DIS/COUNTING WOMEN:
A CRITICAL FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF
TWO SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

by

JENNIFER TUPPER

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Department of Curriculum Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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ABSTRACT

Two secondary social studies textbooks, Canada: A Nation Unfolding, and Canada Today were analyzed with regard to the inclusion of the lives, experiences, perspectives and contributions of females throughout history and today. Drawing on the existing literature, a framework of analysis was created comprised of four categories: 1) language; 2) visual representation; 3) positioning and; 4) critical analysis of content. Each of these categories was further broken into a series of related subcategories in order to examine in depth and detail, the portrayal of women in these two textbooks.

Each book was carefully read and then analyzed for instances of gender bias as informed by the analytical framework. Neither of the books was free from gender bias. Although the authors of the textbooks are careful to employ gender inclusive language, language used to describe women's lives, experiences and contributions is problematic. It often denies them agency and categorizes them as members of nameless, faceless collectives. Visually, women in these two textbooks are under represented, and the manner of the representation is problematic, particularly when attention is given to traditional and non-traditional roles (for both men and women). Frequently, information about women is included outside of the main text, reinforcing their historical marginalization. Finally, the textbooks were found to be neither fair or equitable with regard to women's historical contributions.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................ ii

Acknowledgements ..................................................................................................................... v

CHAPTER I Introduction ............................................................................................................... 1

1.1 Statement of Problem ............................................................................................................ 1
1.2 Rationale ................................................................................................................................. 3
1.3 Purpose ................................................................................................................................... 9
1.4 Significance ............................................................................................................................ 18

CHAPTER II Review of Relevant Literature ................................................................................ 22

2.1 Male Defined History ........................................................................................................... 23
2.2 Great Man/Woman Model of History ................................................................................... 24
2.3 Invisibility of Women ............................................................................................................ 27
2.4 Situating Women ................................................................................................................... 29
2.5 Language in Textbooks ......................................................................................................... 30
2.6 Visual Representation ........................................................................................................... 32
2.7 Textbook Analyses ............................................................................................................... 35

CHAPTER III Methodology ......................................................................................................... 53

3.1 Framework ............................................................................................................................. 55
3.2 Sample .................................................................................................................................... 58
3.3 Procedure ............................................................................................................................... 59

CHAPTER IV Findings: Canada: A Nation Unfolding .................................................................... 61

4.1 Category 1 ............................................................................................................................... 61
4.2 Category 2 ............................................................................................................................... 70
4.3 Category 3 ............................................................................................................................... 75
4.4 Category 4 ............................................................................................................................... 81

CHAPTER V Findings: Canada Today ............................................................................................ 94

5.1 Category 1 ............................................................................................................................... 94
5.2 Category 2 ............................................................................................................................. 102
5.3 Category 3 ............................................................................................................................. 108
5.4 Category 4 ............................................................................................................................. 111

CHAPTER VI Discussion .............................................................................................................. 128

6.1 Language ............................................................................................................................... 128
6.2 Visual Representation ........................................................................................................... 131
6.3 Positioning ............................................................................................................................. 138
6.4 Critical Analysis of Content ............................................................................................... 142
6.5 Implications ........................................................................................................................... 146

CHAPTER VII Conclusion and Recommendations ...................................................................... 151
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>Women in Traditional Roles</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>Women in Non-Traditional Roles</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C</td>
<td>Women as “Great”</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D</td>
<td>Portraits of Individuals</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E</td>
<td>Minority Women / Women of Color</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F</td>
<td>Positioning of Women</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix G</td>
<td>Analysis of Index</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix H</td>
<td>Textbook Quotations</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I</td>
<td>Chapter and Unit Reviews</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix J</td>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

What ... should a women's history of the world do? It must fill in the gaps left by conventional history's preoccupation with male doings, and give attention and dignity to women's lives in their own right. Women's exclusion from the annals represents a million stifled voices ... Any women's history therefore has to be alert to the blanks, the omissions and the half-truths. It must listen to the silences and make them cry out. (Miles, 1988, pp. 12-13).

Statement of Problem

Issues of gender inequity in education have been brought to the forefront of social and educational discussion in recent years by feminist organizations. Informed in part by feminist reproduction theory, schools are perceived to be tools for reproducing existing gender inequalities (Weiller, 1988). According to this theory, these inequalities result from the appropriation of power by men in order to perpetuate the subordination and oppression of women. Hence, education and schooling serve to reinforce and maintain existing power structures in society through subtle (and often not so subtle) practices which marginalize female students. These practices, which are often based on a failure to value female lives and experiences in an educational context, are termed negative biases because they slant in favour of males, resulting in distortions in the collection, analysis and presentation of knowledge (Dhand, 1988).

Acknowledgement of these inequities by ministries of education throughout Canada, due in part to feminist criticism,
has resulted in an attempt to alleviate blatant biases in curriculum and curriculum materials, by implementing guidelines which must be followed if texts are to be approved for use. Typically, micro-analyses of a curriculum and curricula resources have focussed on specific instances of gendered language and representation, along with the frequency in which women are included in text and visuals. Because of this analysis, gendered language no longer dominates the various discourses in schools, and there has been a concerted effort to make women more visible in the curriculum.

Today, feminist academics believe that gender bias still exists in education, though in a much more subtle and less obvious manner (Bernard-Powers, 1997; Walter & Young, 1997; Bloom & Ochoa, 1996). As a result, they are calling for a rethinking of the knowledge that is valued in schools and are advancing various theories as a means of informing what is included in curriculum and textbooks.

In this study, I intend to ascertain whether or not the claims made by these feminist educators are in fact true in the case of the two textbooks I will be examining. If these claims are true, then the study will further illuminate the weaknesses of current frameworks of analysis used by the ministries of education in both British Columbia and Alberta. Other studies which examine textbooks for gender bias have often failed to
critique the superficial approach to gender equity by ministries of education. My study, on the other hand, will not fall short in this regard.

Rationale

Textbooks are the major conveyors of the curriculum and guide what knowledge is both taught and valued in social studies classrooms (Gilbert & Cook, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Wade, 1993). According to Connie Muther (1985), the average teacher employs textbooks in the classroom between 70% and 90% of the time, so it becomes essential for educators to analyse the content and organization of textbooks and the impact they have on students (Wade, 1993). This belief is supported by A. Graham Down (as cited in Apple, 1990) who states that,

Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned, in most subjects. For many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and to reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary. And teachers rely on them to organize lessons and structure subject matter. (Down, 1988, p. viii)

These texts function as vehicles for presenting social values and beliefs, legitimating existing societal power structures, and limiting access to knowledge. For example, students learn about the history of war and military conflict, but not necessarily the history of the family or the rise of feminist consciousness.

Arguably, authors of texts are limited by space
considerations. To include historical information which includes the voices and perspectives, contributions and experiences of all social, ethnic and gender groups, would likely result in a textbook far too large for use in the classroom. Teachers prefer textbooks to reflect the information that they are mandated to teach. Thus, textbook authors must make judgements about what is the most valuable and relevant information to include. However, considerations of what information to include and to omit must respect that women have played a role in history outside of the traditional topics of discussion. Moreover, the use of textbooks in social studies classrooms influences how students perceive historical and contemporary events. If the content and language of the texts position women in ways that perpetuate negative biases and influence students' interpretations of, and attitudes toward, women in general, then an inappropriate curriculum is reinforced.

In the past, textbooks which exhibited gender bias failed to expose students to a balanced and adequate interpretation of both historical and contemporary events. This resulted in the devaluation of female experience and involvement in the shaping of history, perpetuating the existence (of socially constructed) gender biases. These biases were grounded in the very structure and organization of society. They cannot be simply wiped out because they are more than ideas, they are ideologies that govern
and influence the way that human beings think about gender, class, and race. Students were subtly inculcated into these ideologies in the classroom, school, and larger community. The textbook was simply one tool for the transmission of them.

It is essential to discern whether or not textbooks in use in today's social studies classrooms continue to reflect gender bias, whether it is an obvious form of bias, such as in the use of sexist language, or a less obvious form of bias. It is not enough to have an equal number of photographs depicting men and women, nor is it enough to remove blatantly gendered language. Textbook analyses that merely consider these aspects present a rather simplistic view of gender equity. One must go beyond a superficial analysis of content in order to uncover the hidden curriculum inherent in textbooks, if in fact there is one. This curriculum, if it exists "reinforces the salience of gender, the significance of gender differences and the devaluation of women" (Briskin, 1990, p.5). It also supports the assertion that ministry guidelines are not living up to their purported goal of addressing gender equity concerns.

As a teacher of social studies in the high school, I have been repeatedly frustrated by the absence of women in historical discourse. I have spent a great deal of time searching for textbooks that present a more balanced interpretation of historical contributions and events and the contributions of
historical people, and that have made some effort to include the voices and experiences of women within the pages of the text. However, this has been a difficult endeavour. I have found myself having to go to sources beyond the classroom and the school in order to provide my students with the opportunity for a more gender equitable learning experience. This requires a great deal of commitment and initiative beyond what is normally necessary for an educator. Unfortunately, not all teachers have the time or the inclination to do this, and as research indicates, the text becomes the primary tool for transmission of information (Muther, 1985; Apple, 1990).

My own experiences using textbooks that present a particular view of history and appear to value a particular kind of knowledge have influenced my choice of research topic. Clearly, I wish to explore how other social studies textbooks approach the inclusion of women and women's history. My exposure to social studies textbooks that I have been mandated to use by both the ministry and my department head has been less than positive. In this regard, equity guidelines, while eradicating obvious forms of bias, may have failed to address the more subtle forms of bias found in previous studies, that find their way into textbooks.

It is important for me to note that I firmly believe the state of social studies textbooks has improved drastically since I myself was a student of social studies. Just how much they
have improved remains to be seen. Uncovering this is central to my research. As researcher, I will endeavour to be fair in my analyses of the two textbooks. That is, I will not allow my own personal beliefs as a feminist to cloud my judgement of the two texts. Since, as many post-modern theorists have pointed out, there is no objective truth, allowances must be made for the role of researcher. It would be naive to suggest that I can simply step back from my own reading of the texts and discard my feminist lens. Rather, this lens will enhance rather than diminish, the validity of my findings.

As a feminist I am well aware of the various forms that biases may take in any discourse. My views are part of a larger community of prominent others who have established reputations in the literature. Thus, my critique is located within this community and I draw upon their notions of balance, bias and completeness in historical representation to support my assertions. I am also aware of the need to explicate each instance of gender bias that I might find present in the texts. Feminist educators have had to fight to be heard and have had to carefully support their claims with tangible evidence of inequities. This study is no exception. Situating myself as a feminist and an educator is an important part of the research process. To deny the multiple lenses through which I approach my research weakens both my findings and my discussion of those
findings.

That said, the definition of gender equity that I will use requires that equal value be placed on socially constructed characteristics and activities typically defined as feminine or appropriate for females and those typically defined as masculine or appropriate for men. Therefore, in social studies textbooks, it is essential that both women and men be portrayed as having a full range of characteristics and activities. Further, to be gender equitable, a text must discuss not just those topics typically dominated by males (public), but those topics which have impacted females' lives and experiences (public and private). That is, acknowledgement must be given to the public and the private sphere, and to their inter-connectedness.

Both Noddings (1992) and Bernard-Powers (1997) suggest that the private lives of women must be made central in social studies curriculum. As a result, students will be able to make connections among family, local, national, and international history and events. Bernard-Powers (1997) states that "social studies curriculum that weaves together the public and private education for community life, and provides voice for the silences we continue to find, could be transformational (my emphasis) (p. 88). Thus, it is evident that the current emphasis on the public domain in social studies text and curriculum is problematic, in that there is a failure to present to students the importance of
the private sphere and its impact on historical events.

**Purpose of Thesis**

The purpose of this study is to identify the current content of two secondary social studies textbooks currently in use in both British Columbia and Alberta, with regard to the inclusion of the lives, experiences, and contributions of females throughout history and today. In order to enlighten educators regarding the implicit and subtle biases that may be interwoven throughout these textbooks, a comprehensive content analysis will be undertaken, informed by feminist critical theory. These biases may include positioning women outside of the main text, using language which denies women agency, portraying men and women in primarily traditional roles, denying women voices within the text, and including those topics of study which were historically dominated by men.

This research subsequently provides a framework for critiquing social studies textbooks at all levels. By undertaking this form of analysis and creating a conceptual framework which clearly illuminates how, and to what extent females are included in the two social studies textbooks, the possible limitations of the existing frameworks used by the ministry of education in British Columbia and Alberta will become apparent. My study, unlike previous studies, will point to the
failure of ministry guidelines to address equity concerns if warranted by my findings. This is not just another study of two textbooks to add to the literature on gender bias in social studies. It goes beyond the scope of previous analyses to critique existing frameworks used both by feminist educators and ministry officials. If I find the two textbooks, based on the framework I have created, to demonstrate clear instances of gender bias beyond those categories normally accounted for, then my study contributes an important body of knowledge to the field. It will further provide a language useful in professional development and teacher in servicing; a language that will allow a clear understanding of ways in which educators must approach the textbooks that they use in their own classrooms.

**Research Question**

The following question will guide the analysis of social studies textbooks in this study:

*What is the current content of two sample secondary social studies textbooks currently in use in British Columbia and Alberta, with regard to the inclusion of the lives, experiences, perspectives and contributions of females throughout history and today?*

**Definition Of Terms**

Several concepts are central to this study, including: equality, gender, bias, gender bias, gender equity, feminism, marginalization and traditional. In the section that follows,
each of these terms will be defined as they are used throughout this study.

**Equality**, the root of which is equal, pertains to being equal, having the same rights or status. Equality, then, is said to occur when males and females enjoy the same rights (the right to vote, the right to hold office, the right to speak freely, the right to equal pay for equal work, the right to enter into any profession regardless of gender, etc) and the same status (males are neither more valued or less valued than females) in society. Within the context of social studies textbooks, equality may be incorporated to mean an equal representation of males and females in terms of text and visuals. When one gender is given greater representation visually and in written discourse then the text is said to present an unequal representation of the genders.

**Gender** refers to the social differences between males and females. Gender is not biologically based, rather it encompasses the social construction and recognition of femininity and masculinity (Mackie, 1991, p. 2). Thus, the terms gender and sex are not used synonymously. Sex pertains only to the biological differences between males and females. It may be argued, that historically, because women were biologically different from men, they came to be regarded as weaker, hence inferior. This in turn influenced the social construction of identity, with females being socialized to accept that the "qualities" which they
possessed were less desirable than those of their male counterparts. Devaluing what is regarded as "feminine," though it may stem initially from biological differences, is based on the social construction of meaning and identity. Consequently, the concept of gender is separated from that of sex.

**Bias**, in the dictionary is accorded a three-fold definition:

3 a: Bent: Tendency. b: An inclination of temperament or outlook; esp: a personal and sometimes un-reasoned judgement: Prejudice c: an instant of such prejudice. (Websters, 1993, p. 110). For the purposes of this study, it is the second and third part of this definition which informs how bias will be used. The second part of the definition implies that bias involves preference. Thus, bias in written materials involves giving preference to something or someone over another. In social studies textbooks, bias occurs in relation to the interpretation of historical events, inclusion or exclusion of facts and particular concepts, and attention (or not) to issues of race, class and gender.

Drawing on the third part of the above definition, bias becomes more than preference in some cases. It becomes instances in which prejudice is evident, and is interwoven into the definition of gender. To borrow from Wagenberg (1985), when bias results in "bad thinking as when it consists of prejudice or pre-judgement, when it causes closed-mindedness, when it leads to
distortion or misrepresentation or unfairness then it is bad." If what is masculine is given preference over what is feminine because of a socially constructed value system; if what is feminine is devalued and discounted simply because it is "feminine," then prejudice is at work. Bias, as it is used throughout this study, denotes something negative; "bad thinking."

Gender Bias refers to educational practices which are biased towards one group, resulting in distortions in the collection, analysis and presentation of knowledge (Dhand, 1988). In social studies textbooks which have undergone content analysis by feminist academics and critical theorists, gender bias was found to be rampant when assessments were made of what and whose knowledge is included in historical discourse. The distortion that is believed by feminist educators and theorists to be present in social studies textbooks is that history is recorded and presented from the perspective of white European males. Women, minority groups, and certain classes of people, if they are discussed in texts, are discussed only in the context of particular topics and events accorded value throughout history. Typically these topics and events are the very ones in which white European males have played a leading role. Textbooks which do not represent women of various classes, races, and ethnic groups, therefore, are gender biased. In addition, if the manner
in which these groups are mentioned within a continuous discourse is cursory, marginal, or disparaging, then the text is clearly gender biased.

**Gender Equity** requires that equal value is placed on socially constructed characteristics and activities typically defined as feminine and those typically defined as masculine. For the purposes of this study, gender equity is employed in discussions of the representation of males and females in historical discourse. When recognition is given to the importance of women's work historically, both in the private and public spheres, then the text is said to be more gender equitable. In addition, if women's lives, experiences, and contributions inform the structure of the text (print, visuals, headings and sub-headings) and the knowledge included within this structure, then the author(s) of the text are employing a more gender equitable approach.

It is important to note that gender equity and gender balance do not have the same meaning. Balance implies that women are accorded equal representation within the written and visual elements of the text, but does not necessarily consider the nature of the inclusion. For example, there may be an equal number of photographs depicting males and females, but those photos depicting females may do so in a stereotypical way, or may portray females merely in supporting roles. The question that
must be asked is whether balance is desirable? Some educators might argue that achieving gender balance is a step toward achieving gender equity. It would certainly seem that women are more visible in social studies text as a result of efforts to achieve balance. However, I argue that gender balance may be as problematic as omitting women altogether. What message is being sent to students if women are depicted in only a traditional manner?

