EFFECTS OF GIRL-FOCUSED PROGRAMMES ON BOYS’ SCHOOLING

—An Example study of Africa Asia University Dialogue Network--

Collaborative research among 28 universities in Africa & Asia

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☆ Research Collaboration Contributing to EFA in Africa

Basic Education Development in Africa

Self-reliant approach

Policy implications

Tangible outcomes

① Study mission to Asia / Japan
② National-level research in Africa
③ Reflective dialogue at an African University

African Universities

Research & Reflection

Asian Universities

CICE

Japanese Universities

JICA

UNU

UNESCO

CICE: Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education
JICA: Japan International Cooperation Agency
Phase II (2009-present)

- Formalization of the Network (Statutes, UNU-UNESCO UNITWIN)
- Expansion of the scope of activities to include academic staff and student exchange
- Comparative study on educational development in Africa and Asia
## Participating Institutions

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>African Institutions</th>
<th>Asian Institutions</th>
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<td>University of Cape Coast, Ghana</td>
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<td>University of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso</td>
<td>National Institute for Educational Policy Research</td>
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<td>University of Zambia, Zambia</td>
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<td>AA Dialogue Key Principles</td>
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<td><strong>Comparability</strong></td>
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<td>Methodology, Main Findings, Context, Problem-solving, Applicability / Practicability, Relevance, Credentials, Research Members, Time, Resources</td>
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<td><strong>Excellence/Quality</strong></td>
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<td>Review process, Style/Layout, Empirical/ Data-based, Evidence-based, Validity, Research Ethics, New theory/Concept, Novelty</td>
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<td><strong>Joint Learning</strong></td>
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<td>Mutual learning/benefits, New knowledge, Knowledge transfer, Forum &amp; Workshop/Seminars, Publications, Learning attitude, Consensus, Research-based learning, Better Outputs, Synergy</td>
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<td><strong>Output</strong></td>
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<td>Research Instrument, Recommendations for policy &amp; practice, Publications, Strengthened cooperation/partnership, Good understanding of status, New knowledge</td>
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<td><strong>Impact</strong></td>
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<td>Innovation, Impact on policy, teaching &amp; learning, network International collaborative research as modality, Research capacity built, Educational Management, Community, Attitude change towards the problems, Problem solved</td>
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Three Themes

- Group A: Gender and Equity
- Group B: Quality of Education and Educational Policy
- Group C: Teacher Professional Development
Group A: Gender and Equity overarching themes

- Human rights approach to quality and equity to education.
- EFA goal 2: Universal Primary Education

MDG 3 Gender and Equity at all levels of education
Many studies focus on girls’ education, but a few studies focus on boys’ education, disability and the effects of traditional cultures.

A comparative approach with regard to access and retention among girls and women at the various educational levels (primary to tertiary).
Challenges

- Quality research vs. access to funds
- Maintenance costs
- Impact vs. distance from policy makers
- Nurturing network culture vs. renewal of generations
- Track record of overcoming the challenges by self-reliant approach and innovation
For more details please visit our website:
http://aadcice.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/
Feminist thought in Kenya is still treated with suspicion, not just by men but even some women who have worked with women and with gender movements for many years (Nyokabi Kamau, Daily Nation 27 April, 2011).
FEMINIST RESEARCH & GENDER EQUALITY

Concept of feminism - universal mission

- challenging oppression of women (and girls)
- championing their rights and empowerment
- Clear agenda - pursuing the course of women

African response

- suspicion (why this agenda? Why now?)
- perceived threat to gender regime
- resistance (especially among men)
Dominant Kenyan perception

- Westernisation agenda
- ‘Alien’ intentions and purposes (ill intentioned)
- Affront to traditional norms that govern gender relations
- Potential risk in the construction of African masculinities (founded on patriarchal ideology)
- Unacceptable blurring of essentialised gendered constructs and boundaries

CRITICAL QUESTIONS (theoretical & political domestication of feminist agenda)

what is feminism?
who are feminists?
what do feminists do?
IS STUDYING MASCULINITIES A CONTRADICTION FOR FEMINISM?

