

Gender Responsiveness of Selected Primary School English Textbooks in Zimbabwe

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When classrooms are not gender responsive, boys and girls seating in the same classroom and learning from the same teacher receive very different education. Each and every textbook and all learning materials tell a story about people; how they relate to one another and to the environment within which they live. The present study is a desk research conducted to establish the extent of gender responsiveness of selected primary school English textbooks in Zimbabwe. Using the ABC of Gender Analysis framework, the study made quantitative and qualitative analyses of two selected series of primary school English textbooks, which are *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 1 to 7) and *Ventures English Alive!* (Grade 1 to 7 Pupil's Book). Components of the ABC of Gender Analysis were used to make a critical analysis of the textbooks. Despite the fact that a number of measures have been put in place to address issues of gender inequality in all sectors, findings from the study revealed that the selected primary school English textbooks continue to perpetuate gender discrimination and bias. This impacts negatively on the education of girl children and it is detrimental to equal educational attainment for boys and girls. Girls tend to be affected and lag behind, others fail to excel and even drop out. The study recommends the promotion of zero tolerance to gender biases and stereotypes in all learning and teaching environments. The study also recommends that school textbooks be exposed to the rigour of gender analysis before they are recommended for use in any educational activity.

Keywords: ABC of Gender Analysis, gender responsiveness, gender analysis, primary school, Zimbabwe

Introduction

Gender equality refers to the same valuation of women and men and the sameness in the enjoyment of rights, power, opportunities, treatment, and control of resources between males and females in society (Mawere et al., 2012). In the school setting, gender equality does not mean that boys and girls are the same as in mathematical equality, but just means the education that boys and girls receive enables them to have same opportunities in the school and later on in life after completing their education, giving them equal access to resources, power, and decision making (United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI), 2012). Gender equality is a principle that does not take the differences that exist between boys and girls to mean different treatment of them but to give them same opportunities while catering for these differences for equal outcomes in life. Unfortunately, gender retrogressive practices in most schools and organisations continue to hinder efforts targeted at attaining gender equality. These practices have increasingly become a major

concern in school environments. Pupils sitting in the same classroom, reading the same textbook, and listening to the same teacher, receive very different education (Sadker & Zittleman, 2009). This scenario is common in most classrooms all over the world, but some nations have taken steps to reduce the unequal experiences.

Education in its general sense is a form of learning, in which knowledge skills and habits of a group of people are transmitted from one generation to the next through teaching, training, and research. Entering primary school becomes the first milestone in a child's education. Primary school education plays a key role in laying the foundation for a child's learning. During the primary school years, the intention is to expose children to different aspects of both academic and non-academic learning. These areas enable every child maximum opportunity to discover her/his talents and interests. At the global level, Article 13 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations (UN), 1966) recognises the right of every child to education.

This covenant works together with other international, regional, and national mechanisms to promote equal opportunities to education for all. In Jomtien, Thailand, at the World Conference on Education for All, the international community agreed on universal primary education (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1990). From this conference, the "World Declaration on Education for All" was adopted (UNESCO, 1990). This declaration stressed that education was a fundamental human right and countries were mandated to ensure that they strengthen their efforts to improve education so that basic learning needs for all are met (UNESCO, 2013). Ten years after Jomtien, most nations were far from meeting the basic learning needs set in the Jomtien Framework for Action. In the year 2000, the international community met again at the World Education Forum in Dakar. At this conference, nations agreed on the Dakar Framework for Action, which reaffirmed the world nations' commitment to achieving education for all. Goal 5 of Dakar Framework for Action aimed at achieving gender parity in education by 2005 and gender equality by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education.

In an effort to address gender inequality in Zimbabwe, the nation ratified a number of international mechanisms that fight for gender inequality. Some of the key conventions include Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966), Convention on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999), and the Millennium Development Goals of 2000 (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2013).

