. Learners receive such knowledge via a person who

narrates in an individual, subjective way. This person is often referred to as the author. In works of art such as novels, the author presents a voice that is the narrating figure.

Narratological analysis acknowledges that often there are multiple actors and voices in the same text, presented via any given medium. The aim of the analysis is to identify the different elements within both the written words and the gender responsiveness of the text. Narratological analysis proceeds by asking and responding to a series of questions that reveal the gender responsiveness of a text. The questions posed to provide qualitative and quantitative data relate to action, focus, visualization power and use of language.

a) Action

In this sub-section activities and actors are identified and quantified by gender. Activities are also categorized under: *productive activities*, which refers to those activities carried out to produce goods and services for the generation of income; *reproductive activities*, also called maintenance activities, such as collecting water, nursing children, cooking, fetching firewood, etc. formed at home for the maintenance of the family; and lastly *community activities*, which are done for general community welfare and, like reproductive activities, are not paid for. These include attending meetings, funeral related activities, church activities, neighbourhood meetings, etc. The combination of the quantitative and qualitative data that we collect will enable us to address the questions raised by traditional (stereotypical) and modern (conventional) forms of sexual division of labour.

One may, for instance, question distribution of the workload by gender, the status bestowed upon one (or lack of status) because of performing certain kinds of activities, and the implications of the activity picture that emerges for the socialization of students, teachers and other consumers of textbooks.

The following questions are asked:

- Who acts?
- What kind of activities are they involved in?
- What technology do they use?
- How often do they act?
- Who initiates what sort of action?
- Is there a hierarchy of activities?
- What is it like?
- Who is at the top of the hierarchy and why?
- What implications are there for those higher up and lower down in the hierarchy?

Regarding technology

- What is the nature of the technology used?
- Does the technology require special skills?
- Who has these skills and why?
- What implications are there for those who have acquired (not acquired) skills?
- Ultimately, how does the impact portray gender relations?

Regarding help

The relationship between the helper and the helped is explored as an indicator of social gender relationships. Often whoever is helped can be compromised and may have to be psychologically and ideologically dependent upon the helper. Sometimes the helper may end up doing the major part of the activity but still remain a “helper”.

This may have implications on the division of labour, as often work undertaken as “help” is not recognized. For example, among most pastoralist communities men are in charge of livestock activities especially those related to grazing. Women may “help” with watering animals, milking, treatment, grazing around the homestead and care of young animals. All this work, however, is often not recognized. Only the activities by men are rec-

ognized as work and rewarded materially and by privilege.

What this means is that one has to have a clear idea of what constitutes help. Some forms of help are rewarded. Data on these forms and the type of reward by gender, are important in understanding the social gender relationships in a given context.

The following questions are crucial in determining help:

- How is help defined?
- Who helps?
- What forms of help are there?
- Who asks for (what) help?
- Who offers (what) help?
- When is one helped?

b) Locus

Where the actors operate from is important in determining the gender responsiveness of a text. The locus may be broadly identified as: Home, away from home, within the compound, by the river, on a long journey, etc. One has to bring out the locus of activities as accurately as possible in order to assist in the qualitative analysis. One can discuss, a public gathering, for example, as a locus of activity as opposed to the private home environment. Qualitative analysis will bring out among other things the advantages of operating from certain environments as opposed to others. Certain places such as the kitchen may be despised, leading to them to be assigned a low status.

The following questions may be asked about locus:

- What is the locus of activities?
- Which places signify importance and why?
- What is the impact of the locus on visibility?

c) Visualization

This sub-component concentrates on analysing the patterns of seeing or recognizing, and being seen and being recognized. It is important to identify by gender and document what the different players see and note any differences in seeing where more than one person is seeing and describing the same object. It is also important to consider the implications of being or not being in a position of the one who sees. In most cases the one who sees describes the object and may even name it. Also, the perspective of the one who sees either influences or (and) is even adopted by those who do not see. It is essential to question the process of seeing. The following questions may be asked:

- Who sees?
- Who is seen?
- When do they see?
- When are they seen?
- What does one require in order to see?
- What are the factors that improve one's ability to see or to be seen?
- When are they seen?
- What impact does a monopoly of seeing have on social relations?
- Other senses?

d) Power

Ultimately one must end by posing questions about power relations. Questions of power are crucial because social gender relations are kept in place by prevailing power structures that come out clearly in texts. Most of the visible power has to do with decision making and the ability to force others to do what the power holder prescribes.