If visual representation is to be gender equitable, then both males and females must be depicted participating in traditional and non-traditional roles in both the public and private spheres. For example, although men and women have not equally participated in politics throughout history, women have not been completely inactive in this realm. Nor have men been completely inactive in household duties and child rearing activities. If textbooks depict women engaging in both public and private activities, but depict men engaging in only public activities, then an implicit value judgement is being presented to students. The judgement being made is that it is good and desirable for women to enter into typically "masculine" activities, but not so for men to engage in typically "feminine" activities. Here lays the problem. Students exposed to this sort of representation will learn to value participation in "masculine" realms and devalue participation in "feminine"
realms. Rather, students need to learn that participation in both public and private spheres is not only necessary for the functioning of society, but desirable and valuable as well.

Feminism is not a term that is easily defined. Feminism encompasses a variety of theoretical orientations and means different things to different people. For the purposes of this study, feminism will be defined as: "a movement for the elimination of sex-based injustice" (Richards in Eichler, 1987, p. 47). The fundamental premise of feminist thought is the belief that women have not been considered equal to men, and this unequal status must be changed. Instead, feminists advocate a revaluing of what is "feminine" in order to attain equality with males. Feminists seek a multifaceted approach to achieving this change, and have been critical of the educational system as central to the perpetuation of women's inequality in society.

Feminist Critical Theory is concerned with historical representation of history for reasons which include: the misstatement of history; women's work not regarded as important in historical text (cooking, cleaning, nursing ...); students taught that all women in history only cooked, cleaned, and looked after children. These concerns are based in feminist critical theory because students of history are not learning the truth about women's lives, experiences, and historical contributions. The self-perceptions of students are subsequently mis-shaped by
the misstatement of history. Thus, feminist critical theory informs my research in its recognition that students are very often presented with an incomplete reading of history which is grounded in valuing a particular kind of historical representation.

Traditional Role refers to activities, personality traits, and manners culturally assumed to be performed solely or mostly by members of one gender. Traditional roles for women are commonly held to be domestic (caring for children, cooking, cleaning, etc.) and traditional manners or personality traits for women are commonly thought to make women submissive to male authority and weaker than males. Women are "fragile," "agreeable," and "passive" whereas men are "strong," "assertive," and inclined to take "action." In addition, any activities that females have historically been prevented from participating in (voting, holding office, fighting in a war, etc.), are subsequently defined as typically masculine in nature. Thus, any discussion of traditional roles as they pertains to males and females, is intertwined with the notion of socially constructed gender-roles. When males and females transgress the boundaries of typical gender-roles, they are said to be engaging in non-traditional activities.
Significance of Thesis

The perception that the state of textbooks has improved in the last two decades is not completely unwarranted and efforts have been made to eliminate gender bias. By the 1980s, textbooks being used in Canadian classrooms were not using sexist language, were including visuals of women, and discussing the contributions of women to the Nation's development (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992). Certainly, the elimination of obvious stereotypes and gendered language is an important step toward achieving greater gender equity in textbooks. However, we need a more comprehensive and critical examination of social studies textbooks to ascertain if the presence of bias which prevents an equitable and sensitive interpretation of historical events, is still occurring. Have current guidelines used to select textbooks provincially addressed the problems articulated in the 1970s by feminists and feminist educators?

Current guidelines appear effective, but it is possible that if textbook evaluators lack awareness to the contrary, then they will not see a need to navigate the information and structure of the texts any differently. Moreover, if they do not know how subtle biases may be perpetuated through positioning, visual representation, language, etc, they are likely to miss them all together if they exist. Thus, one has to look at present textbooks to reveal whether or not gender bias does in fact
exist.

If this analysis uncovers the presence of gender bias in social studies texts, it is hoped that an awareness of gender biases which permeate these textbooks will be fostered amongst educators and a renewed commitment to alleviating these biases will ensue. As well as awareness, it is hoped that educators will understand the implications of devaluing women's contributions in the context of social studies.

Some educators might argue that it is pointless to undergo such a complex analysis of any textbook that students are exposed to as they simply memorize bits of information from the text for the purpose of passing an exam, and then quickly forget this information. However, I would argue that this is a faulty argument, for it suggests that students do not truly learn. If this is the case, then what is the point of schooling our children at all? Certainly the students are encouraged to memorize names and dates in social studies, but they are also encouraged to understand what it is they are studying and make connections to their own worlds. They are asked to interpret information, both written and visual, and make generalizations about the information. Thus, the significance of my research is evident. Since students do not simply memorize chunks of information in social studies, it is of paramount importance to ensure that the textbooks they are exposed to present a fair and
balanced portrayal of historical people and events. If textbooks are guilty of any less, then students are the ones short changed.

Organization of Thesis

I have organized my thesis around the two textbooks that I am analyzing. Prior to my examination of the textbooks, I provide a review of relevant literature, illuminating the strengths and weaknesses of previous content analyses. I then draw on this review in Chapter 3 to inform the creation of my methodological framework of analysis. Chapter 4 presents my findings in each of the four categories for the first textbook I examine, and Chapter 5 presents findings for the second. In both cases, when I uncover biases that warrant immediate discussion because they have not been accounted for in the review of literature, are ground-breaking, or are particularly problematic, then they are discussed in the parameters of the chapter, rather than later on in Chapter 6.

For the sake of brevity in presenting my findings, I include references to appendices created for each of the categories of analysis. Thus, the reader may refer to these for clarification or an in-depth recording of the data. The final chapter of the thesis discusses my findings in a more general sense pointing out commonalities between the two textbooks. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of my findings for students and
educators and make recommendations for further research and change in social studies textbooks and curriculum.
Chapter 2

Review of Relevant Literature

Women have worked, constantly, continuously, always and everywhere, in every type of society in every part of the world since the beginning of human time. (Cremonesi in Miles, 1988, p. 149).

In this study, it is necessary to examine textbook ideology, previous textbook analyses, and feminist research and theory as it pertains to education. In the 1970s, several studies were undertaken in which gender bias in textbooks was the focal point. These came in the midst of a feminist revolution calling for greater attention to issues of sexism and inequity in schools. At this time, textbooks were blatantly biased, using male-exclusive language as a universal for both genders, and women most often appeared in stereotypical roles and activities. (Trecker, 1971; Fisher, 1978; Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1976). The analyses illuminated the need to rewrite textbooks in gender inclusive terms.

Those studies which have been executed more recently, though they are not finding blatantly gendered / sexist language, still suggest that the content of social studies textbooks is still problematic. (Tetreault, 1986; Sadker & Sadker, 1988; Coulter, 1989; Lerner, Altheak, & Rothman, 1995). It is evident that throughout these textbooks, women are not given the attention that they deserve. Rather, the story that is being told is still the story of men as they engaged in wars, politics and economics.
Thus, this section discusses feminist theory in social education as a necessary precursor to uncovering the gendered messages implicit in textbooks. Research in the area of textbook analysis, beginning with Trecker's seminal study in 1971, will touch on the strengths and weaknesses of these studies as they inform our reading of textbooks.

**Male Defined History**

The history that is reflected in textbooks is one in which women have largely been excluded from participation. This is not to imply that women have not participated at all, but it is to suggest that only those women deemed worthy of note and who conform to the male ideal of what constitutes contribution, are included in historical discourse. It is clear that the central story being told in history is one in which women are portrayed as playing only a supporting role. Their contributions and experiences are discussed only in the context of contributing to the male plot and if they do not, then women are not discussed at all. "Her-story" is undervalued, undertold and very often presented as an afterthought, supplementary to "his-story" (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p.86).

This male-defined history, according to Tetreault (1987), lacks a consciousness that there is a wider realm of possible knowledge and experience from which to choose. It also fails to acknowledge women's contributions in other less public realms.
She suggests that the history of great women is not the entire story and that it reinforces the view of women as "ahistorical, static, and having a history only when they engage in such activities as politics, wars, reform movements, or organizations." Consequently, the male experience is regarded as the knowledge most worthy of portraying. Only those women who adhere to the male standards of what constitutes contribution are given mention in the political, economic, and military spheres of history (Bernard-Powers, 1997; Coulter, 1989; Flaherty, 1989; Osler, 1994).

"Great" Man / Woman Model of History

Including women in the category of "great" conforms to the existing male-defined model of history previously discussed. I would argue that including only "great" women in social studies texts does not give students a complete sense of how women helped to shape history. Traditionally, this model of historical learning was implemented in order to foster in students a sense of the characteristics and values they themselves should seek to cultivate. It was hoped that students would then embrace these virtues as they progressed toward responsible citizenship. (Osborne, 1995). Unfortunately, this is an incomplete view of history. It is also unrealistic to expect that merely studying individuals like Nellie McClung or Agnes MacPhail will inspire
students to become like these women. This model of historical
learning which is still very apparent in textbooks shortchanges
all students, regardless of gender. According to Margaret Crocco
(1997),

it should be noted that in traditional "great man"
history, many men's lives get left out of history as well. Traditional history features the "winners," those who have achieved political or military glory, great wealth, fame, or title (32).

Thus, students are presented with an idealized view of
history and historical people. They are shortchanged because
they are not learning about the lives of ordinary men and women,
like themselves, who played a role in historical events.
Students are more likely to relate to ordinary people and to
understand that all people contribute to society, historically
and contemporarily. "Greatness" is not a precursor to
contribution!

It is also important to problematize this representation of
history because it embodies male experiences as the knowledge
that is deemed most worthy. Despite the abundance of feminist
history and scholarship, it has still not made its way into the
fabric of social studies curriculum (Bernard-Powers, 1995).
Including women in the capacity of "great woman" detracts from
the social and personal history of women. Students do not learn
about the lives and experiences of ordinary women in the private
sphere, only the lives of exceptional women in the public sphere.
Some educators would, however, argue that this sort of inclusion is preferable to excluding women altogether. Osler (1994) suggests that the identification of exceptional women and their inclusion within historical discourse is advantageous because it gives women some sense of their history (my emphasis). Nonetheless, in most instances, there is not sufficient discussion surrounding these women. Instead, they are simply given a cursory analysis. According to Scott (1980), the coverage of "great" women in textbooks is, as Osler (1995) indicated, often brief and uninformative. Moreover, because the "great" women being discussed tend to be white, middle-class women, the text inadvertently suggests that all women share a common history, negating the multiple effects of race and class, as well as gender, on individual experience.

When women make contributions to history, there is a delineation between the significance of these contributions and those of men. Thus, women are positioned in historical discourse as marginal, secondary and mattering less. Coulter (1989) maintains that the presentation of great women is problematic because they tend to be all white and middle-class, like their male counterparts. The history of only great women does not encompass the experiences and contributions of "average" women. We do not learn what women's lives were like, nor do we learn what sorts of activities were prescribed for women during
particular time periods. Thus, an analysis of social studies texts that simply looks at whether or not women are discussed, but does not examine who is being discussed, how they are discussed or in what context, is limited.

Invisibility of Women

When there is not an inclusion of women in the role of exceptional or great, then women tend to be invisible in social studies textbooks (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992; Coulter, 1989; Flaherty, 1989; Hahn, 1996; Osler, 1994; Sadker, Sadker, & Klein, 1991; Scott, 1972; ten Dam & Rijkschroeff, 1996). A study undertaken by Weitzman and Rizzo (1974) found that females represented only 31% of the textbook total and that their representation decreased as the grade level increased (Sadker et al., 1991).

In a more recent study focussing on gender and political learning, Carole Hahn (1996) found that when asked what came to mind when students thought about politics, government, or current events, the 36 students interviewed named 11 men and only 1 woman (p. 22). It is essential to note that knowledge of male participants in these areas stems from the information that is included in social studies textbooks as well as the media. The danger of women's exclusion in this case is that female students are subtly being sent the message that the world of politics and
government is a male world and perhaps one that women should not enter into. According to Kobus (1989, p.67), the result of this invisibility is that "women learn that their concerns, their lives, and their cultures are not the stuff of schooling. They realize that they are valued neither by the system nor by society."

In this discussion, it is essential that women's exclusion is recognized as being a separate phenomena from their omission. In several of the analyses that have been conducted of social studies texts, women's absence is referred to as an omission. However, women weren't omitted from historical discourse, they were excluded. Elizabeth Minnich (1995, p. 32) postulates that "the reasons why it was considered right and proper to exclude the majority of humankind were and are built into the very foundations of what was established as knowledge." Exclusion then, though it may not be deliberate today, is in part, a result of the hegemonic nature of the society in which we live. Minnich (1995, p. 32) supports this claim when she suggests that:

the principles that require and justify the exclusion of women, and the results of those principles appearing throughout the complex artifices of knowledge and culture, are so locked into the dominant meaning system that it has for a very long time been utterly irrelevant whether or not any particular person intended to exclude women. (32)

To exclude women from both discussion and participation in particular realms of society, is to maintain their / our marginalization, and reinforce the importance of a particular
Situating Women

When women's contributions to history are made visible, they are often downplayed or undervalued. This occurs when the history of women is treated as supplement; that is, outside the body of the main text, or as marginal. Several studies have indicated that this supplementary portrayal of women in history is common in social studies textbooks at all levels (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992; Flaherty, 1989; Light, Staton & Bourne, 1989; Scott, 1980). Often, as a result of equity guidelines requiring women to be given more attention in textbooks, publishers include this information only in addition to the more important male information that encompasses the majority of the main text. As a result, descriptions of women and their contributions are included in boxes at the sides or bottoms of the pages or as separate chapters.

Frequently, the text that appears in these boxes has little to do with the main narrative (Bourne, 1989). This information may then be easily ignored by both teachers and students utilizing the textbooks and reinforces the perception that the inclusion is an afterthought.

This idea is further supported by Carole Hahn (1996), who found that in her observations of two secondary social studies
classrooms, the teachers she was observing (one male and one female) skipped over the special sections dedicated to providing some account of women's contributions. In addition, the teachers did not draw attention to the women pictured in photographs either. It appears that social studies textbooks which position women on the periphery of the central discourse are doing little to alleviate gender bias. Crocco (1997) suggests that,

This approach has often been disparaged as "add women and stir," and in truth, little mixing of women's history with the main events occurs when the subject is presented via sidebars. Such presentation may be preferable to women's absence from textbooks altogether; nevertheless, it suggests the degree to which the social studies curriculum has depicted women's stories as peripheral to the real story of political and economic history (p. 32).

Thus, it may be argued that this peripheral positioning further reinforces the marginal position of women in society and the devaluation of their experiences.

Language in Textbooks

When analysing the representation of women in textbooks, it is essential to consider how language is used to describe and explain experience. Women are often devalued by the language used to describe them and this is problematic as language reflects consciousness and impacts the shaping of individual perceptions. The elimination of blatantly sexist language portrays the world in gender inclusive terms and "helps to build a less sexist future" (Gaskell, McLaren and Novogrodsky, 1989, p. 52). It is
one thing, however, to screen for blatantly sexist and exclusive language and another to carefully examine the choice of words used in descriptions of people and events to ascertain whether there is subtle gender bias at play. Katherine McKenna (1989, p.21) contends that "all too often, the use of generic language is used much as one would wave a magic wand - presto and the sex bias disappears." The reality is that the bias is still there, just more difficult to identify.

Recent literature recognizes the power of language to sustain bias in curriculum materials (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992; Light, Staton & Bourne, 1989; Osler, 1994; Sheehan, 1991). The tone of language is often cited as a technique used to downplay the importance of women's role in history. In the discourse on gender bias, this is commonly referred to as the trivialization of women's involvement in history. Light et al (1989) suggest in their analysis of textbooks, that the tone of language used to describe women was less serious than that used to describe men. For example, Light et al found that in one intermediate text examining Canada over the last two decades, the textbook concluded a section on sports and introduced one on the women's movement by including the following passage:

When ten-year-old girls ran in 3- or 4-kilometer races, as thousands of them were doing by the 1980s, they were running farther than any woman in the whole country had done in competition in the 1950s.

**Women's New Freedom**

Women! Yes, women. The way girls and women took up
running in the 1970s was even more amazing than men's interest. Men were supposed to be strong and go for endurance events. But girls just didn't do those things. They didn't run. They didn't play hockey. Those were men's sports. When a strenuous game like basketball had proven irresistible to girls in the early 20th century, special rules were invented so they wouldn't strain themselves at it. When some of the women runners in the 800-meter event at the 1928 Olympics had collapsed after finishing, it was decided not to let women run these long races any more. Women were weak and fragile, weren't they? The weaker sex. Mustn't let them over-do it. (Light et al., 1989).

This shift in tone, whether the writers of the textbooks intended it to or not, belittles the women being discussed. Light et al (1989) who conducted an analysis of the above passage suggested that although it might be read as ironic, students are less likely to read it as such. Thus, it is crucial to move beyond a simple consideration of gendered words and include an examination of the manner in which words are being used to represent experience and the manner in which these words are being read and interpreted by students.

**Visual Representation of Women**

It is not only the written word which influences how students perceive people and events; visual images do as well. They can serve as powerful influences in the ways students interpret and understand the text. Gail Brandt (1989) condemns ministries of education and publishers who claim that they have issued textbooks which "cover" women's history by simply
inserting the occasional picture. Pictures, like those in the boxed off segments discussing women's involvement in history, are easily disregarded and skipped. These representations do not make textbooks more gender equitable. Light et al. (1989, p. 22) suggest that "photographs that include women, photo captions and the phrase 'men and women,' while they may alert students or teachers to a general female presence, can hardly be considered an equal historical treatment."

In the 1970s, visual depictions of women conformed to the stereotype of women as housewives, in caring professions, and as helpless and requiring the assistance of men. They were "frail, simple, helpless creatures and they were confined to the home" (Sheehan, 1991, p. 283). Textbook analysis during this time suggested that when females were included in photographs or pictures, they were shown in subservient and passive roles (McLeod & Silverman, 1973). Men, on the other hand, were portrayed as leaders and warriors, and were depicted in a variety of activities and occupations. McLeod et al. (1973) found that in the eight secondary civics books on which they conducted a content analysis (grades 9 through 12), 70 to 88 percent of the illustrations showed men only or men as dominant and women as subordinate.