At the regional level, Zimbabwe ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Rights of Women (1986) and the Southern African Development Community's Gender and Development Protocol (2008). The nation also subscribed to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) Gender Policy. At the national level, Zimbabwe has made significant strides in amending gender retrogressive laws to make them gender progressive. To date, 17 pieces of legislation that promote gender equality and equity have been passed (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2013).

The national constitution and the second Zimbabwean gender policy, all adopted in 2013, are widely recommended for their firm commitment to gender equality (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2013). Despite all these developments, sexism is still prevalent in the teaching and learning environments. Educators, blinded by patriarchal values, culture, and other social norms, at times, are unaware of the subtle way in which they contribute and reinforce sexism in teaching and learning. From these

discriminatory tendencies, the education system continues to channel boys and girls from the same classroom to very different life outcomes (Sadker & Zittleman, 2009).

Gender Responsiveness

Teaching and learning materials are fundamental to the pedagogical process and are critical for shaping young minds, yet, an examination of textbooks and other learning materials reveals that they implicitly communicate traditional and limited gender roles (Mlama, Marema, Makoye, Murage, Wagah, & Washika, 2005). Gender responsiveness in a school implies that the school environment and the surrounding community take into account the specific needs of boys and girls, allowing boys and girls to have the same experience in any activity for all of them to reach their maximum possible potential despite their biological differences. In a gender responsive school, teaching methodologies, teaching and learning materials, and classroom interaction and management of the whole academic process do not promote one gender and discriminate the other. When there is gender responsiveness, boys and girls are empowered to practice gender equality and to protect democratic human rights of both genders (Mlama et al., 2005).

Observations of classroom practices show that teaching and learning is largely biased and learning environments are not gender responsive. Ryf (1997) conducted a study on primary school textbooks in Zimbabwe focussing on Grades 1, 4, and 7 English and science textbooks and corresponding syllabi. Findings from the study revealed that textbooks at that time were still portraying males and females in stereotypical roles. The UNGEI carried a gender audit in Zimbabwe in 2010. The audit aimed at identifying key gender issues in education and establishing the extent and nature of gender discrimination that impedes full participation of girls in education. The audit made an analysis of primary school textbooks recommended by Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture (MoESAC). It was revealed in this study that gender stereotypes were still found in these textbooks especially in illustrations. The study also established that stereotypes noted from previous studies still exist in learning materials (UNGEI, 2012). In a study to evaluate the degree of gender sensitivity of selected textbooks in the Zimbabwean secondary school curriculum, Mutekwe and Modiba (2012) made a general analysis of Zimbabwean secondary school textbooks. Findings from their study showed that patriarchal values and ideologies were embodied in textbooks that were used in secondary school curriculum. Drawing from all these studies, it is evident that there is a need for continual research on gender responsiveness in teaching and learning at all levels. In the same vein, this study aimed at making an assessment of the degree of gender responsiveness of two series of primary school English textbooks, namely, *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 1 to 7) and *Ventures English Alive!* (Grade 1 to 7 Pupil's Book).

Methodology

Data Collection Procedure

This study was a desk research and focused on the gender responsiveness of selected primary school English textbooks in Zimbabwe. Guided by the ABC of Gender Analysis, the textbooks were analysed according to the framework's two components regarding presentation of text and illustrations. Narratological analysis/discourse analysis was used for data collection. The study employed discourse analysis in order to reveal socio-psychological characteristics and relationships between characters. In an attempt to expose the implied gendered perspectives in the text, specific attention was given to aspects like focus, action, visualisation, power, and use of language in the stated textbooks.

The ABC of Gender Analysis

The ABC of Gender Analysis is an instrument or tool for gender analysis in education. It was commissioned by the Forum for African Women Educators (FAWE) in response to the urgent need to raise the consciousness of teachers, writers, curriculum developers, and educators on the dangers of a gender neutral curriculum (Kabira & Masinjila, 1997). The framework involves looking at school textbooks and analysing their gender sensitivity. The primary aim of this framework is to expose a text to systematic analysis in order 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 (Kabira & Masinjila, 1997). The framework components indicated are then used in critically assessing the gender responsiveness of any given educational material.