This means that most of the power will reveal itself when it is being exercised. Often, certain forms of power follow clearly defined or conventionally understood and accepted patterns.

Within a text one must deliberately analyse the power to shape the events narrated because the final outcome is heavily dependent on this. Carrying

out an analysis to find the source of power will lead to determining questions of authority and legitimacy. It is also required that one pay attention to subtle forms of power that may not have immediate coercive visibility, but which might in the long run play a crucial part in the unfolding of events.

The following questions may be asked:

- Who has power?
- What is the source of this power?
- Who receives power?
- What is the nature of this power?
- How is power exercised?
- How is power maintained and perpetuated?
- How is power distributed?

e) Language Use

Language is one of the most important and subtle ways of portraying gender biases through conventions of speaking and writing.

Since everyone grows up and is socialized within a language tradition, most of the learnt forms of speech and writing acquire a firm place in the traditional heritage to the extent that they appear natural.

Narratological analysis attempts to demystify parent neutrality of language through analysis of its smaller components, quantifying their appearance in texts and taking these components through rigorous qualitative analysis.

Naming

Naming often takes on descriptive forms in texts, which influences our perception of certain characters or their actions. Naming or not naming is instrumental in shaping attitudes towards characters in a text. The following questions may illuminate the area of names and their impact.

- Which characters are named?
- Which characters are not named?
- Why name?
- Why not name?
- What advantages does naming have in our attitude towards a character?

Do the un-named characters lack anything?

- How does naming or not naming contribute to the reader's general impression of the persons in the text?
- What is the percentage (by gender) of the named and unnamed characters?

Use of nouns and pronouns

Within this section one should be able to focus on how nouns and pronouns are used as means for identifying of characters. One should be able to list gendered characters using the nouns and pronouns that refer to them and also identify and list common nouns used in the text. Gendered pronouns should also be identified and quantified, and a special note made of the order in which they appear, i.e., how often does 'she' appear before 'he' and vice versa.

The following questions are useful in compiling such information:

- Which characters are designated by gender?
- Which characters are not designated by gender?
- What are the common nouns used to refer to either male or female characters in the text?
- Are there times when common nouns appear to refer only to females or only to males, or when it is not clear whom they refer to?
- What are the common nouns used to refer to either male or female characters in the text?
- Are there times when common nouns appear to refer only to females or only to males, or when it is not clear whom they refer to?

Use of generics

Generics are meant to be gender neutral. The purpose of analysing the way they are used in a text is to establish whether it is always the case, especially with respect to the text under scrutiny.

Some generics easily lend themselves to questions of their neutrality when they bear a clear male or female stamp in other forms of speech. These are for, example, words such as early man, businessmen, mankind, manpower; etc. All these refer to men only in their gendered form but include women in their neutral usage to the extent that it is sometimes difficult to determine in what sense they are being used. It becomes even more confusing when such generics are used with pronouns as in the following.

...early man and his tools —where he appears as a neutral pronoun but in the same passage the following sentence is also included

...early man and his family, consisting of a wife and three children... early man is clearly identified as male

We will refer to the second sentence as a case of “slippage” since our frame of reference established by the implication or assumption that “man” and “people are neutral” is frustrated by this reference, which is clearly out of line with the first part of the text.

The danger in such slippages lies in the meaning that may be read into them by the learner. For example, the learner may not know whether to attribute “man’s” achievements to men only or also to women.

It may also be confusing to the learner when neutral terms that have no linguistically in-built male character (but which have acquired a male character in usage within certain cultures) such as “farmer” and “scientist” are consistently used with male pronouns as in the examples below:

...the scientist and his laboratory.

.. the farmer and his family work on the farm.

The following questions are important in determining the usage of generics:

- What are the generics used?
- Are there incidents when generics are gendered?
- Are there cases of slippage?
- What gender specific images does the use of generics present?
- Do male and female learners easily identify with the usage?

Use of vocatives

Analysis should also focus on the use of vocatives, or forms of address. This is because vocatives often bestow status, or demean, patronize or generally shed light on inherent attitudes towards the person or persons addressed.