Twenty years later, in an examination of 36 recently published textbooks used in the United Kingdom to teach grade 7
and 8 history, Osler (1994) found that in all textbooks analyzed, the number of photographs of men was still far greater than those of women. In the least equitable examples, she reports that women were outnumbered by men 1 : 26 or more. Further, sketches which portray women have a 6 : 1 ratio of men to women.

In an examination of visual representations, it is also important to note the roles that men and women are engaged in. The concept of "role" is implicitly a gendered concept (Acker, 1990). Historically, value has been accorded to roles deemed masculine so ensuring that women are depicted in both traditional and non-traditional roles does not alleviate bias from visual representation. The question that must be posed concerns the number of pictures where women are portrayed in non-traditional roles, versus the number of men in non-traditional roles. This becomes an issue of what is valued. If more women then men appear in non-traditional roles, the message being conferred to students is that it has become acceptable and desirable for women to move into the male domain because it is held in higher esteem, but not for men to move into areas deemed traditionally "female". Again it becomes important to note that what is absent speaks largely of what is valued.

This notion is illustrated by Rob Gilbert and James Cook (1989), who state that in texts, "the theories which guide the discourse and the problems they acknowledge can also be inferred
from what they omit and deem irrelevant" (p. 64). That it is not desirable for men to move into the realm of the feminine because it is undervalued, is apparent in the absence of images which depict this. Granted, this issue is larger than that of textbook representation, but necessary, nonetheless, to consider in an analysis.

Textbook Analyses - 27 Years of Research

In 1971, Janice Trecker, a high school social studies teacher in the United States, published a study illuminating the problematic nature of textbooks. This seminal study of 11 high school history textbooks and 2 collections of documents articulated what many female teachers had known to be the case for some time; that high school social studies textbooks propagated a biased view of history. At this time, women's lives, experiences and historical contributions were barely acknowledged in texts. Rather, the traditional view of history as being dominated by male figures in the political, military, economic and social spheres was perpetuated. Women tended to be included in the texts only if they conformed to the male model of what constituted historical contribution. Thus, the names of "great" American women were occasionally found in texts; names such as Susan B. Anthony, Jane Addams, and Ida Tarbell. These women were involved in reform or abolitionist movements and so
are deemed worthy of note. Ordinary women, however, were glaringly absent from the texts. The situation, Trecker found, was even more appalling for minority women and women of color. A double edged sword, it seems; gender and race were preventing certain historical discussions and acknowledgements from textual discourse.

Trecker suggested that the biases in texts were a result of larger societal biases against women and the "lingering ideas of female inferiority" (250). Although this is certainly true, it must be noted that suggesting the notion of female inferiority as "lingering" is problematic.

The guiding question in Trecker's study asked whether or not "the stereotypes which limit girls' aspirations are present in high school history texts?" (251). Trecker's answer? A resounding yes. She suggests that texts omit many important women while at the same time minimizing the difficulties that they faced in legal, social and cultural realms. Further, textbook authors tend to "depict women in a passive role and to stress that their lives are determined by economic and political trends. (251)" It is naive to imply, through discussions in text, that women lack agency; that they do not determine their own lives. Throughout history women have taken proactive approaches to improving their own situations, not the least of which includes reform movements at the turn of the century, and
more recently, the creation of a feminist consciousness. In addition, Trecker indicates that both the topics discussed in texts and those chosen for discussion omit women. The emphasis is on political, diplomatic, and military history.

Again, though this is undisputable, her notion of omission must be problematized. It is erroneous to suggest that women have merely been omitted from historical discussion. They have been excluded. Omission and exclusion lay on a continuum, where omission implies that something has been left out because it is forgotten, exclusion implies that it has been left out because it is deemed irrelevant or undesirable to include. This exclusion is locked into the dominant meaning system, and whether it is intentional or not, it is exclusion rather than omission.

The above claims were made by Trecker after she examined all entries in the texts and documents indexed under "women" as well as other sections and topics where information about women would reasonably be expected. Her categories of analysis included the women's rights movement and suffrage, reform movements, abolition, the Civil War, labor, frontier life, the World Wars, family patterns, the present (1971) position of women, and those sections where discussions of intellectual and cultural trends were present. Although the study is specific to American textbooks, similar categories might be applied to Canadian texts, with slight alterations depending upon important periods and
events in Canadian history.

In this analysis, Trecker must be credited for attempting to examine discussions of family patterns as this is a topic which has importance for women, both in terms of historical and contemporary positioning and power. As well, she provides some discussion of the bleak situation for minority women in historical discourse. All other categories are important as well. However, attending only to women's representation in these areas legitimates the knowledge valued in social studies textbooks at the time.

Trecker needed to supplement these categories of analysis with a more critical discussion of how women are positioned in the text, how language both explicitly and implicitly defines them, and how the very nature of the knowledge valued in social studies texts continues to marginalize women and trivialize their contributions and experiences. Further, discussion of visual representation of women throughout the texts is limited. This is a crucial category of analysis, for it is in visuals that women are most often shown in a stereotypical manner. If students are constantly exposed to this in pictures, it impacts the way that they construct their realities. According to Scott and Schau (1985),

Pupils who are exposed to sex-equitable materials are more likely than others to: (1) have gender-balanced knowledge of people in society, (2) develop more flexible attitudes and more accurate sex-role knowledge, and (3)
imitate role behaviours contained in the material (p. 228).

It is also important to document the percentage of visuals dedicated to women in the context of the entire text. This is an illuminating undertaking and often makes blatant the degree of bias against women in social studies texts.

A final criticism of Trecker's analysis is that she examines only pockets of text and not the entire text. Thus, it is more aptly categorized as a general survey rather than a content analysis. This paints an incomplete picture of the nature and extent of gender bias in texts of the day. However, Trecker's study was done more than twenty-five years ago, and in light of the feminist scholarship which informed thought at that time, her study was indeed groundbreaking. She opened the door for feminist educators to further problematize the representation of women in history texts, and many rose to the challenge. The 1970s, as previously stated, saw the rise of content analysis, not just in social studies textbooks, but other subjects, such as science and home economics as well.

Due to the nature of my analysis, I have chosen to focus on more recent studies which are informed by a new wave of feminist thought. Her study, however, is a logical starting point when conducting critical examinations of textual discourse and representation and is often found referenced in more recent studies. Despite the limitations of Trecker's analysis, her
insights are valuable.

One study, undertaken by Darrell Kirby and Nancy Julian (1981) ten years after Trecker's seminal work drew on Trecker's analysis to inform their own analysis of ten textbooks used in junior and senior high school social studies classrooms in the United States. The authors used both content analysis and what they term "descriptive review" in order to ascertain how the textbooks treated women. Five guiding questions were used to shape the study: 1. who among outstanding individual women is noted in texts and who is not? 2. which topics are covered and which are omitted? 3. how are average women of selected eras treated? 4. how are women who fought for currently controversial issues treated? and 5. how do distortions, if any, appear in coverage of women? These are key questions, and if sufficiently adhered to, integral in uncovering the form and degree of bias against women evident in social texts.

Some attention is given, by the authors, to the use of "standard English terms such as male and he" (p. 205) to detract from women's historical presence. They suggest that this is a problem of semantics and that those who wish to equally treat males and females will find the solution "difficult" (p. 206). Sadly, the authors do not take the discussion any further. In fact, it can be argued, that using male exclusive language creates a false universalization. The fact is, according to
Elizabeth Minnich (1990), "that 'man' does not include (or 'embrace,' as witty grammarians used to like to say) women or all humans, any more than qualities derived from man as he has been understood represent either the norm or the ideal for all humankind" (p. 39). Using male exclusive language, both pronouns and terms with masculine connotations, does more than obscure women's historical and contemporary roles. Such biased language subtly perpetuates the subordinate position of women generally. They are made marginal; they are made "other".

Kirby and Julian's (1981) descriptive review differs from a critical review in that it does not problematize the topics in the textbooks which marginalize and exclude women, nor does it sufficiently draw on feminist theory and scholarship to inform it. This is unfortunate, as feminist theory and scholarship began to abound in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Lerner, 1973; Hahn, 1978; Spender & Sarah, 1980; Leonard, 1981). For example, in the discussion of the visual representation of women in the texts, the authors indicate that "numerous pictures in all texts demonstrated clearly the presence of women in American history" (p. 206). What they fail to identify is the importance of examining the photos of women to ascertain if they are being depicted stereotypically or not.

Although quantity of photos is important, so is the quality of these photos. If women are being shown in passive,
stereotypical roles; if men are always at the forefront of group photos, then is this increased visual representation benefitting women? Moreover, the authors seem to think that inserting photos of "great" women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Jane Addams is acceptable, in fact desirable. Here is yet another example of women being included in historical discussion only when they conform to the male-defined model of what constitutes contribution. The authors have failed to provide answers to their five guiding questions by not tending to how women are represented or situated pictorially, nor how they are positioned in visuals and text.

While their categories of the treatment of women are useful (equality of the sexes, chivalrous view, sex role stereotyping, male supremist, or that there is no mention of women), they limit their analysis to a predetermined list of individual women and topics. The danger here is that biases outside of this list are ignored or missed altogether. The result is a less than accurate sense of how women are misrepresented and devalued in historical text. Moreover, discussion of topics contained in the textbooks is limited at best.

There is some acknowledgement that "the texts tended to omit women who fought for issues which are still extremely controversial and to omit analyses of topics which are likewise controversial" (p. 205). It is again necessary to point out the
difference between omission and exclusion. It is possible that these women and topics were not omitted but were excluded due to their controversial nature (Bernard-Powers, 1996). And to whom are these topics controversial? This is a question that the authors should have addressed but failed to.

Overall, Kirby and Julian found that the representation of women in high school social studies texts was inequitable, though passages which "focused directly on women tended generally to be objective and balanced" (p. 206). They suggest that further efforts be made in order to insure a more equitable treatment of women in texts. Unfortunately, no concrete recommendations are made other than some editing to the texts and adding additional information to "correctly portray women's lives and roles" (p. 206).

Glen Blankenship and Carole Hahn (1983) undertook an analysis of 22 secondary economics textbooks used in the United States to ascertain the frequency in which women appeared in these texts. Postulating whether or not the women's movement of the 1970s and the new publisher's guidelines had any effect on materials used in economic classes of the 1980s, the authors examined text examples, photographs, illustrations, and case studies in which women appeared. In addition, they tabulated the number of times men and women were quoted in the text, cited in references for further reading, or highlighted in "special"
sections outside the main text (p. 68). Finally, attention was
given to the depiction of males and females in humorous cartoons.

Overall, the authors found that textbooks of the 1980s were
less "sex-biased" than earlier texts (p. 73). An obvious example
of this has been the elimination of sexist language; male
pronouns for the most part are not used to designate all of
humanity. Further, the authors noted that women in visuals
appeared in both non-traditional and traditional roles (160
photographs and illustration of non-traditional roles; 327
traditional) but no discussion is provided regarding the roles in
which men are depicted. The authors need to address this, for if
only women appear to be transgressing the boundaries of
tradition, the implicit message being sent to students is that it
is desirable for women to enter into the "male" realm, but not
desirable for men to enter into the "female" realm. A devaluing
of all that is female is perpetuated, intentionally or not.

Finally, the authors note that little attention is given to
the "economic realities that pertain specifically to women" (p.
73). Only two of the texts attend to income disparity,
affirmative action, women and unemployment, credit, social
security, insurance rates, suffrage, and the women's movement.
These are important topics in documenting the rise of feminist
consciousness and women's efforts to attain equality, but the
authors do not discuss this in any depth. What is clear,
however, despite the changes that have made their way into economics texts since the 1970s, is that women are still being accorded a marginal role; the issues and topics that should be included are not being included. Thus, notwithstanding the praise the authors bestow upon some of the textbooks for efforts made to include women, these texts exemplify that gender bias still prevails.

Following this study, concrete recommendations were made, by one of its authors, Glen Blankenship. Published in 1984, his article "How to Test a Textbook for Sexism," outlines a framework for evaluating social studies texts. Drawing from Trecker's 1971 study discussed above, as well as his own, he suggests that it is crucial for educators to examine the index of texts for their mention of women and women's issues; that the number of times men and women are quoted and cited in reference sections be noted; that the representation of women visually be noted both in terms of role portrayal and whether the portrayal is favourable or unfavourable; and that attention be paid to the use of sexist language. According to the author, these four categories shape how content analyses should be undertaken.

While these categories are certainly important to follow, they provide a superficial look at gender bias in texts. What is lacking is attention to how women are included within the content of texts - are women presented only in the capacity of being
"great?" Are the lives of ordinary women included in historical discussion? What constitutes historical discussion? Are women's lives and stories included within the main text or outside? How does language (and not just the use of blatantly sexist language) position women? Furthermore, Blankenship needs to expand on the extent of bias, not just as evidenced in the index, quotations, and suggestions for further reading. Rather, attention needs to be given to the percentage of visual representation accorded to both men and women, and the frequency in which women appear outside of the main text as opposed to within.

Given the abundance of feminist scholarship pervading educational thought by 1984, Blankenship's recommendations, though useful to some degree, fail to illuminate the bias that permeated and may continue to permeate, social studies textbooks.

Perhaps one of the more enlightened discussions of women in social studies textbooks is offered by Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault. Her 1986 study was influenced, like Kirby's and Julian's (1981), by the work of Janice Trecker fifteen years earlier. However, Tetreault takes her analysis further, drawing upon pertinent feminist scholarship to inform her reading of textbooks. In addition, Tetreault considers the intersections of race, class, and gender. She does not examine the representation of women as a universal collective; rather she acknowledges the differing experiences and contributions of women contingent upon
where they are situated socially and racially. This is important as much of the earlier work on women and history focussed on white, middle-class women, who, like their male counterparts, conformed to an ideal of what constituted contribution.

As well as acknowledging the importance of class and race in discussions of gender, Tetreault articulates the need to conceptualize both the public and private spheres of women's lives. She suggests that "the central concern of women's history should not be women's history in the public sphere but what the majority of women were actually doing and experiencing during a particular time" (p. 213). Finally, acknowledgement is given to the importance of documenting the development of feminist consciousness. This consciousness influenced women's efforts at obtaining education, entering the labour force, and acquiring the right to birth control. Efforts of women in these areas are an important part of the historical story, yet often go unrecognized in texts, and according to Gilda Lerner (1975) "the true history of women is the history of their on-going functioning in that male-defined world, on their own terms" (p. 148).

Tetreault's analysis comprises five stages of thinking about women in history and how each stage is handled in the twelve texts examined. These phases include male history, compensatory history, bi-focal history, feminist history, and multi-focal, relational history, with the latter being the most desirable form
of historical interpretation.

Allowing these stages to inform her reading of 12 secondary social studies texts, Tetreault found that "5 percent of the copy in these texts is devoted to the female experience. The percentage of visuals depicting humans is more balanced between women and men" (p. 218). Overall, averaging the percentage of the number of visual in each text which depict females, females appear in visuals from 30 percent of the time to 58 percent of the time. Tetreault, does not, however, provide much discussion of how women are situated in the visuals, nor where the visuals of women alone are situated in relation to the main text. Thus, although in some texts visuals which include women comprise over 50 percent of the total, there is little sense of whether these visuals actually do justice to women's experiences and contributions. How often are women depicted in supporting roles? Are they portrayed primarily in the capacity of "great?" How often are women in the forefront of photos? Despite some acknowledgement that women are often shown observing male actors from the sidelines in visuals which portray men and women in public spaces, more questions, such as those posed above, need to be addressed in order to uncover some of the more implicit biases in history texts.

Overall, Tetreault found, not surprisingly, that the twelve texts she examined fall short of providing a balanced
representation of history. Though textbooks have changed in the 15 years since Trecker’s analysis, “it becomes clear that women have been incorporated primarily at the levels of compensatory and bi-focal history” (p. 248). That is, “great” women who contributed to traditionally male-dominated areas or those areas that were extensions of women’s traditional roles are included in history texts. Involvement in the public sphere overshadows the importance of involvement in the private sphere in every text examined. Further, the discrepancy between the small amount of “copy” (Tetreault’s usage) devoted to women and the visuals which portray women “suggest cosmetic changes which incorporate women. As long as events in the public sphere are conceptualized as history while those in the private sphere are not, women’s history and relational history will continue to be excluded” (p. 148). Thus, Tetreault intimates that if female students in schools are to cultivate a feminist consciousness, educators must rid textbooks of stereotypic thinking.

All of the content analyses discussed in this section, have, thus far, been American. Since this study is examining Canadian social studies texts, it is important to discuss a Canadian analysis of gender bias in history textbooks. Light, Staton, and Bourne (1989) examined 66 Ontario texts published in 1980 or after. Each book was read cover to cover, and each reference in the texts to women was noted. The authors were unable to
recommend any one of the texts analyzed as meeting the sex equity policy for any History and Contemporary Studies course. They found that all of the books together devote, on average, a mere 12.8 percent of their pages to females. Women, in these texts, frequently appear outside of the main text, "reinforcing their consideration as asides, or afterthoughts" (p. 19). Their contributions are trivialized or forgotten altogether.

The authors of this study make an effort to look beyond mere frequency of inclusion, noting the nature and language of inclusion as often being problematic. Where other studies do not consider where references to women are made, this one does, so is useful in uncovering a subtle form of bias. However, the authors do not criticize the knowledge contained in the textbooks, the very nature of which serves to devalue women's historical contributions and experiences. Any content analysis which truly seeks to illuminate the depth of gender bias, must acknowledge what and whose knowledge is included.