The moral imperative

- create harmonious gender equitable societies
- Elicit evidence-based knowledge on
  1. power that governs the oppression of women
  2. Skills needed to challenge and negotiate for women’s liberation and empowerment

Implications for such knowledge & skills on
- gender relations (women & men)
- construction of gender identities
DOMESTICATION & RE-ALIGNMENT

*hooks* (1984 & 1997)

- allow the stepping out of the mainstream feminist debates to accommodate diversities
- Embrace novel ways of engaging with the feminist debate
- Permit analyses of all possible aspects of men’s domination over women
- Reflect on the needs and experiences of not just women and girls but those of men and boys
- Locate socio-cultural and other differentiation parameters (racial) histories and experiences
THE QUESTION OF MEN

- Why often men have remained at the centre of decision-making?
- Do men have un-explained fear of women’s potentials/capabilities?
- Is there real contempt for the female gender?
- How does male physical power essentialise a general power over women?
- Is losing historical, socio-cultural and economic advantages over women a real loss to masculinities?
- Often, unwritten rule seems to have catapulted men to the role of controlling women, speaking and even making decisions for them on matters that affect women in fundamental ways.
- How can feminist research generate evidence-based knowledge from women’s and men’s perspectives to explain gender relations that dis-empower women (and men)?
BASIC PREMISE

Feminist research grounded on the value of ‘Voice’ and ‘personal histories’ has great potential in:

- unleashing women’s and men’s capabilities to free themselves from gender stereotypes that influence attitudes and perceptions regarding social relations;
- empowering women and men to courageously challenge gender inequalities with lessened feelings of threat;
- eradicating conceptual and ideological confusion that gender and feminist studies are mutually exclusive of each other.
INTRODUCTION TO STUDY TOPIC

- Comprehensible & legally binding human rights frameworks
- UN Declaration of human rights (1948)
- (WC on Education for All (EFA): Jomtien April 1990)
- (Dakar April 2000), World Education Forum on Education for All (EFA):
  - Platform for Action on Education for All (EFA) goals 2 & 5
  - United Nations MDGs targets 2 & 3
- (UNGEI, 2000) UN Secretary General initiative –

We need to keep boys in the picture all the time
Challenges - education for gender equality:

- Mkhize (2006) - crisis for family, especially in Africa
- Caring and loving images of fathers are stigmatised
- Undermining of the capacity of most men to reveal nurturing fatherhood publicly as part of acceptable gentle/tender masculine set-up.
- Traditional cultures (beliefs & practices) challenged by caring constructs of fathers
DESEMPowerment of Boys & Education

- Kenya Education support programme (KESSP 2005) Girls’ education priority
- Kenya Vision 2010 social, political, economic development
- Kenyan constitution reviewed 2010 (Bill of Rights) – gender equality (article 81 – minimum gender as third rule)

- Dearth of studies into men’s/boys lives in Africa – in Kenya

‘Poverty, male sexuality: rethinking men and masculinities in rural and urban East Africa –
  - mid 1980s & 1990s

- what is the role of education in actualising empowered masculinities
- Is it a fact that all men have power – mostly over women (economic, socially/sexually, politically etc)
DEVALUATION OF AFRICAN MASCULINITY (IES)

Challenge of dominant discourse Siberschmidt, 2005

- Female independence...more and more women assume household headship; income-generating activities; family support & bread winning
- Have African men not lost their social, family & economic positioning?
- What is the role of education in re-constructing african masculinities (and femininities)?

- **Voices of women:**
  - ‘a woman was better of without a husband’...
  - ‘sons have nobody to take as a model’ (for the masculine identity)
  - ‘Why allow birth of more children while men are out drinking?’

- **Voices from the men**
  - Emergent disrespect of husbands (lack of cooperation from the women)
  - men insisting on their headship positions
  - Male domestic violence - right to ‘correct’ the women (e.g. discipline the obstinate wives)
UNDERMINED PATRIARCHY

- Theorisation (Silberschmidt, 2005: 195) When husbands are crushed down economically, they suffer from feelings of inferiority; ... ego is hurt. (...) men loose their vigour and women take over; and when a man has lost control over his household (...) is humiliated by his wife, his pride is hurt...
  - Escapism – alcohol, violence against women & girls
  - patriarchy - male authority & responsibility are material-based
  - not just privileges - but many responsibilities for the patriarch
  - men’s roles and identities – becoming confusing and contradictory
    - Expressions of helplessness, inadequacy, low self-esteem, disempowerment
    - Who says I have the power? My wife bosses me; my children boss me, my boss bosses me all the time! I am completely powerless (Anonymous)
  - (Wangari Maathai, 1992, in Silberschmidt, 2001)
  - I think that when we talk about the position of women in Africa and see how miserable it is, quite often we forget that these miserable women are married to miserable men
  - (Kann, 1986 in Sotelo and Messner, 1994).... There is a price for assumed power ...'of being on top' (how is schooling preparing boys for alternative masculine identities)
Conflicts & implications for masculinities

- Wish to escape responsibility - **not necessarily** being the patriarch

- Sidesteps central point of the feminist critique – that men as a group benefit from a structure of power that oppresses women as a group (Sotelo and Messner, 1994; 2003)

- **Scalway (2000)** advocates for systematic ways of studying masculinity that allow more young men the space to address their gender positionings as actors and ask questions regarding male vulnerabilities that threaten the gender equality agenda
Boy displays the boys’ ill-equipped dormitories

Girls proudly pose to show off their well equipped dormitories
SCHOOL UNDERACHIEVEMENT OF BOYS

The problem for boys (using girls’ only as measure of gender equity through schooling???)