For example, if a male character constantly draws attention to the age and gender of a female character even when it is out of context by use of words such as “my dear young lady”, or when references such as “my dear” become the standard by which male characters address female—characters—and especially so when it is not applied in the reverse then one may want to question why the reference and what the hidden attitudes and messages could be.

The following questions may be asked:

- Who uses what vocatives?
- When do they use vocatives?
- Is there a pattern that emerges in the use of vocatives, especially along gender lines?
- Do the vocatives tell us anything about the user and the person being addressed?
- What impression does the use of certain vocatives create?

Other gendered references and associations

Some texts, as in readers, may consistently contain overt references with derogatory connotations towards women or men. For example, you have a series of stories that refer to women as foolish. This may create an unfavourable image or mental picture of the people referred to. It may help to list all the images, metaphors and symbols used in reference to women and men in the text being analyzed.

To find out if there is anything they tell us, the following questions are useful:

- What images of boys, girls, men and women are created by the use of the language?

2. Illustrations

The second component of the analysis involves looking at illustrations, pictures and any other representations in form of drawings within a text. It is important to focus on illustrations because in many cases they tell a story on their own or more often in combination with the written text. Illustrations also present in pictures a powerful image of what maybe contained in words. In most cases the learners' opinions and attitudes are shaped by illustrations even before reading or being introduced to a text. Illustrations are analyzed under three categories: action, visibility and power.

The important thing, as in the first component of the framework, is to be in a position to quantify information by gender under these categories and respond to questions asked about the picture presented by the data.

a) Action

Under this sub-component, activities that girls, boys, men and women are doing, or activities that imply the "world of" men, women, boys or girls, are recorded both in quantity and type. Most of what we said about

action in the first component also applies here in a similar manner. Questions that need to be addressed include:

- What are the activities presented by the illustrations?
- Who is helping?
- Who is being helped?
- Who is watching?
- How often do they do these activities?
- Is there any gender stereotyping?
- Which activities enhance prominence or status?
- Why is this so?
- Which activities demean the performer?
- Is there a hierarchy of activities?
- If yes, what does it look like?
- Who is performing what activities?
- Who uses what technology?
- Why do they use this technology?
- What does the use of technology tell us about the user?
- How do they use the technology?

b) Visibility

Under this category the focus is on how visible or easily recognizable the pictures are by virtue of size, colour, and general appeal or lack of appeal for the learner.

The following questions are asked:

- What are the sizes of picture by gender?
- Why are the sizes the way they are?
- Is there a pattern in the sizes?
- What kind of dress do the characters wear? Does the manner of dress tell a story, for example by reflecting activities, power or relative importance of the character?
- What other features seem to have been made prominent by the illustrator and why?
- Who is most visible and why?

c) Power

- Who has power?
- What sort of power is it?
- Why do they have this power?
- What is the power distribution like and how is it reflected?

USE OF THE FRAMEWORK

The ABC of Gender Analysis framework that we have outlined here is a useful tool for understanding the degree of gender responsiveness of a textbook and other learning materials and what one may need to change or raise awareness about in order that learning materials address the interests of girls, boys, men and women. We are convinced that an analysis that enables one to gather enough data to make textbooks and other learning materials cater for the interests of all learners, irrespective of gender, is desirable in all situations where fairness and equality of access to knowledge is respected. It is also our conviction that an objective tool of gender analysis of learning materials is long overdue since efforts are being made worldwide to achieve equality of access to education.

We do acknowledge the inherent difficulty of applying a generalized analysis to textbooks and learning materials from a multiplicity of subjects and cultures. So it is important to bear in mind the potential for adaptability, as well as the possible limits within certain subjects and monolithic cultural situations.

We advise caution especially when transferring interpretations across different kinds of learning materials and cultures. However, one may not ignore similarities in the mode of analysis that may be applied. This is so because the framework discussed here raises questions that are applicable to all learning materials since it is designed to gather critically relevant information for determining the gender responsiveness of a text and where just to intervene.

We submit strongly that writers need to guard against the negative effect of their publications on men, women, boys and girls and focus more systematically on the importance of assuring the utmost benefit from teaching materials to all learners.

Lastly, we advise that the framework be viewed as a flexible tool rather than a rigid format to be applied in its entirety to all education materials.