Content analyses continued to be conducted by educators and academics well into the 1990s. Without exception, none of these studies were able to report that social studies texts have achieved the goal of gender equity (Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992; Osler, 1994; Clark, 1996; Commeyras & Alverman, 1996). They were able, however, to acknowledge that some progress has been made in furthering equity goals in social
studies materials. Baldwin & Baldwin (1992) report that in every province, efforts are being made to produce "gender-blind" materials but that efforts are still not completely successful (p. 114). They suggest that rather than focussing on eliminating bias in textbooks (as it obviously is not working to date) that schools should teach students how to recognize bias and how to counteract it. They further suggest that in order to achieve this, teachers must be trained in detecting bias. They do not, however, offer any framework to teachers with regard to detecting bias. This is where they fail, and where my own research succeeds in that I offer, in Chapter 3, a framework for detecting bias in textbooks.

Osler's study (1994) informs my own research in that she has included an analysis of language beyond merely identifying the use of gendered pronouns and false universalizations (mankind as a universal for all of humanity). She suggests that the language of textbooks must be carefully scrutinized to ascertain whether women are being depicted in stereotypical fashion. For example, are women described as following men, reacting to men's directions, and supporting the men in their lives, or are women depicted as being leaders, giving direction as well as taking direction and being supported by the men in their lives?

Sleeter & Grant (1991) contribute to an understanding of the gendered nature of social studies textbooks through their
discussion of the categories of knowledge included in textbooks. Their work informs my own in that I have created a category of analysis which attempts to identify what knowledge is valued in the two textbooks under examination and in what respect this knowledge is gendered.

Summary

It is apparent through an examination of the literature, that the representation of women in social studies textbooks is problematic. It is problematic when women are excluded altogether, because this exclusion implies that women have been absent from historical participation. Further, when they are included, the positioning, language, and visual depiction of women in historical discourse subtly reinforces their marginal position in society, not just in the past, but also in the present. This is neither a gender equitable nor gender sensitive portrayal of history.
Chapter Three

**Methodology**

Gather what little drops of learning you can, and consider them a great treasure. (Christine de Pisan, in Miles, 1988, p. 124).

This study will employ content analysis, a form of research methodology which uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text (Weber, 1985). The inferences, according to Weber (1985) concern the sender of the message, the actual message, and the audience of the message. However, I believe it is erroneous to suggest that each text has an actual message. Just as there is no objective truth, there is no actual message. Rather, the message is shaped by the individuals reading the text, where the reader is situated in a social context, and his or her past experiences. Thus, my interpretation of the texts' messages are just that - interpretations. Since each individual reading the text brings something unique to that reading, there is no actual message.

For the purposes of this study, attention will be given to the implicit message (as I have interpreted it) present in the text being analyzed, as well as the explicit message (as I have interpreted it) being reinforced in the discourse. According to Weber (1985), an important use of content analysis is "the generation of culture indicators that point to the state of beliefs, values, ideologies, or other culture systems" (p. 10).
Thus, feminist theory and the themes that have emerged from my literature review, will inform discussion of the texts' messages and the cultural indicators inherent in them.

The analysis will incorporate some of the guidelines from previous textbook analysis. For example, Commeyras and Alverman (1996), in their analysis of world history textbooks, examined both the language and content of the texts to assess whether women were being represented equally and fairly. Phase one of their analysis involved reading each textbook for all the content on women and recording the relevant information into Ethnograph (a computerized program that codes and searches). The information was then coded for recurring themes such as information about famous women and rights. The authors then read and reread each section on rights to "determine the language regarding the positioning of women in the three textbooks" (p. 37).

Although I am not using a computer program which codes and searches, my reading of the entire text, documenting each instance in which women are mentioned or discussed, categorizing the information according to topics, and tending to the language with a critical eye, is in essence what Commeryas & Alverman accomplished in their analysis.

I have incorporated some of Blankenshaft's (1984) recommendations for testing textbooks for "sexism" into my
the text for mention of women and women's issues and the number of times women are quoted throughout the text are used. However, I am also documenting the number of times males are quoted to provide a comparison with females, and am also considering the context in which the quotations appear.

Framework

While many researchers have allowed themes to emerge from analysis, I have preselected my themes and will look within the texts for instances of each. However, as previously noted, I will not exclude from my discussion, any themes that emerge outside of my framework during analysis. In addition, central to my examination will be a determination of whom the textbook explicitly and implicitly addresses, and who's story is central. It will explore how women are positioned in historical discourse through the use of language and visual representation, and whether this positioning reinforces the marginalization of women. In addition, an assessment of whether the textbooks contribute to gender equity or whether they impede gender equity, will be made.

Using a critical content analysis will ensure that a closer reading of the text will occur and biases will not be missed. Though many content analysis have focussed on the frequency of occurrences of the topic or group under analysis, I intend to move beyond simply recording how often women appear in copy and
visuals. This form of quantitative analysis, though no doubt useful, does not tend to consider the location of units of analysis in a continuous discourse (Gilbert & Cook, 1989). Rather, it assumes that the frequency of occurrence is the main element of construction of meaning. I would argue, as Gilbert and Cook (1989) do, that in fact, this mode of analysis uncovers only a small facet of the biases present in texts. Rather than merely "counting" and "recording" instances in which women are mentioned or appear, it is of paramount importance to also consider these occurrences in relation to the structure of the text. This cannot be done using only a quantitative approach, which is the approach employed in many content analyses I have examined. For this reason I give consideration to the position of women in relation to the main text, as well as to the sequencing and organization of the text generally.

Four categories will be used for assessment and will incorporate both qualitative and quantitative operations on the texts selected for analysis (see Table I). These categories have emerged out of the literature review, previous textbook analyses, and my own experiences as a social studies teacher. They have been expanded to more effectively and critically analyse the selected textbooks. It is essential to note that although content analysis employs a framework to guide the analysis, I am not approaching the framework as completely fixed. Rather,
through the course of the analysis, if other themes, not initially anticipated, emerge, they will be discussed in the context of the study as well.

The four categories that I have designated are:

1. **Language**
   a. Is the language gendered and if so, is it used appropriately? Consideration will be given to the use of both feminine and masculine pronouns and adjectives.
   b. What message about women's historical contributions and experiences is implied through the use of language?
   c. What qualifies as discussion of women's contributions? Are they discussed only in context of wars, politics, economics, and reform movements?

   Specific statements about women will be assessed.

2. **Visual Representation**
   a. How many pictures of women are included in the text? On own? With others?
   b. How are women depicted in the pictures? Traditional roles? Non-traditional roles?
   c. How are men depicted in pictures? Traditional roles? Non-traditional roles?
   d. How many women are included in the capacity of "great?"
   e. What is the size of the pictures that women are depicted in compared to those of men?
   f. When women of color / minority women play a role in history, are they visually represented?

3. **Positioning**
   a. How are women positioned in the textbook? Outside of the main text (frequency)? Within the main text (frequency)?
4. Critical analysis of content
   a. This includes, but is not limited to, an examination of both the table of contents, to determine what knowledge is valued in the text, and an analysis of the index to assess how often women, their experiences and contributions, are noted.
   b. How often are women quoted in the text?
   c. Are women included in reference lists for further reading? If so, how often and in what context?
   d. What is regarded as significant historical contributions? For example, if politics are important then are females necessarily less important because they were unable to vote or hold office in Canada's early years?
   e. Is each woman discussed seen as an autonomous being, or are women discussed in relation to men? For example, is a woman a wife of a politician and therefore important only because she is married to him, but a politician important in his own right and not because he is also husband of a house wife?
   f. Does the text provide a fair and equitable portrayal of history?

The Sample

The textbooks I have selected for analysis, are each used to teach the Canadian history component of secondary social studies in Alberta and British Columbia. This is the topic of study that I am most familiar with as a classroom teacher. Moreover, I have done much work outside of the classroom on the historical experiences and contributions of Canadian women, so my expertise in this area will inform and enhance my discussion of the selected textbooks.

Two textbooks have been selected for study. Though other
content analyzes have selected a much greater number of textbooks, more attention is given to an examination of frequency in which females are included, rather than critically examining each instance in which females are mentioned, and where this mentioning occurs. I have selected two texts so that I may delve deep within the content and structure and illuminate, if they exist, the inequities throughout.

The first text, Canada Today, has been selected because of its prevalence in classrooms in both Alberta and British Columbia. It is a recommended text in British Columbia and a Prescribed text in Alberta. The second text, Canada: A Nation Unfolding, has recently been adopted by social studies teachers because of its structure and presentation, and is recommended for use in both provinces. I believe that it will become widely used in classrooms in the next few years. Of the two textbooks selected, this one is authored by a male-female team.

**Proposed Procedure**

I intend to approach this study by first reading each of the texts in their entirety to gain a sense of the organization and content of each. The next step is to focus on the quantitative aspects of the analysis - counting the number of pictures that depict women, the number of pictures which depict women of color and minority women, and the instances within the index that
women, their experiences and contributions, are noted. These will be recorded in a table format. Comparisons will be made to the frequency in which males and females appear in visuals.

When this is completed, I will approach the analysis one text at a time, chapter by chapter, adhering to the remaining categories that I have proposed. At this time I will look for instances in which women are discussed in the discourse, the manner of this discussion, and their positioning and representation. This process will take time and painstaking effort since it goes beyond a superficial examination of the textbook. I believe, however, that it is necessary to approach the examination in this way if educators are to understand the nature and extent of gender bias in social studies textbooks that continue to be both approved for use by ministries of education and used by teachers in the classroom.

This is not an "objective" study in that my conclusions could be verified by all other analysers. It is possible that we might all agree that there were no pictures of women in the textbooks, but disagree on our interpretation of these pictures. My perceptions, experiences, and values will influence the analysis as I bring to bear a feminist perspective. I make no apologies for this for if we are to bring about gender equity, then a feminist perspective (as I define it) is required.
Chapter 4

Findings

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

As I sat watching Everyman at the Charterhouse
I said to myself, why not Everywoman?
(Bernard Shaw, in Miles, 1988, p. 219)

Category 1: Language

A. Is the language gendered and if so, is it used appropriately? Consideration will be given to the use of both feminine and masculine pronouns and adjectives.

Throughout the textbook, the authors take care to use inclusive language when describing the experiences and contributions of people throughout history and in contemporary society. For example, the authors use such neutral terms as one, person, individual, police officer, etc. Unfortunately, the textbook does not always incorporate inclusive language in its discourse. On page 70, a discussion of citizens and the law is included with specific reference to the 1993 anti-stalking bill. The text states that:

The anti-stalking bill has made harassment a criminal offence. Criminal harassment includes persistently following someone, spending large amounts of time watching someone's home or place of work, making harassing phone calls, contacting someone's co-workers or neighbours, and contacting and possibly threatening someone's current boyfriend (my emphasis) or spouse.

In this instance, it is unclear if "boyfriend" is the term used in the legislation, or if it is used by the authors to describe
their interpretation of the legislation. Regardless, it is inappropriately used, implying that only females are the victims of harassment. It is erroneous to suggest that this is the case. But, at the same time in the vast majority of harassment cases the "victims" tend to be women.

This raises an interesting question about the use of gender-neutral language. Should it always be used and subsequently mask social realities? For example, should wife-beating be referred to as spousal abuse which then masks the reality that in most abusive marriages it is women who are abused by men? Not using gender-neutral languages in cases such as this would provide an opportunity for discussions of the social realities surrounding the situation. Teachers must then take responsible for alerting their students to these issues of language use.

In spite of this, male pronouns are occasionally used to describe the experiences of both males and females. When the authors have included direct quotes from individuals in the past, several of these quotes employ exclusive language by the individual speaking. However, given the context of the period in which the individual lived, this is not unacceptable. Nonetheless, the authors could have indicated that exclusive language is inappropriate in today's context by inserting, in brackets, sic, so that students are aware that although the individual being quoted spoke in exclusive terms, it is not
acceptable for students to do so.

Despite the non-gendered nature of the pronouns used in the text, the use of adjectives, in some instances, is gendered. Yet, for the most part, the authors make a concerted effort not to use adjectives to describe females; rather, they are simply referred to as "women," neither beautiful, nor fragile. When descriptions of women are included, they are frequently described as married, as wives, and as mothers (pp. 22, 71, 93, 94, 197, 257, 377, 376, 402).

Although this is necessary in some contexts, it is unnecessary in others. For example, on page 94, the text describes Lady Isabel Aberdeen, as "the wife of the governor general." Although it is important to note her status and position, she is defined first as a wife, rather than as a leader of the women's movement. Paraskeva Clark, on the other hand, is not defined first as a wife. Rather, she is defined as a painter who had a "Canadian-born husband" (p. 188). On page 197, there is an excerpt from a letter written by a "young man" to R.B. Bennett (the reader learns from the letter that this "young man" is married with children). There is also an excerpt from a letter written by a "young mother." Thus, in this instance, the man, though he is a father, is not defined as such, whereas the reverse is true for the woman. The authors need to be consistent in their use of adjectives to describe males and females, rather
than establishing a standard in which women are defined by their roles as wives and mothers, and men only by their role as man.

Beyond their roles as "wives" and "mothers", women are also described as leaders (p. 42), unpaid labourers (p. 258), members of groups, including reform groups, special interest groups, and "disadvantaged" groups (pp. 24, 329, 343, 390), activists (p. 403), and politicians (pp. 404, 405).

In three instances in this text, "girl" is used to describe adult women. On page 215, a Flapper is defined as a "typical girl of the 1920s"; on page 200, John T. Eaton is directly quoted as saying "you could take your girl to a supper dance at the hotel for $10"; and on page 257, women working in the munitions factory are referred to as "Bren girls." Although girl is commonly used to refer to women in everyday use, it is troubling when it is used in the language of the textbook. The use of "girl" is somewhat offensive when used to describe adult women. The association "carries certainly decidedly negative connotations - irresponsibility, immaturity, "smallness" of body or mind, etc" (Adams & Ware, 1989, p. 473). I realize that fifty years ago, the term "Bren girl" was used to describe women of the time and that John Eaton's use of the word "girl" was the norm rather than the exception; however, the authors have a responsibility to either not include this descriptor in the discussion, or to provide some critical discussion of its usage.
B. What message about women's historical contributions and experiences is implied through the use of language?

This is a difficult, yet crucial question to answer when attempting to illuminate the nature of gender bias in texts. In this particular textbook, a surface read does not necessarily create cause for concern. However, there is a very implicit message nurtured throughout the text, in those sections which provide more than a line of discussion about women's experiences and contributions. This message is that women have not always taken an active role in their contributions to history, that their experiences are strongly influenced by male actors and decision makers, not by women's own agency, and that they are often victims.

Students learn in the text that many war brides were "brought" (my emphasis) to Canada by their soldier husbands,

Immigration boomed after World War II, and almost 1.5 million people came to Canada between 1945 and 1957. The earliest arrivals were the "enemy aliens" who had been sent to Canadian internment camps from Britain during the war...about a fifth of the new arrivals came from Great Britain. Many were war brides who were brought to Canada by their soldier husbands (p. 376).

and that Prime Minister Diefenbaker "brought" (my emphasis) the first woman into cabinet,

Diefenbaker was a representative of the new face of Canada. Unlike all former prime ministers, who were of either French or British heritage, Diefenbaker was of German stock...Diefenbaker called for a new national
unity based on equality for all Canadians, regardless of race or creed. He called it a policy of “unhyphenated Canadianism.” Once in office, Diefenbaker appointed a Native to the Senate and named a member of Parliament of Ukrainian descent as his minister of labour. He also brought the first woman into the cabinet: Ellen Fairclough was appointed secretary of state (p. 378).

The implication in each of the above passages is that women are followers, not leaders, and their choices are strongly influenced by male actors/leaders. Consider the impact if the choice of words were different. Rather than being brought, war brides chose to accompany their husbands to Canada. Suggesting otherwise places these women in the same category as luggage, which is brought with us as we travel.

Similarly, rather than being “brought” into cabinet by Diefenbaker, Ellen Fairclough chose to accept her appointment as the new secretary of state. I am led to wonder why the Native senator was appointed, the Ukrainian MP named, but the female MP brought? The use of language in this way subtly denies women agency, and students learn that women did not make choices on their own; they were instead following the lead of men.

Even in those discussions which describe women’s participation in social reform movements, their experiences are often downplayed and described as strongly influenced by males. For example, students learn that “by the time of the Laurier era, several women had become active in the struggle for women’s rights” (p. 93). First, several women suggests an indefinite
number, but fewer than many. In reality, by this time, thousands of women across the country were actively lobbying federal and provincial governments for the right to vote, so suggesting that only "several" were involved downplays the magnitude of the movement (Hallett, M., & Davis, M., 1993). Secondly, these women were doing more than struggling, they were actively fighting. Again, the choice of words diminishes the experiences and contributions of women in reform movements.

On page 182, students are told that "women came to play a more active role in society" during the 1920s and 1930s. This implies that prior to these decades, women were relatively inactive in society. The language used here negates women's ongoing and active participation in society throughout time.

Students also learn that the Enfranchisement of Women Act, passed in 1916, "gave" women the right to vote. This suggests that men bestowed upon women an enormous favour in granting their request, negating the long, arduous fight that women engaged in. This message is reinforced when the Wartime Elections Act of 1917 is introduced, and the text states that "Borden's government decided during the war that it was time to give women the right to vote in federal elections" (p. 156). Again, this negates the fight that women had undertaken leading up to this decision. It suggests instead that the decision, made by a man, occurred in isolation, and only when he determined that "it was time."
All of these examples illuminate how language can subtly reinforce particular messages about women's historical experiences and contributions. I am not suggesting that the authors of the text deliberately set out to undermine the importance of women's historical role, but through their choice of language, this occurs within the textbook.

C. What qualifies as discussion of women's contributions? Are they discussed only in context of wars, politics, economics, and reform movements? Specific statements about women will be assessed.