- studies show - **boy’s education** may be **equally problematic** if not addressed purposefully and in the context of girls’ education.

- **Girls already outperforming boys** in many European countries, For instance, concerns have been raised in the **United Kingdom** and **France**, where boys have **underperformed** relative to girls.
  - **Arnot, Gray, James and Rudduk (1998)** - United Kingdom age of 7 years, girls had a better start at **reading** than the boys
  - **Girls’ lead in English maintained** until age 11 and 14 years.
  - **(UK Government, 2000).** Further, by year 2000, approximately, **15% more girls than boys** obtained high grades in English examination at the age of 16.
  - **boys have lost ground** in their overall school performance. The United Kingdom Department of Education and Skills attribute
UNDERACHIEVEMENT OF BOYS

- The United Kingdom Department of Education and Skills attributes the ‘problem’ of boy
  - girls put greater emphasis on collaboration, talk and sharing in schooling activities
  - at each age girls portray greater maturity and more effective learning strategies
  - some boys reportedly disregard authority, academic work and formal achievement
- the Caribbean - gender gap closed before the 1990s
  - Caribbean girls enrol in school earlier than the boys;
  - remain in school longer and
  - achieve higher levels of functional education at the end of their schooling compared to the boys.
- School trends reflected in the Jamaican adult literacy where women rank at 81.3% compared with men at 69.4% literacy rates
BOYS’ EDUCATION IN AFRICA

- Dunne and Leach (2005) in Ghana and Botswana confirmed earlier findings by Chege (2001)
  - both classroom and school culture was becoming less friendly to the boys
  - often manifested in activities that were relatively friendlier to the girls.
  - corporal punishment by teachers - harsher on boys
  - teachers perceived girls as relatively more serious with academic regimes of the schools and also more socially mature within and outside the classroom.
  - Conversely, boys were constructed as the ‘the problem’ during classroom learning.
  - Many teachers expressed the need to discipline boys more in order to instil reasonable controls on what they described as errant behaviour (Chege, 2001 & 2006).

**Ghana:**

- When beating, male teachers become sympathetic to girls. Boys are thoroughly lashed unlike girls (Dunne and Leach, 2005).

**Kenya**

- He (male teacher) can just... let’s say boys and girls were making noise, then he tells the girls to go and sit down and hen beat... he starts beating boys (Chege, 2001).
Kenya recent unpublished report on literacy and numeracy among lower primary school children in Kenya (GoK, 2010), girls had outperformed boys in literacy by 10 percentage points while they trailed behind the boys with a relatively lower 4 percentage points in numeracy.

This raises concerns, not because the girls are beginning to outperform the boys but more so because no questions are raised regarding boys underachievement.

This study proposes to interrogate the aforementioned emerging patterns of gender and education of girls and boys arguing that the gender and education targets as articulated by both the EFA goals and the MDGs shall remain unattained if the focus on girls’ education is maintained in the absence of focus on the education of boys.
STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

- **Lack/Declining focus** on boys’ education vis-à-vis the **popularised focus on girls’** education in Kenyan primary schools
  - Apparent sidelining of the boys in primary schooling in academic and social culture
- **Problematisation of the schooling of boys**, particularly in **co-education** settings that have girls’ programmes.
STUDY TASK

- **problematisation** the *schooling of boys point of departure* from traditional gender research in Kenya by.

- **What to do**
  - interrogate, qualitatively and quantitatively, the *schooling of boys in Kenyan primary schools* with the aim of revealing the boy’s experiences of the school culture, particularly where girl-specific programmes explicitly exist.