Data Presentation

In the presentation of data, not all illustrations from the textbooks were used. The study used only those illustrations that were considered appropriate for the study. The researchers tried to be as objective as possible in selecting the illustrations. The researchers selected the pictures independently and then compared notes on the appropriateness of the illustration.

Quantitative analysis of the selected illustrations is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Quantitative Analysis of Illustrations

Text	Author	Total number of illustrations	of Illustrations promoting gender equality	Illustrations promoting gender stereotypes, bias, and discrimination
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 1, Book 1)	Hawkes (2010)	18	11	7
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 1, Book 2)	Hawkes (2010)	35	12	7
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 2, Book 1)	Hawkes, Moyo, and Yon (2011)	38	18	20
<i>Ventures English Alive!</i> (Grade 3 Pupil's Book)	Wren (2008)	40	24	16
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 5 Pupil's Book)	Musumhi and Yon (2011)	25	10	15
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 6 Pupil's Book)	Brown and Musara (2011)	22	10	12
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book)	Chinodya (2011)	21	9	13
<i>Ventures English Alive!</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book)	Nineham (2011)	12	5	7

Note. Source: Study.

In the following section, the study looked at the visibility of illustrations in the context in which they are used (see Table 2). Visibility refers to how visible or easily recognised the pictures are by virtue of size, colour, and general appeal or lack of appeal for the learner (Kabira & Masinjila, 1997). When an illustration is more visible and more appealing to learners, they are quick to be attracted to what is being taught in the passage, they also identify with them and develop some positive attitudes towards actors in bright colours and negative attitudes for actors presented in dull colours. Visible and clearer illustrations reinforce and facilitate meaningful learning especially in primary schools.

Table 2

Illustration Visibility

Textbook/colour of illustration	Author	Illustration page	Dress in illustration	Visibility
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 1, Book 1) (All illustrations are in colour)	Hawkes (2010)	7	All in casual	All are equally visible.
		21	Casual	The female is only visible with the baby lying beside her.
		23 and 25	Smart casual	Of the parents, the father is more visible and the mother is behind the father.
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 2, Book 2) (All illustrations are in dull colour)	Hawkes et al., (2011)	1	All in professional dress/uniform	All are equally visible in the stereotypical feminine or masculine jobs, for example, nurse and dressmaker—females; doctor and painter—males.
		8	Casual	The male is on a chair more visible and the woman and children are on the floor.
		59	Casual	The female is by the river doing her washing with a baby on her back, which shows the concurrent and multiple roles of women.
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 3 Pupil's Book) (All illustrations are in colour)	Moyo and Yon (2011)	16	School uniform	The boy is more visible, he is hitting the finishing line first, and the other two girls and a boy are following.
		157	Sports attire	Boys in soccer are in action as other people spectate.
		165	Casual	Females seated clutching on their wallets. One male is standing, the other one reading a newspaper makes males more visible.
<i>Ventures English Alive!</i> (Grade 3 Pupil's Book) (All illustrations are in colour)	Wren (2008)	11	Police uniform and school uniform	The policeman is more visible.
		25	In casual	All are equally visible, but males and females appearing in traditional gender roles.
		58	Students in picnic attire	Girls more visible seated while boys are in action running around.
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 6 Pupil's Book) (All illustrations are in black and white)	Brown and Musara (2011)	13	Casual for the male and the female dressed like waitress	The female is more visible emphasising that women's professions are an extension of their domestic roles.
		103	Sports attire	The boy and the girl are equally visible.
		106	Casual	The female sweeping the yard is more visible.
<i>Ventures English Alive!</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book) (All illustrations are in black and white)	Nineham (2011)	62	Casual	Boys are more visible than girls, which makes readers to put more focus on boys and not on girls.
<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book) (All illustrations are in black and white)	Chinodya (2011)	29	Males in police uniform	The female in the background with some children is less visible. The male policemen is in action shooting at the bull.
		77	Casual	The man is more visible bidding farewell to his family, he is holding an axe (a traditional sign of breadwinning) and the woman is holding a baby (caring).
		87	Police in uniform	The top picture has women and men in their traditional gender roles. The bottom picture has men who are equally visible busy making follow ups on a missing truck which was loaded with maize.