Within the pages of this textbook, women are discussed in the context of their participation in the public sphere, including wars, politics, economics and reform movements, and in their role as caregivers and supporters. Several examples support this assessment. Women are described as "dramatically changed by the war" (p. 154); working as "nurses in military hospitals to care for Allied soldiers" (p. 155); "taking on a stronger role in public life" (p. 155); "entering the workforce" (p. 94); working "for prohibition...and women's right to vote" (p. 218); being "actively recruited into the labour force" (p. 256); hanging "up their uniforms" and taking "off their slacks and bandannas" (p. 258); once again taking up "the struggle for political, social, and economic equality" (p. 402) and; "entering politics" (p. 404).
D. Emergent Themes

In addition to a general discussion of women's lives and experiences in the public realm, specific discussion of women's firsts in these areas is prevalent throughout the textbook. Several political firsts for women are highlighted on page 41; the first native female member of parliament appears on page 45; on page 59, Bertha Wilson is noted as the first woman to sit on the Supreme Court of Canada; women's firsts in voting rights appear on page 156; recognition is given on page 221 to Emily Murphy, in her capacity as the first female magistrate in the British Empire; page 220 indicates that "Elsie Gregory MacGill was the first woman to graduate with a degree in electrical and aeronautical engineering"; Roberta Bondar is applauded on page 349 for being the first female Canadian astronaut in space; Audrey McLaughlin is mentioned on page 404 as the "first woman to be the national leader of a major political party" and Kim Campbell on the same page as "Canada's first female prime minister."
Category 2: Visual Representation

A. How many pictures of women are included in the text? On own? With Others?

Canada: A Nation Unfolding, is rich with visuals, which is one of its appeals for teachers and students. In total, there are two-hundred and fifty-six visuals in the textbook, and of those, one-hundred and nineteen (46.48%) include females. Males appear in one-hundred and seventy-four visuals (67.97%) visuals in the text. Thus, males are depicted 21.49% more often in pictures or photos than females. Forty visuals (15.6%) contain neither males nor females. A category was allowed for visuals which contain people but are not identifiable as males or females. In this text, no visual met this criteria.

Forty (15.6%) of the visuals depict females only, whereas ninety-six (37.5%) visuals depict males only. In all visuals, males appear 21.9% more often than females. Photos containing images of an individual female or an individual male are twenty (7.8%) for the former and thirty-six (14%) for the latter. Thus, photos of individual males are almost double those of individual females.

Forty-six (17.96%) of the two-hundred and fifty-six visuals contain a mix of males and females. Fifty-eight (22.66%) visuals contain groups of males only, whereas twenty-three (8.98%) visuals contain groups of females only. Females are thus under-
represented, implicitly suggesting that men more often associated with one another and contributed to society through group membership.

B. How are women depicted in the pictures? Traditional roles? Non-traditional roles?

Of the one-hundred and nineteen visuals in which women appear, sixteen (13%) depict women in traditional roles. These roles include mothering, nursing, gossiping, and supporting men (see Appendix A). Interestingly, in twenty-four (20%) of the visuals depicting women, women appear in non-traditional roles. These include women as politicians, military personal, factory workers, protestors, gas station attendants, etc (see Appendix B).

C. How are men depicted in pictures? Traditional roles? Non-traditional roles?

Of the one-hundred and seventy-four visuals featuring men, eighty-seven (50%) depict men engaging in traditional roles. In the remaining 50%, they are shown as members of crowds or groups, or in portraits. Thus, they never appear in non-traditional roles. That is, males are never shown as nurses, caregivers, homemakers, etc, only as politicians, farmers, laborers, etc. This point will be discussed later in this thesis.
D. How many women are included in the capacity of "great?"

Women appear in the capacity of "great" in nineteen (15.96%) of the one-hundred and nineteen visuals in which they appear. These "great women" include visuals of key women in reform movements; females who were "first" at something, including member of parliament, prime minister, female Canadian astronaut in space; and first female member of the Supreme Court of Canada; and women who have gained fame in the entertainment industry (see Appendix C).

E. What is the size of the pictures that women are depicted in compared to those of men?

In this textbook, there was no difference in the sizes of visuals depicting women versus those depicting men. Throughout the text, there is an effort to include visuals of relatively the same size and in a variety of locations, including the centre of the page, top left, top right, bottom left, bottom right, top centre, and bottom centre. The only difference worthy of note (and not one initially accounted for in the methodology) is that the authors include "portraits" of individuals throughout the text which generally appear in the bottom left, right, or centre of the page and are not surrounded by borders of any sort. These "portraits," eleven in total, tend to depict men who are worthy of note in some area, political or other (see Appendix D). Only one of the eleven "portraits" is of females; Emmeline Pankhurst
and Nellie McClung. This "portrait," though located at the bottom centre of the page, is the smallest of the "portraits."

F. When women of color / minority women play a role in history, are they visually represented?

Throughout the text and all of the visuals included within it, only eighteen (15%) of all photos or pictures depicting women of color or minority women. Thus, women of color / minority women appear in only 7% of visuals in the text. Moreover, the women in these visuals are depicted as members of groups or families rather than as individuals contributing to Canada's past and present (see Appendix E). Consequently, when women of color or minority women have played a role in Canada's history, they tend not to be depicted in the textbook. This is problematic and will be discussed later in this thesis.

G. Emergent Themes

As an analysis of the text's visuals was being undertaken, several themes emerged not previously accounted for. These include attention to where women are situated in the visuals, how many women are specifically named in visuals, and how many works of art reproduced in the text are created by women. Since numerous photos include both males and females, it is crucial to note where females and males are situated. Situating females mostly in the background implicitly suggests that they have
played only a supporting role in history, rather than a key role. When they appear in the forefront, then the message is that they have actively been involved in shaping history.

Nineteen (7.42%) of the two-hundred and fifty-six visuals depict only males in the forefront, whereas in only three (1.17%) of the visuals in which both genders are present, are females situated in the forefront, a substantially smaller percentage than males.

Throughout the textbook, there is a tendency to provide a description of the photo below or beside it. This will be referred to hereafter as the "photo caption." Of those photos which contain only individual males, twenty-two (61%) of thirty-six photo captions contain the Christian names of males. However, although more than half of the photo captions of individual females provide Christian names (eleven of twenty), they are named 6% less often than males (55% of the time). Naming individuals gives them an identity; not naming them denies them an identity. With this in mind, this is problematic and will be discussed at greater length further in this thesis.

A final theme which emerged during analysis of visual representation pertains to the use of reproduced artwork in the text. Generally, the authors have selected paintings done by Canadians throughout history, and occasionally, they include other forms of art such as sculptures. In total, there are
eighteen paintings reproduced in the text. Of these eighteen, eleven artists are male, two artists are women (Emily Carr and Paraskeva Clark), and five artists are unknown (either the authors did not include the painter's name or they did not know the painter's name). Thus, 61% of the reprinted paintings are done by males, 11% by females, and 28% by unknown artists. Based on these percentages, it may be concluded that female artists are glaringly under-represented in the textbook. Though the authors may have had good reason for this, a more likely interpretation is that artwork done by Canadian men has received more recognition and as a result, is more available for reproduction. There have been many female artists throughout Canadian history, but for women, art was considered a "hobby" rather than an occupation, so their artwork tended to remain obscure and unknown.

Category 3: Positioning

A. How are women positioned in the textbook? Outside of the main text (frequency)? Within the main text (frequency)?

To determine how information about females is included within the discourse of the text, the text was read in its entirety and each mention of females documented, whether it was specific or general, one line or several. It was noted if mention was made within the main text or outside of the main text in boxed off sections generally set apart by colors or borders.
Chapter Reviews, which appear at the end of each of the chapters in the text, and Unit Reviews which appear at the end of each unit, were also examined to assess whether questions about females were posed and their relative location in the list of questions. Both the Chapter Reviews and Unit Reviews are not considered part of the main text, but an addendum to them. They are easily skipped by students particularly if they are not required by their teachers to respond to the questions. Thus, any mention of females made in these sections is considered separate from the main body of information presented in the text.

It could be argued that these parts of the text in fact highlight the really important information; if women are included in these sections then it might be worth more than the main text. I would respond to this argument by suggesting that these sections are still outside of the main text, and are thus less likely to be focussed on by students unless they are required to do so. Further, teachers often select particular questions for students to hand in rather than assigning every question. My concern is that even if there are one or two questions which address those women, their lives and experiences included in the chapter, there is no guarantee that the students will respond to the questions. These sections are not part of the main body of information and will not be dealt with in that category.

In addition, each unit begins with a brief overview of the
unit's theme/s, and is considered to be outside of the main text, as is the Focus On which appears as a list at the beginning of each chapter. One final item considered as outside of the main text is the Glossary Terms appearing at the side of the first page of each chapter.

In total, females are mentioned one-hundred and seventy-six times in this textbook, whether they are mentioned in one line or twenty. They are mentioned eighty-five (48%) times within the main text and ninety-one (52%) times outside of the main text, even though there are more lines of discussion included within the main text (see Appendix F). Here I must point to the difference between mention being made of females and lines of discussion accorded females. For example, if there is a paragraph of discussion about Nellie McClung I have counted this as one instance in which a woman is mentioned, and 12 lines of text within the main text that includes a woman, her experiences and contributions to history.

As discussed in Chapter 2, positioning women outside of the main text makes their stories and experiences marginal. The information is more easily skipped by both teachers and students (and I also speak from my own experiences here). In this textbook, more than half of the information about women appears outside of the main text, so possibly more than half of the information will never be read or understood by students.
B. Emergent Themes

There are 413 pages of text in this textbook, with approximately 19160 lines. This is not an absolute count of the number of lines in the text; rather, the number of lines on each of the first fifteen pages were counted, and an average calculated. There are approximately forty-six lines of text per page, multiplied by four-hundred and thirteen pages, resulting in approximately nineteen-thousand one-hundred and sixty lines of text. Mention of females is made within the main body of text in seven-hundred and ninety-four lines, and outside of the main body of text in five-hundred and seventeen lines. Thus, 6.5% of the text makes general or specific reference to females, their experiences, and their historical and contemporary contributions to society.

To count the number of lines in which males are included throughout the text would be an extremely tedious and time-consuming endeavour. Suffice to say that although some of the text does not advance descriptions of people, males are included in more than 50% of the text. This is a casual rather than empirical observation based on my reading of the text, and observing the number of pages devoted entirely to men, their lives, experiences and contributions (over two-hundred pages).

What is interesting to note, is that when women appear within the main body of text rather than outside of it, their
positioning within the chapters that they warrant the most discussion is problematic. For example, in chapter thirteen, "War on the Home Front," there are two-hundred and thirty-nine lines in which women are mentioned in the chapter's seventeen pages. (see Appendix F). However, it is not until the 11th page of the chapter that women and their contributions to the war effort are referred to in any detail. Thus, women's efforts appear to be secondary to men's during times of war, as they are not given recognition until well after the men.

Within the main text, discussions of women are included in sections entitled "Women's Contribution to the War Effort," "Women in Industry," "Women in Agriculture," "Women in the Services," "Women as Volunteers," and "Women After the War" (the 11th, 12th and 13th pages of the chapter). I would argue that these separate sections again serve to marginalize women's historical experiences and contributions. They are technically within the main text, but accorded their own sections, not worthy of being integrated into a general discussion of these topics.

Outside of the main text discussions of women are included in two sections entitled "Canadian Women At War," and "Canada's War Brides" (the 14th and 16th pages of the chapter). So, although there is a great deal of discussion surrounding women's involvement in the war effort both on the homefront and in Europe, this discussion is situated in the last pages of the
This is also the case in chapter eleven, "Life in Canada in the 1920s and 1930s," and chapter eight "War on the Home Front." Chapter eleven does not detail women in the 1920s and 1930s until the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th pages of the 16 page chapter. The discussion comes under four headings: 1. Women in the 1920s and 1930s, 2. Women in Sport, 3. The Many Faces of Women in the 1920s, and 4. The Person's Case.

Similarly, in chapter eight, there are two sections within the main text that address women's role in the war effort: 1. Women During the War Years, and 2. Women, Social Reform, and the Vote. These two sections appear on the 6th, 7th, and 8th pages of the chapter's thirteen pages. Although they are not tucked away at the end of the chapter, as was the case in chapters eleven and thirteen, they are still positioned after topics such as "Gearing Up for the War," "Canada's 'Enemy Aliens,'" "Food for the War Effort," "Canada's Munitions Industry," "Posters, Patriotism, and Government Propaganda," and "Profiteering and Scandal in the War."

Finally, the greatest attention to females' experiences and contributions to Canadian society is made in chapter twenty, "Canada As a Multicultural Nation," which is, incidentally, the last chapter in the text (see Appendix F). Headings such as "The Second Wave": "The New Women's Movement," "Women's Liberation,"
"The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada," and "The Struggle Goes On," are located not at the beginning of the chapter, but in the middle. These sections are located on pages 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of the chapter's twenty pages. Obviously, the authors of the text recognized the importance of including some discussion surrounding women's issues; unfortunately, they are situated in the last chapter of the text. Positioning the most extensive discussion of females in the text's last chapter is problematic and will be discussed further in this thesis.

Category 4: Critical Analysis of Content

A.  i. Based on the Table of Contents, what knowledge is valued in the text?

ii. How often are women, their experiences and contributions, noted in the Index?

i. The Table of Contents is arranged by units and the chapters included within each unit. In total, the text is organized around seven units and twenty chapters (see Appendix J). Based on the titles of the units and the topics that they include, it is safe to assume that political, economic and military knowledge are highly valued in this text. Political knowledge is what students will have first exposure to in the text, reinforcing its importance in the curriculum and in the classroom.

Several chapters focus on political events and the politics that shaped and continue to shape relations in Canada both
internally and externally (see Appendix J). Also, the major theme of the textbook is that of Canada as a nation, and Canada's nationhood is influenced by both economic and political policy.

It is not difficult to discern that military knowledge or the knowledge of conflict is also paramount (Chapters 7-9 and 12-14). In addition, social knowledge merits some value as there is some examination of the social impact of war on Canadians collectively and individually. However, the social experiences of Canadians during times of war, and the position of the chapters addressing these experiences, appear at the end of each unit with a military focus. This reinforces the value placed on military knowledge and serves as a means of reinforcing the perceived importance of World War I for Canadians. These chapters (9 and 14) discuss the impact of the War on Canadian political autonomy, as well as the economic benefits of the War for Canada as a country. Thus, the value placed on political and economic knowledge is again evident, along with the value placed on military knowledge.

Some value is placed on cultural knowledge as evidenced in the title of the last chapter in the text (see Appendix J). Social knowledge is included in Chapter 19; however, the title of Chapter 20 is so generic it is difficult to make a judgement as to what knowledge is valued.

In summary, it is apparent, based on both the chapter and
unit titles, that economic, political, and military knowledge / the knowledge of conflict, are paramount in this text. Some value is placed on social and cultural knowledge but these do not appear to receive the same attention as the others. This is not a surprising finding, as traditionally, in their progression toward "citizenship" students tend to learn about the history of wars, politics and economics.

ii. An examination of the text's index reveals that there are, in total, six-hundred and eighteen entries. Women are named specifically in seven entries and generically in five entries, while women's experiences and contributions constitute seven entries (see Appendix G). In terms of frequency, 3% of the index documents women, their experiences and contributions. The remaining 97% of the index includes references to specific men in Canadian history, political topics, military topics, and economic topics. Seventy men (11% of the index) are specifically named in the index. This is greater than all mention of women and their experiences and contributions, by 8%, yet it only includes those men specifically named. I am not suggesting that the remainder of all indexed entries are "male" even if not stated as such, for this would be erroneous. Indexed entries such as "soldiers," "prime ministers," "civil servants," etc., though not included in this count would be considered traditionally "male".
What is worthy of comment is that many women who are specifically named within the textbook are not included in the index. For example, ten lines of text on page 189 are dedicated to a discussion of Emily Carr, a famous Canadian painter, along with a reproduction of one of her paintings. However, she is nowhere to be found in the index. This is also true of Paraskeva Clark, Bertha Wilson, and Ethel Blondin, to name but a few. It is not clear why these women have been excluded from the index, but this issue will be explored later in this thesis.

B. How often are women quoted in the text?

The text contains one-hundred and thirty-three instances where a male or female is quoted and is identified, either by pronoun or name, as being male or female (see Appendix H). Those quotes in which gender is indeterminate are not included in this discussion, or in discussions involving the other two textbooks being analyzed. In total, sixteen women (12%) and one-hundred and seventeen men (88%) are quoted in the text. In addition, of the sixteen women quoted, nine (56%) are named and seven (44%) remain unnamed. In contrast, of the one-hundred and seventeen quotes by males included in the text, ninety-six men (82%) are named and twenty-one men (18%) are unnamed.
C. Are women included in reference lists for further reading? If so, how often and in what context?

The authors of this text do not include any reference lists for further reading, so this question is not applicable in this case.

D. What is regarded as significant historical contributions?

As previously noted in the language category of analysis, significant historical contributions made by women are discussed in the context of their participation in wars and conflict, participation in the political sphere, participation in economic activities outside of the home, and participation in reform movements including suffrage and prohibition. There is little discussion on women's participation in the private sphere, their participation in the arts, the rise of feminist consciousness, or the history of birth control.

Women are virtually absent from discussions of French-English Relations (general mention is made of women only six times in this chapter, see Appendix F), Canadian-American relations (women mentioned generally only five times, see Appendix F) and the formation of Canada as a nation. The implicit message here is that women did not contribute to these historical topics; rather, that men alone were the key actors and decision makers.
E. Is each woman discussed seen as an autonomous being?

The word autonomous implies that an individual exists or is capable of existing independently, and although many of the women in this textbook are presented as being autonomous human beings, to the credit of the authors, there are others who are not. Often, discussion of women revolves around their membership in women's organizations or groups. These groups, nameless, faceless collectives, are credited with involvement in social reform movements, lobbying the government for changes in legislation, and organizing to support men in various efforts. Few women are specifically named, and when they are, it is often in the context of their membership in a group (pp. 91, 154, 155, 256, 257, 259, 403). For example, on page 156, the text states that:

Many suffragists continued to campaign hard for women's right to vote in provincial and federal elections...A group of women journalists, including Nellie McClung, Cora Hind, and Francis Beynon, won for Manitoba women the right to vote in provincial elections.