- **How to do it**
  - establishing
    1. schooling *patterns of attendance, performance and transition* to further education for the boys *relative to girls*.
    2. *effects* of the focus on girls’ schooling on the school culture, access, attendance, performance and transition to next school cycle.
    3. *Perceived impacts of school cultures on gender*
Girl-focused projects in basic co-educational institutions have sidelined boys in ways that impact negatively on the academic and social development outcomes of boys’ schooling.
How does the Kenyan primary school ensure that gender equality measures focusing on girls’ education are responsive to not only the schooling and social needs of the girl children but also those of the boy children?
Specific Research Questions

- How does the school engender the concept of equality in the practical activities of learning within school that have girl focused programmes?
- How do teachers ensure that boys and girls enjoy equality of learning in gender responsive environments?
- What are the gendered patterns of school access, attendance and transition in the last 5 years?
- How does the academic performance of boys compare with that of the girls in key school subjects that determine successful transition to the secondary school cycle?
- How does the boys’ participation in extra curricular exercises compare with that of the girls?
RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

- **Multi-site case study** - allowing in-depth **comparative** approach of selected cases (schools).
- **Qualitative and quantitative** approaches complementing each other in answering both the *how* and *what* questions **interactively**,
**SAMPLING PROCEDURES**

- Purposive sampling
- **stratified random sampling** (class 7 boys & girls)
- (depending on funding availability...)
  - 3 provinces and 6 districts & 12 rural and urban based schools
  - 1,800 female and male pupils
  - 6 local education personnel
  - 12 head teachers, 24 class teachers (P7)
PILOTING PROCEDURES & TECHNIQUES

- **Selecting sample site**
  - 1 urban poor community school (city of Nairobi)
    - relatively large population 1,019 boys & 1,125 girls (total 2,144),
  - Sample 50 girls & boys from all 4 class 7 streams (**not proportionate - 24 girls**)
  - 4 class teachers (equal gender representation - **not proportionate** - only 4 male teachers in the school)
  - 1 head teacher (female, with two female deputies) … **gross gender** imbalance in favour female teachers

- **Administering research instruments**
  - Pupil questionnaire (guiding the pupils on how to complete the questionnaire, their rights in a research process etc)
  - FGD pupils (single sex - explaining recording of voice data and informed consent)
  - Individual interviews female & male pupils (ditto)
  - FGD teachers (mixed sex – ditto)
  - Interview teachers (redundant)
  - School-based data sheets (enrolment & performance – liaising with school administration)
GENERATING AND COLLECTING DATA

- **School data**
  - fact sheets (noting records)
- **Local education office** *(not piloted)*
  - fact sheets (noting records)
  - Interview (digital recording perceptions)
- **Pupils** (perceptions)
  - Questionnaire (self-administered)
  - FGD guide (digital recording)
  - Interview guide (ditto)
- **Head teacher** (facts & perceptions - ditto)
  - Interview guide (ditto)
- **Teacher** (facts & perceptions – ditto)
  - FGD guide (ditto)
  - Interview guide *(discarded)*
- **Observation/ visual data guide**
  - Formal and informal activities
    - field-notes
    - Photography - *(not piloted)*
    - Drawing - *(not piloted)*
ANALYSING & INTERPRETING DATA

• interview transcripts coded and analysed using Atlas ti software (interview, FGD & field-notes)
  • – qualitative data manual coding and analysis of qualitative data from relatively small sample

• Questionnaire code and analysed using SPSS
Pupil FGDs...

- **gender equality in class**
  - Teachers *distribute* oral questions to boys and girls
  - Class and school duties are *distributed* between girls and boys
  - Class and school responsibilities are *allocated* to girls and boys

- **School & discourse of trust for girls**
  - Some teachers *like* sending *only girls* on errands outside the school (discourse of trust - teachers trusting girls and not boys)
  - Girls are *confident* & *volunteer* to serve
  - Girls have a *vibrant football* team

- **School culture & discourse for “good girls”**
  - Teachers teach girls to become “good girls” (girlhood)
    - Understand their role as *future women*

- **Boys just “getting along” on their own**
  - Only one programme – only once – *circumcision*
  - Nobody talks to *boys about boyhood*
SOME INDICATIONS OF FINDINGS

(... cont...)

- FGD -teachers
  - Gender blindness and hostility
    - No conscious aim for gender equality among pupils
    - Gender blind Focus on girls
    - – discipline girls and boys through Sharing school duties

- Anti gender equality – lacking relevant knowledge
  - Gender equality is one of those vocabularies I hear but personally would not even want to use it (male teacher)
  - I do not believe in gender equality when it only refers to women getting advantages (male teacher)
  - Specifically, I send the boys – not girls - and they know (male teacher)
  - I cannot trust sending a boy to buy me anything (female teacher)
  - A boy may just disappear with your money (female teacher)
  - I never even think about it (gender equality) ... (female teacher)
To the question “how do you ensure that girls and boys experience schooling in comparable ways

I make sure that there is a specific day for boys to mop the class and a specific one for the girls (male teacher)
I allocate separate responsibilities which I keep alternating between the girls and the boys (female teacher)
When asked doesn’t that kind of distribution of duties enhance gender equality in the school
    My aim is not to make them feel equal but to ensure that each gender partakes to all duties of the school (male teacher)
    Me I think it does but have never thought about it that way (female teacher)