Note. Source: Study.

In the following section, the study made an analysis of presentation of the text. To analyse the text, the framework uses components like action, locus, visualisation, power, and language. In this framework, action given by Kabira and Masinjila (1997) refers to activities done by gender with reference to either productive, reproductive, or community activities. Productive activities relate to income generating in employment and in trade. Most productive activities for women are less valued when compared to men. For example, women sell tomatoes in the street corners and at the market, but men are into mining and commercial farming. Reproductive activities are also called maintenance activities, like fetching water and firewood and all activities to maintain the household. Community activities are done for the smooth running of communal activities, for example, attending funerals and weddings and rainmaking activities. Moser (1993) observed that these activities are time-consuming and labour-intensive and they are generally devalued in most societies for they are mainly done by women and girls. These activities have contributed greatly to the disadvantages of women in society. If textbooks continue to portray women in such activities, the reader/learner will continue to limit women to traditional gender expectations, which will lead to different educational outcomes.

Locus refers to the location where the activity takes place, for example, at home, in the forest, in the makeshift house, and at park station in Johannesburg. The locus says much about expectations from the actors, power, access and control of resources, and status and ability to influence in the community. The story of Ma Peggy entitled “Working for Peanuts” in *Ventures English Alive! (Grade 7 Pupil’s Book)* (Nineham, 2011, p. 23) and that of “Tongai the Policeman” in the same book (pp. 214-215; 222-223) are just examples of how the locus can be used in the text to convey gender messages.

Visualisation refers to seeing or recognising and being seen or being recognised. Being seen or not being seen carries with some implications to the reader of a text. Those who are seen take the attention of the reader and they portray gender messages that are biased towards them. Being in a position to be seen carries with power and authority over those who are not seen.

Language use is one of the most important and subtle ways of portraying gender biases through conventions of speaking and writing. Names and use of pronouns and vocatives are all part and parcel of language that portray gender biases (Kabira & Masinjila, 1997). The names of girls and boys indicate what the society expects from these sexes.

In Table 3, the study made a diagrammatic representation of the above aspects as they appear in the textbooks.

To add to the above observations, it is very interesting to note that the *Ventures English Alive! (Grade 7 Pupils’ Book)* has 29 chapters. The comprehension passages in this book that have something to do with gender issues are 25. Of these passages, only two of them, that are the passage on pages 23 and 136 have females as main characters. The story on page 23 is the story of Ma Peggy who is living on peanuts, selling them and living from hand to mouth. To the reader, this story is an indication of how women are associated with poverty especially when there are no males to help them. On page 136, it is a story that has the main actors as two girls—Tsitsi and Rudo—who were visiting a bakery on a school trip. Interesting to note is the fact that the bakery is owned by 10 men and most of the workers there are men. To the learners, the message is that ownership of key economic resources is for males, females do have access but not in control of these resources.