Thus, these women exist only insofar as their group membership allows.

Further, women's experiences and contributions are often defined in relation to their role as wives or mothers (pp. 71, 144, 136, 197, 223, 261, 277). In some instances this is necessary, as in the section "Women and Changes in Civil Law" (p. 71). Here, it is the way that women were legally treated as
It is important to point out that the authors of this text have made an effort to depict women as autonomous. However, when a comparison is made between men and women, men as autonomous appear more frequently than women. They are less often defined in relation to their membership in groups; rather, they are portrayed as individuals acting independently as they contribute to society. On page 78, John A. Macdonald is introduced in the following way:

John A. Macdonald eased himself down onto a lower step. His hat rested on his knee, and his face was turned squarely toward the camera.

This excerpt depicts Macdonald as an individual, not as a father, husband, or member of a group. Not until the end of the page is mention made of Macdonald belonging to the Fathers of Confederation, when the text states that "these men came to be known as the Fathers of Confederation." Consequently, these men are defined first as individuals taking action, and only after action has been taken are they defined in relation to group membership.

F. Does the text provide a fair and equitable portrayal of history?

This is a difficult question to respond to, as several factors must first be considered. An unfair / inequitable portrayal of history incorporates the belief that matters
regarding women are less important than those regarding men. Assessing whether or not this is a "fair" portrayal of history requires an appraisal of the context of this historical discussion. It may be argued that in any history of wars, politics, economics, and reform movements, it is unrealistic to expect women to be highly visible, as they were historically invisible in these areas.

However, when consideration is given to women's inclusion in the text in this context, even if it is only 6.8% of the time, the "fairness" of this inclusion comes into question. That is, when an effort is made to deconstruct the excerpts in which women's experiences and contributions are documented, a "fair" portrayal of history is sometimes lacking. Further, when judging the fairness of their historical representation, attention to the completeness of it must also be factored in. To be "fair", a text must move away from cursory mention of issues which affected women's historical experience. Instead, these issues must be attended to with depth and detail. When this occurs, in the context of the history being discussed, it is a more fair or just representation of history.

Depicting women in the context of "great," defining them in relation to their membership in groups, and failing to discuss the lives and contributions of "ordinary" women in both the public and private spheres does not make for a fair
representation of women's historical experiences and contributions. Even when an evaluation is made only in the context of what topics and issues are included for discussion in this text, the text falls short.

Keeping this in mind, an examination of those instances in which women's experiences and contributions are visible in the text often reveals a lack of fairness. For example, *The Women's Movement in Canada*, which appears on page 94, suggests that as women entered the labour market, they historically earned less than men. Although the authors should be commended for including the issue of pay equity, they fail to discuss why women earned less than men. They also fail to include mention of those women who actively lobbied for pay equity, those occupations that remained closed to women, and why they were closed to women.

On page 68, two scenarios are presented that highlight contracts and youth in a chapter addressing Canada's judicial system. One is the story of a young female promised money for college by a man on her paper route and the other is the story of a young, male hockey player attempting to remove himself from a contract with his hockey team. The former scenario does not include the outcome of the trial whereas the latter scenario does. As a result, students are presented with an incomplete account of the young female's situation and a complete account of the young male's situation. The result is an incomplete and thus
unfair portrayal of the female's experience.

Another example involves a section on page 219 entitled *The Person's Case*. Here, Emily Murphy is named as a key figure in this battle for equality, but the other four women involved in this fight; Irene Parlby, Henrietta Edwards, Louise McKinney, and Nellie McClung are not mentioned. As well, the authors do not discuss the Supreme Court of Canada's decision which ruled against these women and denied all women recognition as "people" under the law. Instead, only the Privy Council decision is included which granted women the title of "persons." This incomplete account of such a momentous battle for all Canadian women is unfair. It fails to inform students of the barriers that women faced and their perseverance in light of these barriers.

Included on page 399, toward the end of the text, is a section entitled *The Second Wave: The New Women's Movement*. Here, women's entry into the workforce is attributed to the desire for a higher standard of living for families. This is a problematic and incomplete discussion. Many women entered the workforce, not to ensure a higher standard of living for their families, but to ensure that their families could survive, particularly if they were single-parent families. Further, as a result of the long battle that women waged against barriers in the workforce, it become more "acceptable" for women to enter
into paid work outside of the home. Finally, many women saw entry into the labour force as new found independence, not as a means of ensuring a "higher standard of living." Thus, suggesting that this movement from unpaid to paid work was the result of a single factor does an injustice to the multiplicity of factors surrounding this issue. It is neither a complete analysis, nor a fair analysis of this historical phenomena.

Finally, the section entitled The Royal Commission on the Status of Women appearing on pages 403 and 404 states that "the Indian act was changed to end discrimination against Native women." In this context, it appears that the authors have defined discrimination in a legalistic sense. Native women who married non-Native men and their children lost their Indian status. Thus, the act was changed so that status was no longer contingent upon marriage choice. However, although the Act may have ended discrimination in one sense, it did not eliminate discrimination altogether. Yet, in reading this section it would appear that, with the passage of a new act, native women would never again face discrimination. Sadly, this is not the case, and it is unfair to suggest otherwise as it mitigates the reality of being both native and female.

Determining whether or not the text presents an equitable portrayal of history requires an understanding of the term gender equity. As defined earlier in this thesis, gender equity
requires that equal value be placed on those characteristics and activities traditionally defined as "masculine" and those traditionally defined as "feminine." In this text, "feminine" characteristics and activities are not accorded equal value. Evidence of this is apparent in the visual representation findings when no males where depicted engaging in "non-traditional" roles, but several females were.

In addition, if historical discourse is gender equitable, then it must acknowledge the importance of women's work historically, both in the private and public spheres. Though the authors do provide discussion of women's activities in the public realm, particularly as they engage in politics, reform movements, and the labour force, virtually no discussion of their contributions and experiences in the private realm exists. Since the text discusses Canada's evolution as a nation, there is certainly room to acknowledge and discuss the importance of women's work in the home as a factor in Canada's growth.

G. Emergent Themes

One aspect of analysis unaccounted for in the methodology which is deserving of note is the questions for review at the end of each chapter and unit. Each chapter culminates with four sections of questions and activities: Knowing the Key People, Places and Events; Focus Your Knowledge; Apply Your Knowledge
and; Extend Your Knowledge. Each unit ends with questions pertaining to the issues and topics covered in the unit. In total, there are two-hundred and twenty-five entries under Knowing the Key People, Places and Events, and three-hundred and eighty-eight questions (see Appendix H). Women and women's issues are included in Knowing the Key People, Places and Events in eight (3.5%) of the two-hundred and twenty-five entries. Of those eight entries, two name women specifically, whereas men are specifically named in thirty-five. This translates into women being named less than 1% of the time, and men approximately 15% of the time.

Further, of the three-hundred and eighty-eight questions following the chapters and units, twenty-four (6%) focus on women, women's issues, and contributions. When questions are combined with Knowing the Key People, Places and Events, women are included in thirty-two (5%) of six-hundred and thirteen entries. Given that the text dedicates 6.8% of all discussion to women's experiences and contributions, there is a clear disparity between text and review of text!
Chapter 5

Findings

Canada Today

I have seen my country emerge from obscurity into one of the truly great nations of the world. People must know the past to understand the present and face the future.
(McClung, in Hallett & Davies, 1993, p. 292)

Category 1: Language

A. Is the language gendered and if so, is it used appropriately? Consideration will be given to the use of both feminine and masculine pronouns and adjectives.

As in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, there is a concerted effort in this textbook to avoid the use of gendered language. Within the main text, there is no instance in which exclusive language is used unless it is in the context of discussing the contributions of specific males and females. Outside of the main text, however, there are occasions where exclusive language is used.

On page 123, a newspaper article entitled "Cod Forsaken waters" is reprinted. In this article, the term "fishermen" is used to discuss individuals who fish for a living. What is interesting to note is that later within the same article, "fishers" is used in place of "fishermen." This happens again on page 405 when Lewis MacKenzie, a Canadian General is quoted. Initially, he uses only male pronouns to refer to the individuals he commands - "every one of them puts his life on the live every
day..." Later in the quote he speaks of "Canada's sons and daughters ... serving in dangerous situations." If the authors of the text are going to include quotes from individuals that alternate between exclusive and inclusive language, the authors have a responsibility to indicate that when exclusive language is used it is not appropriate in today's context. As indicated earlier, this can be done by using the term sic when exclusive language is used.

On page 304, in a discussion of citizenship in Ancient Rome, the term "free man" is used to describe those citizens who held certain rights. In this context, exclusive language is appropriate, as women were not considered citizens with special rights in Ancient Rome. Unfortunately, the authors of the text fail to make this distinction.

On one occasion, the authors draw attention to the gendered language used by the poet John Donne in his poem "No man is an island." In brackets, after the poem is reprinted, the authors indicate that "In Donne's time, reference to 'mankind' and 'man' meant all human beings." What they have achieved here is drawing attention to how gendered language was once used but is no longer used to universalize all people. For this they must be applauded.

Generally, throughout the text, the authors avoid the use of gendered adjectives to describe males or females. Women are
never described as "pretty" or "frail" and men are never described as "handsome" or "strong." However, the authors use the adjective "hero" rather than "heroine" on page 364 to describe the efforts of Grace MacPherson during the First World War. Hero is a term usually accorded males, and heroine females, so it is interesting that the authors have selected a male adjective in this case.

When descriptions of women are included in the text, they are sometimes described as married, as wives, or as mothers (pp. 39, 50, 97, 206, 281, 306, 360, 363, 380). As well, women are occasionally described as victims as on page 439 when the text states that "Despite the international agreements that protect the rights of women, in many countries women are poor, victims of violence, humiliation, mutilation, job inequity, and low wages." Using the term "victim" to describe women and their experiences suggests that women passively accept these behaviors in the countries in which they live. Rather than using this term, the authors might have selected a word that does not imply such a complete lack of agency. Suggesting instead that women are "subjected to" or "experience" these behaviors does not negate the agency that women have demonstrated in fighting these injustices.

Women are not just described as "wives", "mothers", they are also described as leaders (p. 435), as members of groups,
including reform groups, special interest groups, and "disadvantaged" groups (pp. 44, 65, 94, 276, 313, 314, 315, 432, 439, 440, 474), and as politicians (pp. 52, 94). Attention is also given to describing women as hockey players (pp. 20, 21).

B. What message about women's historical contributions and experiences is implied through the use of language?

Although there is little text dedicated to recounting the experiences and contributions of females throughout history, when more than a few lines do so, they often implicitly suggest that women have not actively engaged in contributing to events. As was the case in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, this texts tends to reinforce the message that women's experiences historically have been largely shaped and influenced by men.

This is particularly true in sections detailing women's fight to win the right to vote in a democratic nation. For example, on page 312, students learn that "voting rights were extended to women." on page 314 that "Ontario allowed women to vote in school trustee elections," that "BC permitted women to vote in local elections" and that "all Canadian women who were not of Asian decent, status Indian, or Innuit, were given the right to vote in federal elections." While it is certainly true that the governments had the power to "permit" or "allow" women the right to vote in the early 1900s, the use of these words suggest that women played only a passive role in this process.
Rather, as indicated earlier, women fought long and hard to be accorded this right, it was not merely "given" to them by a paternalistic government. The danger in using such descriptors is that students will come away with an inaccurate and incomplete understanding of women's experiences and contributions during this period of history.

Students learn that "from the 1960s, the women of Canada have organized and educated themselves to take on an equal role with men in running the country" (p. 17). This statement is problematic in a number of ways. First, it is erroneous to suggest that it was not until the 1960s that women organized and educated themselves in order to engage in the business of "running the country." Rather, women were organizing and educating themselves much earlier, as the authors themselves suggest in their discussion surrounding the right to vote movement for women. Secondly, the statement implies that the running of the country requires involvement in politics. However, this is but one interpretation of what activities are required in running any country. Women may not have been actively involved in the political process because of the many barriers that they faced, but they were actively involved in educating children, raising families, managing households, etc. These activities may not have involved making political decisions, but they did require making numerous decisions about
the welfare Canadian citizens. So in as much as men were involved in running the country from Ottawa, women were involved in running the country from their homes.

Finally, the statement suggests that prior to the 1960s, women were relatively uneducated, and not until this period in history did they actively attempt to become educated. Again this is an erroneous, and ultimately unfair statement to make. Moreover, it is equally unfair to imply that women were not organized before 1960. In fact, women were engaging in reform and abolition movements before the turn of the century. What message does a statement such as this send to students?

On page 44, students learn that in 1940, women gained the right to vote in Quebec elections. They also learn that "The 'new Quebecers' began to demand changes, and they became impatient when government did not respond to their demands." Although this may have been the case, the "new Quebecers" did more than become "impatient" when their demands were not acknowledged, but the authors fail to elaborate. The image that is potentially fostered in this description is one of women stomping there feet and wagging their fingers, as an impatient child does, but doing nothing more to alleviate the impatience.

Each of these examples, whether the authors of the text intended them to or not, implicitly reinforces particular messages about women and their historical contributions and
experiences. Again, I am not suggesting that the authors of the text deliberately set out to devalue or belittle the role of women in history, but through their choice of language, this is a potential problem.

C. What qualifies as discussion of women's contributions? Are they discussed only in context of wars, politics, economics, and reform movements?

In an effort to avoid repetition, this question is addressed by identifying those instances in which discussion of women's contributions is not in the context of wars, politics, economics, and reform movements although, as in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, this text tends to dedicate the majority of discussion surrounding women in the context of the four categories stated. However, women are also discussed outside of these contexts. Thus, attention to women's lives, experiences, and contributions outside of the predetermined categories will be examined.

Women are discussed as athletes, particularly in the context of their success as athletes on an international level (pp. 20, 21, 76). In addition, several female authors are discussed including Margaret Laurence, described as a "world famous author," (p. 13) Lucy Maud Montgomery whose character Anne Shirley became "one of the world's most popular literary characters," (p. 13) and Gabrielle Roy "recognized as one of Canada's best writers," (p. 48). Discussion of women also
includes those who have contributed to the arts (pp. 76 & 77). Although each of these instances falls outside of the context of wars, reform movements, politics, and economics, they still encompass the public sphere.

D. Emergent Themes

As in the previous textbook, there is an abundance of women included in this textbook when they have been the first at something. Charlotte Whitton is included because she was the first female mayor in Canada, as is Jean Sauve for being the first female governor general of Canada (page 13). The first female prime minister of Canada, Kim Campbell, is acknowledged on page 54; Irene Parlby on page 94 for being the first female cabinet minister in Alberta; Manon Rheaume on page 21 for being the first female goalie in the National Hockey League; Nellie McClung on page 313 for being the first woman to sit on the Dominion War Council and; women's firsts in voting rights appear on page 314.
Category 2: Visual Representation

A. How many pictures of women are included in the text? On own? With Others?

Visuals abound in Canada Today, and like Canada: A Nation Unfolding, there are a total of two-hundred and fifty-six photos, drawings or pictures. Females appear in one-hundred and three visuals (40%) and males in one-hundred and sixty-one (63%). Males appear 23% more often than females do throughout the text. In total, there are forty-six visuals (18%) in the text, which do not include males or females, or where the sex of the individuals pictured is not identifiable.

Males are included without females one-hundred and five times (41%) throughout the textbook, whereas females are included without males forty-one times (16%). This translates into a rather substantial difference. Males appear 25% more often without females than females do without males.

Of the two-hundred and fifty-six visuals, fifty-five (22%) portray individual males only and thirty-one (12%) portray individual females only. This is a difference of 10%. An even more substantial difference in frequency involves the representation of groups of males versus groups of females. In total, there are fifty-two (20%) visuals which depict groups of males and nine (4%) which depict groups of females, equalling a difference of 16%.
Finally, photos which included both males and females were assessed to determine how often each gender appeared in the forefront. There are twelve visuals (4.7%) in which only males appear in the forefront, and seven (2.7%) in which only females appear in the forefront. This is not a substantial difference and does not merit further discussion. In fact, in sixteen instances (6.25%), both males and females appear in the forefront of photographs, so the text is not biased in this respect.

B. How are women depicted in the pictures? Traditional roles? Non-traditional roles?

Throughout the text women appear in both traditional and non-traditional roles. Women are considered to be engaging in traditional activities if they are care giving, mothering, teaching, or engaging in "domestic" tasks. Any activities historically dominated by men, such as participation in politics, reform movements, economic activities, wars, law, medicine, and law enforcement are viewed as non-traditional. Women are shown in traditional roles in thirteen (12.62%) of the text's visuals (see Appendix A). However, women appear in non-traditional roles in thirty-eight (37%) of the one-hundred and three visuals which portray them (see Appendix B). Thus, a concerted effort has been made by the authors of the text to illustrate females transgressing the boundaries of tradition, and engaging in a wide
variety of roles and activities.

C. How are men depicted in pictures? Traditional roles? Non-traditional roles?

Unfortunately, this does not hold true for those visuals which depict men engaging in non-traditional roles. In only three (1.86%) of the one-hundred and sixty-one photos depicting males, are they presented in a non-traditional manner. On page 158, a man is shown mopping a floor in the background of a photo; on page 370 a man is cooking while a woman watches and; on page 387 a man wearing an apron is stirring a pot on a kitchen stove, apparently making soup. In one-hundred and nine (68%) of the one-hundred and sixty-one visuals in which men appear, they are engaging in traditional roles. In the remaining forty-nine photos, men are not shown engaging in any sort of activity, or it is difficult to determine what they are doing, which is why not every photo that includes a male is part of this total.