This interview has brought some learning... (male teacher)
I have learnt new things about this gender equality (female teacher)
But what do you expect when there are more female teachers in Nairobi schools? the girls are advantaged
QUANTITATIVE INDICATORS FROM PILOT STUDY

- The following section addresses pilot findings from pupils’ questionnaire
Quantitative Data

1. School Data sheet
2. Enrolment patterns
3. Performance patterns
4. Transition patterns
The notably higher distribution of female teachers relative to the male is a common feature in city schools such as the pilot site. This school had 27 teachers, out of whom only 4 were male.
A downward trend in enrolment of both girls and boys over the years from 2007 – 2011.

Downward trend is explained in relation to the post election violence (PEV) of 2008 and displacement of many families in the catchment community.

A consistent higher enrolment of girls than that of the boys is noteworthy.

Qualitatively... teachers explained the role of female teachers in improved girl’s participation.
The fact that girls’ enrolment has consistently been higher than that of boys raises qualitative questions of “why” this is the case in a school that has historically shown higher enrolment of boys. Can this trend be verified in schools similar to the pilot school? If so, what implications does this have on gender and education in Kenyan primary/or even higher levels.
Note:

- Whereas not much significant effect of such an imbalance was specifically sought, the interview with the headteacher partly attributed the trends in pupil enrolment to the inequitable gender distribution of the teachers. She claimed that many girls in the community were inspired by the many women teachers in the school.

- However, if in the actual study such a pupil enrolment pattern recurs, the researchers will consider probing its impact further.
OTHER FACTORS

1. More advocacy for girl child in terms of motivational talks and even material support, security issues (girls safer in school than outside), sanitary towels provision by government and NGOs including MYWO, UNICEF e.t.c

2. **Girls’ day (Tuesday)** where they talk to the girls separately regarding how to handle such maturational experiences

3. School being **more friendly to girls** e.g. UNICEF has put up a separate toilets and bathroom with lockable doors specifically for in puberty who may need privacy as in matters of changing the sanitary pads while in school.
PERFORMANCE AND TRANSITION PATTERNS

- In the absence of proper records for transition at the time of the pilot study, the researchers sought to establish the proportions of those candidates scoring 250 marks (the average in the primary national examination (KCPE)) to give an idea of both the performance and transition patterns in the school.
Generally the data collected shows a decline in performance in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) of the years 2006 - 2008 with boys performing comparatively better than girls. However, this pattern changes in the ensuing years with girls outdoing the boys.
(ii) Description of Pupil Questionnaire

- The pupil questionnaire had 26 questions organised in two parts. All of the items were in the form of type of a 3-point likert scale.
- The following slides capture some of the analysis generated from a few selected items of the questionnaire that sought perceptions of experiences of schooling among girls and boys.
## Enjoy being in School

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<th>Gender</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy being in school</td>
<td>80.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Comments

More girls liking school which is improvement from the traditional discourse of school not being a very comfortable space for girls school.

Importantly, none of the pupils indicated a dislike of being in school.

Qualitatively, it is important to follow up on what exactly elicits liking of being in school ... social or academic reasons.
### Teachers encourage girls in class more than boys

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<th>Gender</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers encourage girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class more than boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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**Observations**

Majority of the learners (average of 60% of both genders) do not perceive teachers as encouraging girls to outperform the boys, this is despite the already changing trends in the girls and boys’ performance as noted in the recent KCPE results.
Girls and boys are taught together to be good each other

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls and boys are taught</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>together to be good each other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
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According to an average of 80% of both girls and boys, teachers appear to be taking heed of the gender sensitivity and responsiveness messages to their classrooms. Less than 8% of the boys thought otherwise compared with about 13% of the girls who also thought that teachers did not address the issue of gender relations in class/school.
### Good to treat boys girls equally in school activities

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<th>Gender</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
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<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</table>

**Comments**

It is noteworthy that a higher proportion of boys (92.3%) compared to the girls seem to support boys’ treating girls equality. This may be due to the sustained support for girls’ within school whereby boys as a group were explicitly excluded.
Teacher FGDs revealed the lack of awareness among teachers on the qualitative aspects of gender equality in a school setting.

- Men teachers explained the crossing the gender boundaries in terms of SDL and distribution of questions in class was explained in terms of ensuring parity in the allocation - not in terms of values in gender relations.

- Female teachers explained the same issues in terms of helping boys to see that girls are equally capable in performing class work while ensuring that boys are made to do feminine duties.
Thank you... Asante... Merci... Arigato