It is possible that there are issues it has not covered adequately which leads to the possibility of additions being made. There may also be parts that may not be applicable to certain disciplines or situations; before the later are ignored altogether, it would be good to question very deeply why it is thought they do not apply.

ANALYSIS AND STRATEGIES

From the data collected in the foregoing sections, further analysis should be done. The question we want to ask ourselves for this analysis include:

- Why do we see the picture we see?
- What gender gaps exist?
- How can we bridge these gender gaps?
- What strategies can we adopt?
- What constraints are we likely to face in addressing these gender gaps?
- How do we deal with the same constraints?

This section helps to identify the underlying factors that lead to the situation shown by the analysis. Some of the factors could be:

- The socialization process.
- Cultural expectations.
- Traditions and norms.
- Background of the teachers.
- Sex of the teachers, illustrators, writers or editors.
- Attitude of publishers.
- Socio-political factors.
- Gender and power relations in society.
- Traditional education systems.
- Power structure, e.g., patriarchy.

In the development of strategies, one has to look at what one can achieve.

Which factors can easily be addressed, which are long-term and which are short-term strategies. From here indicators can be developed to measure the success or failure in mainstreaming gender awareness and in transforming society.

Even as we strategize we need to recognize that written texts are relatively permanent. Whether one is dealing with creative writing, historical textbooks or any other form of text, it is difficult to do anything about, gender disparities that may be identified in existing books.

However, one of the things that can be done is to sensitize the users on the disparities. The teachers, for instance, should be fully aware of these disparities and their long-term implications on the growth and lives of children. They must address the disparities as they teach and be critical of them at every stage. In other words, a gender responsive approach to all teaching becomes mandatory since the fixed texts can not be changed. The other groups to be sensitized are publishers, writers, editors and committees that may be responsible for selecting and recommending texts.

Development of policies that promote gender responsive materials become a priority. If publishers, writers' associations, ministries of education and other ministries, national governments, non-government organizations, among others, have a policy that their (written) materials must be gender responsive, all those involved will definitely have to implement the policies. In this way the message will gradually reach home.

Policies without mechanisms to implement them and without capacity building to do the same will not go very far. It is therefore crucial that the skill development process be put in place for all those who are supposed to ensure mainstreaming gender awareness in all education materials and at all levels.

Teachers who set exams for students must be trained to set gender responsive examination questions. This will force the teachers in schools to think about the gender gaps.

Those recommending school texts must also take into account the gender responsiveness of the books they recommend. This will force publishers and writers to think about gender disparities.

In short, there is need for those involved in education to analyse gender issues as they pertain to textbooks, educational resources and the classroom setting. To this end the *ABC of Gender Analysis* should become a handbook for all teachers, publishers, writers, students, administrators, planners, examiners and curriculum developers.

CLASSROOM INTERACTION AND ABC OF GENDER ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

1. Introduction

In this text we have so far concentrated on written and oral texts and how the ABC of Gender Analysis framework can be used to identify gender gaps and to plan to bridge the gaps to ensure quality education for both boys and girls. However, we know that between the students and the text are other very important factors. These include:

1. The teacher, who is the medium through which the texts we have considered are delivered or discussed by the students.
2. The environment, within which the teacher and the students operate.

We therefore want to demonstrate how to use the ABC of Gender Analysis framework to identify the gender gaps in pupil-teacher interaction and what one would generally call classroom interaction.

Classroom settings and dynamics are crucial for teachers to address in order to create an enabling learning environment for girls and boys. Often, these dynamics are so common that they are easily overlooked or they are not readily apparent. We therefore propose the following questions that could help us make vivid or visible what may not be seen by the casual observer.

2. Participation of the students

- Who (girls, boys) is answering the questions in the class?
- Who volunteers to answer the questions?
- When do they volunteer?
- How often do girls/boys volunteer?
- In what subjects do they often volunteer to answer?
- Who needs to be prompted before giving an answer?
- How long do boys/girls take to decide to answer questions?

- How much time do girls/boys get to answer the question?
- Who (boys/girls) responds to questions immediately?
- Who asks questions (boys/girls)?
- What kinds of questions do they ask?
- Who appears to expect questions?
- Who answers or offers to answer questions that are perceived to be difficult?
- Who (boys/girls) are asked most of the questions?