Table 3

An Analysis of Text Presentation Using Four Components of the Framework

Framework component	Textbook	Page	Gender ideology
Action	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 1, Book 2)	25	Men are in public sphere building and driving company cars.
		22	Females appear in the private sphere. The mother is working with lazy Joe so that he wakes up to prepare for school.
		45	At the farm possessions stated. He is a farmer, he has a house, and the wife helps. This determines who has access and who has control of resources and who has power.
	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 2, Book 2)	1	Traditional stereotypical jobs by gender, for example, nurses, dressmakers, and gardeners are females and painters, bakers, and doctors are all males.
		3	The children speak for themselves jobs for males, that is policeman, and female jobs, like shop attendant and teacher.
		59-60	Women are active in the private sphere. On page 60, it is stated that they were all women at the wash place in the river. At the same time, girls are being socialised into expected gender roles at the river.
		69	Text is clear on what women are expected to do in society. Sekai's mother is responsible for the health of the family. In Gweru, a friend's brother has a house.
	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 6 Pupil's Book)	13	The female is serving the male who is seating down.
		140	Two girls and a boy watch a boy doing high jump.
	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 2, Book 1)	12	A woman and two girls in the field, which shows that cheap subsistence agriculture is mainly done by women
		21	Men in the extradomestic sphere laying pipes, public work is more valued in development work and is mainly done by males.
	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 1, Book 2)	25	At the farm, the male is building and the female leading an ox drawn scotch cart.
	<i>Ventures English Alive!</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book).	23	A woman, just known as Ma Peggy at park station, Johannesburg, selling peanuts with her children shows the feminisation of poverty. She is living on peanuts and earning peanuts.
Visualisation(who is seen or who is seen by who)	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 2, Book 2)	8	On the illustration after super, the male is seated on a stool and is more visible.
		1	The stereotypical title headmaster and the headmaster himself is clearly visible to the reader and to the children.
	53	The male builder is very visible.	
Power	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book)	79	Ownership of cattle by males is a sign of power.
		101-102	The male Marimo is the king of the VaRozvi.
	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 5 Pupil's Book)	111	The boy had goats.
		112	The herdboy killed the crocodile.
Language	<i>Step in New Primary English</i> (Grade 5 Pupil's Book)	124	The farm is owned by Mr. Taylor and the foreman is Mr. Chivu. All this shows that males have power because they own the means of production.
		5	Use of the term "headmaster" makes it appear as if the position is exclusive to males, it discourages female learners.
		27	In the passage "Spiwe's project", she says her mother is a nurse, she also wishes to be a nurse. The power of role modeling in the socialisation of gender inequalities.

(Table 3 to be continued)

	<i>Ventures English Alive!</i> (Grade 7 Pupil's Book).	58-59	Nursing is a noble job and the girl Nomsa loves it, this develops gender stereotypes in career aspirations. Girls aspire for low paying traditional occupations for females.
		212-213; 214-215; 222-223	Tongai, the policeman, appears three times in three different chapters. The story is full of adventure and motivates boys to be adventurous in life.
		87	Titles used in this passage: salesman and manager, which promote traditional thinking that men only can be in such positions.
		119	The title "headmaster" is used in the passage. The Legend of Nyanga, implies that men only can be school heads so girls cannot aspire for such positions.

Notes. Source: Study. Authors of the textbooks have been indicated in Tables 1 and 2.

In the *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 7 Pupil's Book), which has 29 chapters, the study noted that most of the passages used for comprehensions were taken from books written by male authors. Shimmer Chinodya is a male Zimbabwean author who wrote a book entitled *Dew in the Morning* (Chinodya, 1982). When he was authoring this Grade 7 English textbook, he took most of the comprehension passages from his work. Passages on pages 62 and 64 are all extracts from his book *Dew in the Morning*. Ben Chirasha is also a male author who wrote a book called *Child of War* (Chirasha, 1985). From this book, comprehension passages on pages 91, 93, 96, and 97 were taken. From another book by Ben Chirasha entitled *Classroom Plays for Primary Schools* (Chirasha, 1986), the comprehension passage/play on pages 113-116 was taken. In all these comprehension passages, the main characters are males and females offer a supportive role to males. Simple analysis of all this shows that boys and girls are not receiving the same treatment in the teaching and learning of English in primary schools in Zimbabwe.

The study also noted that in some cases, authors presented texts in ways that promoted equality between the sexes. The occurrence of these sections is quite limited as indicated in the analysis below:

1. Passages that promote gender equality in the book *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 1, Book 1, Pupil's Book) (authors of the books have been given above):

Pages 24-25: There is a fair representation of boys and girls, men and women;

Page 28: Boys and girls are equally showing and naming the parts of the body.