Such a large discrepancy between women engaging in non-traditional roles, and men engaging in non-traditional roles is very problematic. Based on this finding it would appear that it is more desirable for females to move into historically "non-traditional" roles than it is for males. What this suggests is that the female realm is still largely undervalued, and this will be discussed at length later in this thesis.
D. How many women are included in the capacity of "great?"

Of the one-hundred and three visuals which portray women in this textbook, they appear as "great" in twenty-seven (26%) of them (see Appendix C). Women are included in the capacity of "great" if they contributed to society in an important way, such as Aung San Suu Kyi, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. In addition, women who have gained fame in the entertainment industry are noted as are women who have achieved political "firsts," women who were key leaders in reform movements, women who have succeeded in sports, and women who have entered into leadership roles in business and politics.

E. What is the size of the pictures that women are depicted in compared to those of men?

Visuals have been categorized according to three sizes in this textbook, small, medium, and large. Small photos are 4.5 cm. X 4 cm. and smaller, medium photos are larger than 4.5 X 4 and smaller than 8 X 10 cm., and large photos are any 8 X 10 cm. or larger. Each of the one-hundred and five photos which include only males and the forty-one photos which include only females was measured and accorded one of the three size categories. Fifty-four (51.4%) photos of males are included in the category of small. Females appear in small photos twenty-four times (59%). Males appear in medium photos thirty-four times (32%), and females fourteen times (34%). These are not drastic
differences, and so are not considered problematic. But, when attention is given to representation in large photographs, the results are more substantial. Males appear in large photos seventeen times (16%). Females, however appear in large photos only three times (7%). Thus, men are represented 9% more often than females in this size category.

F. When women of color / minority women play a role in history, are they visually represented?

In this text, more so than in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, women of color or minority women are included when they have made contributions to society. Twenty-five (24%) minority women or women of color are visually represented in all visuals in which females appear. That is, they comprise 10% of all visuals in the text (see Appendix E). This is a positive step toward recognizing the role that minority women and women of color play and have played in society.

However, for the most part, these females are included in contemporary photos, rather than historical ones. Only four of the twenty-five pictures show minority women or women of color in an historical way. One includes a group of black female slaves, two are of Japanese Canadians during World War II, and one is of a First Nations female in a canoe. As a result, when these women have contributed to historical events, they tend not to be depicted in this textbook, although there is a greater effort to
include them overall.

G. Emergent Themes

Apart from the varying sizes of visuals in this text, another difference is apparent in the use of visuals, not initially accounted for. The authors of this text have included both color and black and white photos. Out of curiosity, I made note of how often males and females appear in color or black and white photos when they appear alone. Although the results are not extreme, they are interesting and so will be noted.

Color photos are used to portray males in forty-six (44%) of the one-hundred and five visuals where males appear alone. Females appear alone in color photos in sixteen (39%) of the possible forty-one. In black and white photos, they appear twenty-five times (61%), and males fifty-nine times (56%). Although there are not large discrepancies in these percentages, males still appear more often in color photos than females. Since color photos tend to be more eye-catching than black and white photos, it is likely that students will attend to the color photos more often or more carefully than the black and white ones. The result may be that because females are less frequently represented in color, they may appear to students to be far less prevalent in the text than they actually are.
Category 3: Positioning

A. How are women positioned in the textbook? Outside of the main text (frequency)? Within the main text (frequency)?

This text was read in entirety and each instance in which a female was mentioned, either specifically or generally, was noted. When mention of females occurs in boxed off sections, photo captions, or charts and time lines, this is considered outside of the main text. As well, each chapter begins with a list of key points or concepts to be discussed and these are considered to be outside of the main text as well. There were no chapter or unit reviews succeeding each chapter. Rather, questions for discussion and inquiry are interspersed throughout the chapter. These are also considered to be outside of the main text, so each time a specific female or a general reference to females is included in the questions, it is considered to be outside of the main text.

In total, females were mentioned either specifically or generally one-hundred and ninety-five times, in one line or several lines. Within the main text, females are mentioned thirty-nine times (20%) and outside of the main text one-hundred and fifty-six times (80%). This is problematic and warrants further discussion later in this thesis.
B. Emergent Themes

The number of lines of text on each of the first fifteen pages of this text were counted, and then an average number of lines per page was calculated to get an approximate number for the textbook. In total, there are approximately twenty-three thousand six-hundred and fifty lines of text within this textbook, eight-hundred and three of which contain discussion of females, their lives, experiences and contributions. Thus, females, their experiences and contributions comprise 3% of the entire text. Six-hundred and ninety-three lines (86%) of this discussion appears outside of the main text, and one-hundred and ten lines (14%) appears within the main text (see Appendix F).

Also important to illuminate in this textbook, is how, in several chapters that do not include females within the main text, they are included outside of the main text mainly in the chapter questions which include sections entitled Reading Better, Inquiring Citizen, Thinking it Through, and Using Your Knowledge. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 8 fail to include females within the main text, yet each of these chapters endeavours to include females, if only the names of hypothetical individuals. For example, there are thirty-four lines of text in chapter four that discuss females. Of these thirty-four lines, eight are found included within the question sections, four of which refer to a poem in the chapter written by Maxine Tynes, and the remaining four refer
to a hypothetical situation involving a student named Twyla (page 110). Chapter 5 consists of many lines of text, only six of which make reference to a female. These lines appear in the Thinking it Through section where a hypothetical situation involving an individual named Mila appears (page 152). In this instance, it would appear that the authors have recognized that females are glaringly absent in the chapter, and so have endeavoured to include them in some other manner.

The situation is much the same for chapter 6, where females appear in only thirteen lines of discussion, five of which appear in the Using Your Knowledge section, where again a series of hypothetical situations are presented three of which make reference to a female figure (page 166). Although chapter 8 includes discussions of females in twenty lines of text, seventeen of which occur in a section detailing the contributions of Wendy MacDonald (page 231), the three remaining lines are found in the Thinking it Through Section, where students are asked a question pertaining to the information about MacDonald (page 234).

It would appear, based on this finding, that the authors of the text have made a concerted effort to include females within the text, if only as part of hypothetical scenarios in chapter questions. It remains to be seen, however, if the authors did this out of a genuine concern for the visibility of females in
their text, of if only to meet provincial equity guidelines in content.

Category 4: Critical Analysis of Content

A. i. Based on the Table of Contents, what knowledge is valued in the text?

ii. How often are women, their experiences and contributions, noted in the Index?

i. The Table of Contents is organized around four units, with four chapters included in each unit, for a total of sixteen chapters. Each chapter is named and then further divided into major themes and concepts to be addressed in the chapter. For the sake of brevity, I have categorized each chapter according to political, economic, conflict and challenge, and cultural themes to better assess the knowledge valued within the text based on scrutinizing the table of contents (see Appendix J).

The majority of chapters, ten of the sixteen, focus on themes that are political or economic in nature. None of the chapter subheadings which have been placed in the political category make explicit mention of women's political experiences and challenges in either an historical or contemporary context. In fact, if the chapter headings were the only measure being used to assess the knowledge contained in the text, it would not be difficult to illustrate that females, their experiences and contributions are glaringly absent from the text. However, in
the more generic categories such as Rights and Responsibilities in Chapter 10, and Influencing Government: Voting in chapter 11, it is likely that women are included in these discussions. Further, if one goes on to read the chapters mentioned, women are in fact mentioned in terms of their fight to win the vote in the early twentieth century, and more generally in terms of citizen's rights and responsibilities. No specific subheadings exist though for women's suffrage or the Person's Case.

In the remainder of the political chapters, it is possible to draw the conclusion that women are absent from the discussion particularly as it pertains to the type of government that exists in Canada and each level of government as presented in Chapter 9, or in the context of constitutional reform as presented in Chapter 12. Specific men are included in the Chapter 2 subheadings profiling French-English relations (see Appendix J), but nowhere in the Table of Contents are any women specifically mentioned.

It is equally safe to assume, based on the Table of Contents, that women do not appear in the chapters detailing economic issues in Canada unless it is in the section discussing the role of labour. Although it is not apparent based on the subheading in Chapter 6 The Role of Labour: Adapting to a New Age, it is possible that some discussion of women's role in the labour force is included. This is an optimistic and generous
assessment, for in reality, only thirteen lines of discussion surrounding females appears in this chapter. Sections on trade, investment, and regional disparity also ensure that the chapter discussions will negate the economic role of women in Canada, and focus instead on those individuals and groups who have had the greatest involvement in the economic decision making process throughout Canada's past. Since economic decisions have been made and continue to be made by male politicians, and the major corporations that influence trade decisions are run by males, it is likely that women are absent from these discussions. This assumption is confirmed by the number of lines in which some mention of women is made within these chapters (see Appendix F).

The four chapters detailing conflict and challenge also fail to make explicit reference to females. In particular, the subheadings in Chapter 13 make no mention of war on the home front, though this is the area in which women played the largest role. Instead, the subheadings list only the two world wars and their dates, as well as the Cold War. These subheadings imply that the knowledge most valued in relation to the history of conflict is that which focuses on male involvement and experience. Men fought in both world wars, major decisions regarding strategy and involvement in the wars were made by male leaders, and terms of peace were arrived at by men. Moreover, the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union
involved the leaders of each country, and at no time in history has a woman ever led the United States or the Soviet Union. Again, it is safe to assume that women will be predominantly absent from these discussions as they have been excluded from participation in both military and political realms for much of the twentieth century.

In addition, Chapter 15 and Chapter 16, which address world challenges such as sustainable development and human rights, provide no indication that women's issues will be prevalent in these contexts, despite the fact that women are directly affected by development issues and human rights issues globally. However, when the actual chapter contents are examined, some discussion of women's issues is included. Unfortunately, the Table of Contents does not point to any such discussion, although it does include *First Nations and the World Today* in Chapter 16. If First Nations issues, which are undisputably important to any study of Canada are included, I am left to wonder why it would not be pertinent to also include a section in the Table of Contents which mentions the positioning of women in the World Today and the issues that women face.

The remainder of the chapters focus on cultural and social knowledge. These chapters, more than any other, provide an opportunity to integrate discussions of females into the text. However, once again, no explicit mention of women is made.
Mention is made of Hockey, "Canada's National Sport" in Chapter 1, as a feature of Canadian identity. This is a sport that has been historically dominated by men, so based solely on this subheading, it could be ascertained that this is a discussion in which women are absent. The authors of the text do include women in this discussion of hockey as they mention the National Women's Hockey Team and the first female goalie in the National Hockey League, but this would not be evident if the Table of Contents were the sole unit of analysis.

Finally, within the cultural and social chapters, subheadings on immigration and multiculturalism appear. These topics are important for students to study, but if the authors of the text deem these important enough to provide subheadings for, then why not cultural and social issues which impact women? Thus, when an assessment is made of the knowledge included within the text based on the Table of Contents, it is difficult to discern whether or not any discussion of women's experiences and contributions exists. It is not difficult to see that the it is the history of wars, politics and economics that receive the most value in this text, based on the number of chapters dedicated to each of these topics as opposed to cultural or social topics.

ii. The index of this textbook contains five-hundred and fifty-three headings. Thirty-nine of these entries (7%) pertain
to women's lives and experiences as contained in the text. Women are specifically named in twenty-six entries and generically in five entries, while women's experiences and contributions comprise the remaining eight entries (see Appendix G). The remaining 93% of indexed entries includes reference to specific political, military, economic, and historical events; reference to various concepts pertaining to each of these events and; reference to specific men. Eighty-seven entries (16%) in the index are of individual men.

In this textbook, as in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, it is important to note the absence of women in the index despite their inclusion within the main text. For example, there are fifteen lines of discussion on page 94 detailing the life of Irene Parlby, but she is nowhere to be found in the index. Further, Wendy McDonald, the CEO of BC Bearing Engineers is highlighted in seventeen lines of discussion on page 231, but like Parlby, is absent from the index.

This is also the case for Jan Brown, a Reform Party Member of Parliament. An interview with her is included on page 257 and comprises over sixty lines of text, a substantial amount for any individual, but her name is not found in the index. Other women who are omitted from the index are Mary Simons, Celine Dion, Mary Trimboli, Maxine Tynes, Milly Charon, and Rosyln Kunin, each of whom appears within the text.
B. How often are women quoted in the text?

Within the text, individuals are quoted sixty-four times. Men are quoted fifty-one times (80%). Women, however, are quoted in only thirteen instances (20%) (see Appendix H). Thus, men are given a greater voice within the pages of this text. They speak as politicians, leaders, immigrants, military personal, activists, diplomats, business people, lawyers, philosophers, clergy, and writers. Women speak as medical personal, politicians, immigrants, writers, and activists.

Despite the inequitable distribution of quotations among men and women, it is important to credit the authors of this text with naming almost all of the individuals quoted. In fact, there are only two instances in which individuals are unnamed, and both of these are male. All the females quoted are named, so they are given both a voice and an identity, even if it is only 20% of the time.

C. Are women included in reference lists for further reading? If so, how often and in what context?

Like Canada: A Nation Unfolding, this textbook does not provide reference lists for further reading, so this category is not applicable.

D. What is regarded as significant historical contributions?

There is little discussion of women's participation in the
private sphere within this text and virtually no discussion of the rise of feminist consciousness, or the history of birth control. Rather, as noted earlier, the majority of discussion in the text is of a political, military, or economic nature. Thus, women are included when they have contributed to the public sphere, especially in politics and reform movements such as suffrage, or as they supported men during times of war.

As previously noted there is discussion of women as they have contributed to Canadian culture through the arts, including literature, music, and dance. Women's achievements in sports are also noted in the text, specifically hockey, swimming and track and field.

Women are virtually absent from discussions of the economy (they are mentioned only five times in Chapter 5 and thirteen times in Chapter 6, (see Appendix F), the government (women mentioned generally in only fifteen lines of Chapter 9, see Appendix F), the constitution (women mentioned in only five lines in Chapter 12, see Appendix F), and peace (women mentioned in only fourteen lines). Women have contributed to French culture and French-English relations, as they are included in seventy lines of text in Chapter 2 (see Appendix F).

What is interesting to note is that in Chapter 3, detailing Canada's cultural diversity, females receive the most mention. However, one-hundred and twenty-three of the one-hundred and
forty-seven lines of text which include females involve fictitious conversations between groups of students. So in fact where it would appear that attention is given to women's lives and experiences in a cultural realm, little attention is actually given to real women who have made cultural contributions to Canada. Consequently, in this textbook, the implicit message is that women have made very few historical contributions to the public sphere; rather, men have been instrumental in contributing to the shaping of Canada and Canadian culture.

E. Is each woman discussed seen as an autonomous being?

To the credit of the authors, many women are depicted as autonomous beings, capable of existing independently of men and other women. One example is crucial to highlight as it establishes a precedent regarding the autonomy of women. On page 313, there is a lengthy discussion of Nellie McClung, an individual instrumental in winning the right to vote for women. The authors of this text state that "after the 1914 Manitoba election, McClung moved her family (my emphasis) to Alberta, where she continued her efforts to enfranchise women." In other textbooks, women have not been credited with making these decisions, particularly in the context of the times. In reality, McClung relocated to Edmonton with her family when her husband was transferred with his job (Hallett, M. & Davis, M., 1993).
Regardless, the authors have made an effort to depict McClung as autonomous, granting her agency. The message to students is that women have made choices in the past and that it was not simply men who made important decisions. Unfortunately, this description is the exception rather than the norm in this textbook, as the following confirms.

Throughout the text, women are often included in the context of their membership in groups, particularly disadvantaged groups and reform groups. For example on page 269, the authors ask if "the system is fair in its treatment of young people, women, and Aboriginal peoples?" Here, women are a nameless, faceless collective who are often victims of unfair treatment, along with young people and aboriginal people. The authors do not delineate between different groups of women, some experiencing a greater degree of unfair treatment than others, depending on their ethnicity and cultural capital. Further, the passage implies that women are acted upon by the system, but never act upon the system, denying them agency.

This also occurs on page 276 where the authors state that "women, people of colour, and people with physical or mental challenges have been discriminated against in Canadian society"; page 312 which states that "a long struggle was necessary before voting rights were extended (my emphasis) to many groups including women and Aboriginal Canadians"; page 439 which states
that "other treaties deal with specific rights for children and women" and "despite the international agreements that protect the rights of women, in many countries women are poor, victims of violence, humiliation, mutilation, job inequity, and low wages"; page 440 which states that "people have the right to follow their own culture's teaching with regard to freedom of speech, religious toleration, and the treatment of women and children"; and page 474 which states that "those with little or no education - often farmers and women - were most seriously affected." In each of these examples, women are not seen as autonomous, but as members of groups, and disadvantaged groups at that.

Discussion of women also often revolves around their membership in reform movements, "organizing and educating themselves to take on an equal role with men in running the country" (page 17) (pp. 17, 44, 94, 97, 314, 432). If they were not members of reform groups, than women were wives and mothers (pp. 39, 205, 206, 306, 380). Occasionally, they are defined as both wives and reformers, as on page 97 where students learn that:

western women were active in the fight to bring a better quality of life to the West. Here miner's wives block a community hall in Flin Flon Manitoba during a miner's strike in 1934.

This excerpt fails to illustrate what the women were hoping to achieve in terms of improving quality of life, but it does
illustrate that they were willing to support their husbands if their husbands were dissatisfied. These women are not autonomous as their actions are contingent upon the actions of their husbands.

This is also evident in the discussion of the American health plan which Hillary Rodham Clinton was involved in initiating. On page 205, the text states that "... his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, appeared before a congressional committee to defend the plan." Yet again the authors of the text define a woman's actions and initiative based on her status as wife.