These questions makes the teacher aware of the different needs of boys and girls. Girls often may not answer the questions as quickly as the boys, not because they do not know but because their socialization does not allow them to even take the risk of being wrong. Given time, therefore, the girls will find themselves responding to questions. The gender responsive teacher needs to be aware of this. Very often the teacher wants a quick answer and the fact that the girls are slow in putting up their hands is interpreted to mean that they do not know.

In most cases what the girls need is more time, more patience so that their confidence which is eroded by their socialization process can be built. This is even more important in subjects that are considered to be traditionally male. These include mathematics and sciences.

3. Teachers' expectations

What are the teachers' expectations of the male students? of the female students? (This may be expressed in the way the teachers express their surprise at girls doing well in mathematics, for instance, congratulating a girl for getting 70 percent in science while telling a boy who gets 80 percent in the same subject that he could do better).

- Is the practice to reward a girl for being the best among the girls, while there are nine boys ahead of her, etc.

How often does the teacher direct questions to boys? to girls.?

- What kinds of questions are directed to boys? or to Girls?
- Are probing questions and questions seeking opinions directed to girls? to boys?

All these questions will reveal the teachers' attitudes to and expectations of the girls and the boys and in turn contribute to the quality of participation of the boys and girls. If girls are praised for getting an average mark they will be content with it and assume that it is all they can do. If boys are reprimanded for average performance they will take the challenge and aim higher.

Students will try to live up to the expectations of the teacher. If girls are rewarded for being best among the girls, they will be content just to compete among themselves.

4. Seating arrangements

Seating arrangements can be very influential in the conduct of the students within the learning environment. The following questions could be illuminating.

- Is the seating arrangement spontaneous?
- Who chooses to sit where? In front? middle, back? Why?
- Where do boys choose to sit? Where do girls choose to sit? Why? Who sits with whom? Why?
- Are the individual boys or girls happy with the seating arrangements?

Seating arrangements can contribute greatly to quality participation of the students. Girls, for instance, could choose to sit at the back because they are afraid of being asked questions whose answers they do not know. Boys, on the other hand, could choose to sit in front because they believe they will be able to answer the questions.

One of the very important things to understand about gender analysis is that the teachers' expectations of boys based on the gender stereotype could also lead to disastrous results, where, for instance a boy is expected to do better because he is a boy and he fails to do it. The boy could develop a chip on his shoulder, a complex that is not healthy for his emotional development. It is therefore important for the teacher to appreciate the different gender needs of boys and girls.

Further questions on this could be:

- How do the boys and girls sit? Do they show confidence in the way they sit? How do they stand when they are asked questions? Do the girls/boys hold on to the desk? Do they stand straight and confident? The posture itself can tell a lot about the girls'/boys' feelings and attitudes towards themselves.

5. Dressing of boys and girls

While boys and girls may all be wearing uniforms, it is still important to ask yourself the following questions:

- How are boys/girls dressed?
- How does their dressing facilitate free sitting, free movement, playing in the fields, etc. If girls are wearing dresses or skirts, how easy is it for them to stand on their heads in the field? How easy is it for them to climb on a tree (which often they are not expected to do?)
- What are the colours of their clothing? (Colours are often also stereotyped, with girls usually being given brighter colours and boys the more subdued colours.)
- When does the dress of girls/boys attract attention?
- What is the impact of this attention?
- How old are the girls and how is this reflected in their clothing, general outlook and pre-occupation with physical appearance? How does this affect their performance.

6. Teachers' behaviour

The teacher is the most important person for the student. Teachers are often the role models and usually students take it that they are right and wise. Addressing the behaviour of the teacher will help us to establish the hidden curriculum. The following are some of the questions that can help us make visible the hidden curriculum.

- Whom does the teacher ask questions? (in terms of gender)
- To whom are most of the jokes and anecdotes directed?
- What is the gender perspective of these jokes and anecdotes?
- What forms of punishment and rewards does the teacher set for boys and girls? For example, does the teacher send the boy out or beat him, and tell the girl to sweep the classroom?
- For what reasons are boys punished? are girls punished?
- What are girls rewarded for? What are boys rewarded for?
- How much time does the teacher give girls/boys to answer questions?
- What comments does the teacher give for girls/boys?
- What situations does the teacher knowingly or unknowingly use to call attention to the gender of students?