2. Passage that promotes gender equality in the book *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 1, Book 2, Pupil's Book):

Page 27: Number 1 picture, a female is also shown driving.

3. Passages that promote gender equality in the book *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 3 Pupil's Book):

Page 77: Boys are also seen tidying the house and washing the clothes;

Page 113: A girl is doing carpentry work which promotes girls to consider doing that kind of work in life.

4. Passages that promote gender equality in the book *Step in New Primary English* (Grade 5 Pupil's Book):

Page 9: Boys and girls are all doing dishes;

Page 10: The police and not policeman;

Page 23: The veterinarian is given as female;

Page 39: The title is headteacher;

Page 53: My hero/heroine;

Page 104: The passage “I want to be” ends with the statement—both men and women can be scientists.

Results and Findings

Findings from the study clearly show that primary school English textbooks in Zimbabwe are largely not gender responsive. These textbooks continue to perpetuate gender inequalities (FAWE, 2004). This also contributes to fewer girls than boys completing their primary education (Fay, 1995) as more girls find education less favourable and they drop out of school. National statistics show that girls’ dropout rate from education is higher than that of boys, ultimately, school completion rates are higher for boys than for girls (United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 2006). The manifestation of gender stereotype in schools is just a manifestation of already engrained gender behaviours acquired in socialisation at the family level. The school textbooks, when they portray boys and girls in traditional gender identities, formalise gender separation in the learning and teaching environment (Morris, n.d; Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), 2012). As children move on to secondary and higher education, choices of subjects or courses to study will be greatly influenced by gender. Female students will be dominant in social sciences and humanities while male students will be in science and engineering (Morris, n.d.).

Deep seated patriarchal ideologies limit the degree of gender sensitivity of authors and also blind educators from identifying gender bias, discrimination, and stereotypes in the teaching and learning process. Patriarchal strongholds continue to strip people of the power to create a completely gender responsive learning environment. The bias and discrimination “cheats” boys and girls in saying that classroom activities are “gender neutral and treating boys and girls equally”. In the attempt to be fair, the system is still failing at fairness (Sadker & Zittleman, 2009). Textbooks used in schools need a thorough gender overhaul so as to render them gender neutral or conducive to equal competition for boys and girls (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012) .

Conclusions and Recommendations

The aim of the study was to investigate the gender responsiveness of selected primary school English textbooks in Zimbabwe using guidelines from the ABC of Gender Analysis. It is concluded from the study that primary school textbooks still contain biases and stereotypes. Despite the existence of guidelines on how gender equality can be promoted in schools, textbooks are still very far from being gender responsive. This makes equality of educational opportunity difficult for girls. Because of these stereotypes, girls develop negative attitudes to school, so they either perform poorly or drop out of school. It is a known fact that the promotion of gender equality is a very critical ingredient for meaningful development to take place, but the existence of deep seated patriarchal ideologies and cultural and religious values continue to militate against gender equality efforts at all levels. Most stakeholders in education speak about the need to address gender stereotypes and biases in education, but their actions are very far from what they profess.

From these conclusions, the study recommends the need for continual discussion on how gender stereotypes and biases can be removed totally from all teaching and learning materials. The efforts must continue until the nation achieves zero tolerance to gender stereotypes and bias in education. Educational gender analysis frameworks, like the ABC of Gender Analysis, can be introduced in the teacher training curriculum to equip teachers with gender analysis skills and develop the ability to recognise and address gender bias and discrimination in the teaching and learning process. Mainstreaming gender in all educational activities

will help authors develop learning materials that are gender sensitive. While the study acknowledges the noble efforts done by MoESAC in encouraging relevant authorities to recommend gender responsiveness in textbooks to be used in primary schools, this study recommends that all textbooks and educational materials must be exposed to the rigour of gender analysis before they are recommended for use in any educational activity. Further research, however, is needed to establish the measures that have been put in place in Zimbabwean schools in an effort to promote gender responsive school environments.

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