Very often the teacher will present the hidden curriculum, although in most cases it is not by design. The teacher's attitude, biases and stereotyped behaviour will be passed on to the boys and girls, and contribute to the perpetuation of the stereotypes that we could even be trying to get rid of from the written and oral texts.

7. Use of space and resources

The question of space and resources is important in gender analysis. The physical space for boys and girls may play a significant role in the impact of the learning environment. Physical space may also have multiple effects on the relative psychological space for excellence among students. The following questions may provide an analytical lead:

- What resources are available for boys and for girls?
- What kinds of resources, e.g., games, toys, etc. are available, and which ones are used by boys? by girls?
- What space is available for boys? for girls?
- Who interferes with the others' space?
- What defines/demarcates their space?
- Which spaces are neutral and what characterizes them?
- Who uses the neutral/shared spaces most and why?
- When the space is little who uses it?

These kinds of analyses will help teachers be gender sensitive in their daily interaction with students. The analysis will also help them to understand how or what they tackle may affect boys and girls differently, and how an unconscious or conscious gender bias can directly contribute to the quality of the performance of girls and boys.

8. Analysis and strategies

Asking these questions leads the teacher to be more aware of how the classroom interaction can positively or negatively influence the performance of boys and girls. The teacher is able to:

- Identify the gender gaps in all areas.
- Make conscious decisions on how to address them, e.g., deliberately give time to girls to answer questions? address difficult questions to girls and give them time? Promote gender responsive relationships in class? Other?

The teacher will also appreciate that this hidden curriculum and the general interaction is due to factors such as:

- The socialization process
- Cultural factors
- Teachers' and parents' attitudes
- Gender and power relations in society.
- Traditional and modern education systems, etc.

This will lead the teacher to not only adopt a gender perspective in the classroom, but to all other areas, which includes:

- Field activities
- Staff room
- Relationships with male/female teachers
- Home
- With friends, etc.

These are not the only questions one could use, but they provide a lead. Using the ABC of Gender Analysis framework becomes a useful process to improve classroom interaction, become more aware of the hidden agenda, and consciously promote quality participation for boys and girls.

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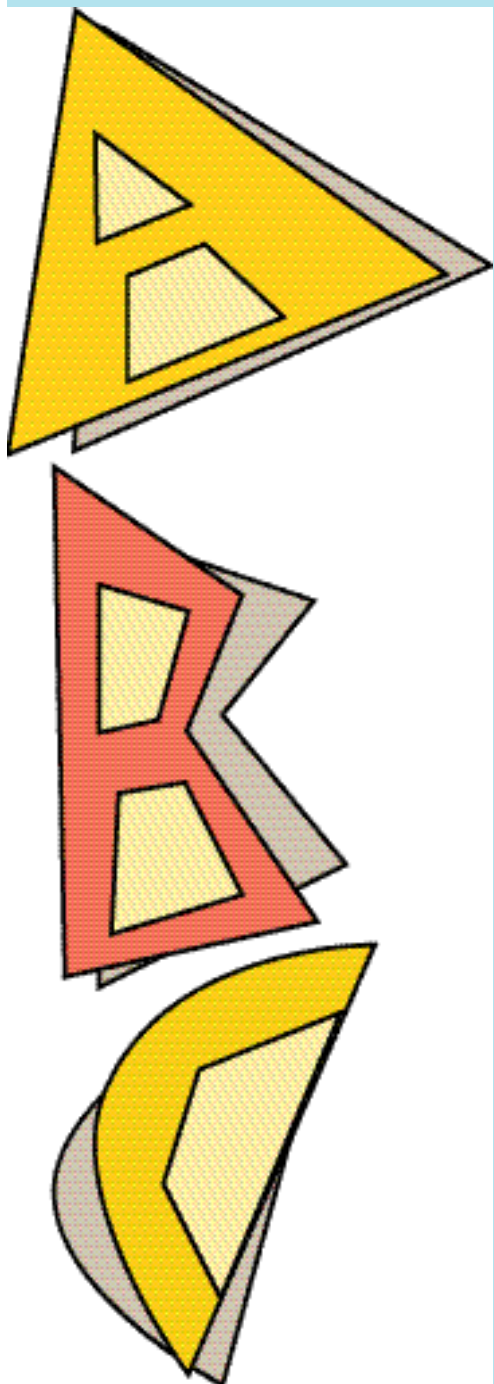
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