F. Does the text provide a fair and equitable portrayal of history?

As mentioned in the previous analysis, to be a fair and equitable portrayal of history, the authors of the text must move away from cursory mention of issues which affected women's historical experience and provide instead a more probing and detailed examination of these issues. Despite the gendered nature of many of the topics of study throughout the text (wars, politics, nation building, etc), the authors have attempted to include women and women's issues within these contexts. However, a failure to provide more than a few sentences of discussion results in an incomplete representation of history. For example, on page 17, the authors indicate that "...from the 1960s, the women of Canada have organized and educated themselves to take on
an equal role with men in running the country." There is no further description of how they organized themselves, nor any description of how until the 1960s it was difficult for many women to pursue education beyond high-school. Further, suggesting that it was not until the 1960s that women began to work toward attaining equality is erroneous. Suffrage movements began long before the 1960s as did women's involvement in the political realm. This single line of text negates decades of organization and initiative on the part of women to enter into traditionally male dominated realms.

Another problematic passage appears on page 44 where students learn that,

In 1940, after a campaign let by Montreal-born reformer Therese Casgrain, women gained the right to vote in Quebec elections. The 'new Quebecers' began to demand changes and they became impatient when the government did not respond to their demands.

The authors do not discuss what changes the women of Quebec were "demanding" nor why the government failed to acknowledge the "demands." As a result, students will not fully understand the inequities in Quebec society at this time, why Quebec was the last province in which women won the right to vote, and the numerous difficulties that these women faced in their struggle toward equality. This is an incomplete and thus unfair portrayal of history.

The same assessment may be made of a section of text
In 1921, Irene Parlby was elected as a UFA member of the Legislature. She served as a minister without portfolio, and soon became a spokesperson for women's issues such as minimum wage for women, women's property rights, mother's allowance, and the welfare of children. While they held power in Alberta, the United Farmers passed 18 laws that improved the lives of women and children. Irene Parlby was the first woman cabinet minister in Alberta.

In this passage, students learn that Parlby, in her capacity as a member of the legislature, became a spokesperson for women's rights. The reality is that Parlby lobbied for women's equality long before she became involved in the UFA. In addition, although several issues are raised regarding inequities that women faced at that time, no further discussion of these issues is included. Finally, mention is made of the laws passed by the UFA which attempted to improve the lives of women and children in Alberta, but students do not learn what these laws were nor how they were beneficial.

On the same page, six lines of text are included which profile the work of Violet McNaughton, who "assisted in developing the platform for the newly formed Progressive Party." Unfortunately, students are not told what this platform entailed, nor how it benefitted women at that time. Again, the authors have not capitalized on the opportunity to provide a detailed and in-depth discussion of women's issues in an historical context. Subsequently, this cursory mention of the historical experiences
and contributions of women does not provide for a fair or just representation.

One of the more glaring examples of unfair historical representation appears on page 276 where the authors include thirty-six lines of discussion profiling the work of Jeannette Lavell and the rights of aboriginal women. The authors suggest that because of Jeannette Lavell, the Federal government passed Bill C-31, which grants aboriginal women who marry non-aboriginal men the same rights that aboriginal men maintain when they marry non-aboriginal women. No doubt this is an important discussion and it does highlight the discrimination that aboriginal women have faced in the past. However, students are left believing that with the passage of Bill C-31, these women no longer face discrimination. The truth is that Bill C-31 has been caught up in the courts since 1985, so aboriginal women have yet to benefit from this legislation.

Finally, on page 438, the authors miss an opportunity to fully discuss global issues that women face today. They indicate that in China in 1995, the United Nations held a world conference on women, but that is all the attention that they give. Students do not learn why the United Nations finds it necessary to hold these conferences, the issues that are raised by women in attendance, or ultimately how the conferences are attempting to address and provide solutions for the inequities that women face.
throughout the world. If the authors of the text are going to include only one line of information regarding such an important topic, then they are doing a disservice to students. Students, rather than leaving the text with a complete and accurate understanding of the challenges that women face today, leave the text with only the briefest understanding. This is neither fair nor just.

In assessing whether or not the text provides an equitable portrayal of history, attention must be given to those activities that men and women are depicted in throughout the text. Although the authors of the text include a few men engaging in non-traditional activities, for the most part they do not. It is the women who are shown engaging in a multitude of activities beyond the boundaries of those that have been traditionally defined as "feminine." The result is that the authors (likely unintentionally) reinforce the value placed on "masculine" activities in favour of "feminine" ones.

In addition, for the text to be gender equitable, the importance of women's work, in both the public and private realms, must be acknowledged. This textbook, like Canada: A Nation Unfolding, includes virtually no discussion of women's contributions in the private sphere. Nation building, which is a theme of this textbook, is narrowly defined to include only the political and economic aspects of building a country. Yet the
many women who ran households, raised children, tended to the farm, etc, shared in the responsibility of building the nation.

G. Emergent Themes

As I read through the text, noting each mention of females, I realized that the number of times women are mentioned in the textbook is not indicative of the amount of text that actually includes discussion of women's historical experiences and contributions. Although there are over eight-hundred lines of text that mention women, the actual number of lines discussing women's involvement in history is far less. In fact, one-hundred and fifty-six lines of text focus not on women's experiences and contributions, but hypothetical situations with fictitious characters. In these cases, the authors have evenly distributed the text between male and female characters which is positive, but the implication is that there is less discussion of actual women and their experiences. When women are included in only three percent of the textbook, they are under-represented; when almost one percent of this representation is not even historical in nature, then women are glaringly under-represented. I realize that these hypothetical scenarios are important to include in order to foster student discussion and interest, but it is unfortunate that they are included at the expense of other, more valuable information.
Chapter 6

DISCUSSION

Women's story begins - and begins again, and again, and again. The tellers of our tale have not had the advantage of "standing on the shoulders of giants" who preceded them. The tale is begun, developed among a courageous group that refuses to be silent, only to be erased from the "story of mankind." Discontinuity, disruption, and loss mark our stories and so our self-perceptions just as surely as do discovery, achievement, and courage (Minnich, 1990, p. 1).

I have organized my discussion around the four categories of analyses used to guide my reading of the two textbooks. Findings that were identified as problematic receive the most attention, and the remainder of the findings are discussed more generally. It is important to note, at this point, that my interpretation of the findings are guided by my own experiences as an educator and as a feminist. Thus, it would be erroneous to suggest that this discussion is completely objective (if we believe there can be complete objectivity in research), or that any other educator would interpret the text precisely as I have. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, I defend my assertions on the basis of my interpretations of the texts as a member of a particular community of educators and academics who have established an accepted academic canon regarding gender and schooling.

1. Language

In both Canada: A Nation Unfolding and Canada Today, the
language that is used by the authors define the women being discussed. Descriptions of many women, as previously mentioned, are predicated by the terms "wife" and "mother," whereas men are not defined as "husband" and "father" but simply as "man."

Briskin (1990) maintains that females are subjected to a contradictory message in the "devaluation of mothering (motherwork, housework and wifework) and the simultaneous presentation of motherhood as a woman's lifework" (p. 2). The authors of the texts present this contradictory message each time that they define women as "wives" and "mothers" and do not define men as "husbands" and "fathers." According to Adams and Ware (1989),

> One of the most intriguing characteristics of language is that it acts as a kind of social mirror, reflecting the organization and dynamics of the society of which it is a part... English tends to classify women in essentially male terms ... in social titles that make the declaration of a woman's marital status obligatory (p. 472).

This suggests that defining women as "wives" and "mothers" within the texts is an extension of how women are defined in society. Thus, the authors of the texts cannot be condemned each time they do this. They are simply exemplifying a tradition grounded in the English language.

However, I am not suggesting that this tradition should be perpetuated in social studies textbooks. These books allow an opportunity to change the way that language is used to define
both males and females. Students should not be exposed to descriptions of women based on their status as wives and mothers when these terms are not necessary to a description of women's historical contributions. Rather, whenever possible, women should be defined based only on their status as women just as men are defined based solely on their status as men. "Education is where and how a culture creates itself" (Minnich, 1990, p. 21) so redoing or undoing the ways in which women have been so often defined will allow students to begin to recreate their understanding of men and women.

As well as defining women as "wives" and "mothers," each of the textbooks include women when the women have been "first" at something. I find this inclusion troubling, for it is only in the public sphere that these "firsts" are included. There is no denying that it is important to document the contributions of pioneers in a field or endeavour. Historians have expended a great deal of energy noting "firsts" for men, so it would seem logical to do the same for women.

When women are credited with being "first" at something, however, it is generally within the traditionally male dominated field of politics; prime minister, governor general, member of parliament, etc. Equally troubling is that the authors have not documented "firsts" for males in traditionally female dominated realms. Thus, this inconsistency reinforces the belief that only
when women transgress the boundaries of tradition are they worthy of discussion. Never is a man worthy of discussion when he transgresses the boundaries of tradition.

2. Visual Representation

The authors of the two textbooks have certainly made an effort to include visuals of both males and females. No longer do visuals of males vastly outnumber those of females. On the surface it would appear that the text has achieved equity in this respect. This is important because, as Osler (1994) indicates, "pupils' understanding of the experiences of men and women in the past are likely to be heavily influenced by the visual images they encounter in textbooks" (p. 223). Yet, despite authors efforts to include visuals which portray women engaging in a multiplicity of roles, the same cannot be said for men.

In each of the textbooks, over 15% of the visuals depicting women portray them engaging in non-traditional roles. Men, on the other hand, are never portrayed in Canada: A Nation Unfolding engaging in non-traditional activities such as nursing, caring for children, or participating in domestic tasks. Although Canada Today includes three visuals of men in non-traditional roles, it is a very small percentage compared with those pictures which illustrate women in non-traditional
This is one of the most troubling findings of these two analyses. According to Scott & Schau (1985),

Pupils who are exposed to sex-equitable materials are more likely than others to: (1) have gender-balanced knowledge of people in society, (2) develop more flexible attitudes and more accurate sex-role knowledge, and (3) imitate role behaviours contained in the materials (p. 228).

Consequently, if students are consistently exposed to social studies materials which implicitly devalue the "feminine" in favour of the "masculine" through visual representation, then students will learn that it is desirable for women to enter into the public, male realm, while it is not desirable for men to do the reverse. The fundamental problem in this instance is that these two textbooks have failed to revalue the feminine through visual representation. Subsequently, gender inequities are perpetuated through the value (or lack thereof) accorded certain activities.

A further problem in visual representation occurs within the first textbook analyzed. Here, the authors include "portraits" of famous individuals, the majority of which are men. In fact, only one portrait of two females is included in this category. The portraits are larger than most of the visuals in the text, appear in the centre of the page, and are not constrained by borders. No other content analyses that I have examined make reference to this form of visual representation, so I am left to
interpret the significance without the benefit of other such interpretations. Students reading the textbook will likely notice the "portraits" due to their size and location on the page. The disparity between the number of portraits depicting men as opposed to women implicitly suggests that men are more worthy of such depiction because their activities and contributions have been historically paramount.

A similar problem exists in Canada Today. In this textbook, as previously noted, there are distinct differences in the size of photos. Males appear in large photos seventeen times and females only three times. I hypothesize that in the minds of students, the size of a photo is a reflection of the importance of what is contained in the photo. As well, larger photos are more eye-catching and less easily missed by students as they read the textbook. With this in mind, if men appear more often than women in the largest photos, students will have greater exposure to the contributions and experiences of these men. If size is a measure of value, then greater value is placed on men in history.

In Canada: A Nation Unfolding, the authors include reproductions of work by Canadian artists. Eleven of these paintings were done by males, two by women, and five by unknown artists. It is difficult to say if the authors did this for a reason or if it was unintentional. The latter is more likely as historically, most mainstream artists were men. If women engaged
in painting, it was considered a hobby and not taken as seriously (Rowbotham, 1977). Thus, artwork by men is more available to include in the textbook than artwork by women. The authors cannot be entirely faulted for this inequity. They are subject to the constraints of what is readily available and permissible to include in the textbook.

When photo captions of visuals are included in this textbook, they often contain the Christian names of the individuals depicted. Women are named in 55%, and men in 61%, of the photo captions. Again, this finding has not been discussed or even considered in other content analyses, so I am left to interpret the significance of it alone. Failing to name the women and men depicted denies the individuals an identity. Failing to name women as frequently as men suggests that women have even less identity visually.

I am not suggesting that is always possible to name the individuals appearing in photos. So many historical photos are of unknown women and men, gathered from archives or from someone's attic. However, whenever possible, the authors of the texts need to be sensitive to naming individuals who appear visually. Rather than selecting generic photos of some women or other or some man or other, they should endeavour to include photos where the identities are known, or at the very least, include equal numbers of named and unnamed males and females.
When an individual lacks an identity, their contributions and experiences are minimalized.

Equally problematic is where women are situated in visuals that contain both males and females. In each of the textbooks, men appear more often at the forefront of mixed visuals than women do. When women appear in the background they appear to be "supporting" the men depicted in the forefront, not in a literal sense, but in a figurative one. By just being in the background, women are cast in a supporting role. Supporting members in stage productions generally appear in the background, so to do these women. Thus, males remain the key actors and women remain in supporting roles.

Extensive discussion of visuals including women (and men) in the capacity of "great" was undertaken in my review of literature. Yet, it is important to again note that this form of representation is troubling. Each of the textbooks include visuals of "great" men and women which are more prevalent than those that depict ordinary individuals from a variety of backgrounds, so "the collective nature of social change may not be explored" (Bloom & Ochoa, 1996, p. 323). Rather than aggrandizing individualism by including so many photos of "great" men and women, the authors of the two texts must provide a balance so that students see that all people, ordinary or exceptional, made historical contributions to our nation.
In addition, the presence of minority women or women of colour is minimal in each textbook. This is consistent with the findings of Tetreault (1986), Osler (1994), and Sleeter & Grant (1991). When minority women are depicted visually, it is in a contemporary context, and they are portrayed doing "generic mainstream cultural activities." (Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Likely, the authors have presented the women in this manner to avoid stereotyping. Unfortunately, this negates the importance of positive cultural characteristics and experiences which stem from ethnicity.

For minority women, representation in visuals is crucial to legitimate their historical experiences and contributions. The major theme of each textbook is nation building, and the lack of visuals which depict minority women in a historical context suggests that these women were relatively uninvolved in building Canada. This could not be further from the truth. Nova Scotia evolved with a rich community of African-Canadians inhabiting its soil; the prairies were farmed by Eastern European women; Asian women set up businesses on the west coast and; each of these groups of women intense discrimination. They were women, so naturally occupied a position of less status, and they were not members of the dominant group, so their status was further lessened. No where is this discussed or documented in either one of the textbooks. Instead, by including the occasional photo of
a minority woman or woman of colour, it would appear that the authors of each text have fulfilled the "multicultural" requirements set forth by the ministries of education.

Classrooms are not homogenous. They are inhabited by diverse groups of students with a variety of ethnicities, experiences, and voices. If these students are denied the opportunity to learn about the pasts of their ancestors, they are being denied a complete understanding of history. I am not suggesting that textbooks cover every ethnic group's history, but that the authors of the textbook consider their audiences and adapt the text to fit. I remember hearing the mother of one of my students complain about the lack of "other" history taught in social studies. She felt that her child was being done a disservice by learning a particular version of history (the version which is Eurocentric in nature). This woman was white. I can only imagine the frustration that would be felt by students and parents who do not belong to the dominant group. What disturbs me most is that excluding the history of both men and women of colour and minority women and men perpetuates the hegemonic nature of the society which so readily excluded these groups from the annals of mainstream history.

Overall, despite the visual presence of women in each of the textbooks examined, gender bias in visual representation continues to exist. The authors have endeavoured to ensure
parity in the number of photos in which women and men are depicted. However, beyond this, there has been little consideration of other forms of bias within visual representation. Including women in both traditional and non-traditional roles is an improvement. The failure to include men in both traditional and non-traditional roles is not an improvement; rather, it reinforces the socially constructed belief that engaging in "masculine" activities is more desirable than engaging in "feminine" activities.

Further, the manner in which women are positioned in mixed photos reinforces their role as supporting actors throughout history. Including more men in portraits and larger photographs implies that the activities and contributions of these men are deserving of greater space. Women are relegated to smaller photos and fewer portraits because their activities are less worthy of attention. Finally, the relative lack of photographs accorded minority women and men suggests that they have been inactive throughout history. Instead, members of the dominant group made the decisions that led to the evolution of a nation.

3. Positioning

This category is of particular importance in assessing the nature and extent of gender bias in each of the textbooks. Commeryas & Alverman (1996) have suggested that when publishers
or authors do little more than add subsections on women in history to standard formats, they have positioned women in ways that "perpetuate biases and influence students' interpretations of and attitudes toward, women in general" (p. 33). Thus, when women appear more frequently outside of the main discourse, as they do in Canada Today then their lives, stories, and experiences are made marginal.

Lerner, Nagai & Rothman (1995) have declared this sort of representation "filler feminism" and I would suggest that there is truth to this. True, the history of politics, economics and conflict has been largely male-dominated, women being denied public participation in these spheres for most of documented time. Authors of textbooks must include women in their texts in order to meet mandated guidelines set forth by ministries of education. What tends to happen, in order to meet equity guidelines, is that women are frequently included outside the main text in "special" sections. According to Crocco (1997),

The neglect of women's history persists despite the fact that many publishers feature "women's contributions" in their textbooks, if only by the way of an occasional sidebar. This approach has often been disparaged as "add women and stir," and in truth, little mixing of women's history with the main events occurs when the subject is presented via sidebars. Such presentation may be preferable to women's absence from textbooks altogether; nevertheless, it suggests the degree to which the social studies curriculum has depicted women's stories as peripheral to the real story of political and economic history (p. 32).
Both textbooks include women's contributions in a peripheral manner, which is a biased presentation of historical information. Women's names and faces are much more prevalent in today's textbooks than in textbooks published twenty years ago. Unlike Canada Today, Canada: A Nation Unfolding has a more equal distribution of women's history within and outside of the main text. Unfortunately, when women appear within the main text, they are often relegated to the end of the chapters in which they appear. This is a poor effort at writing women into history, as they are still positioned in ways which marginalize their contributions and stories.

It seems to me that these sections within the main text are often tacked on as afterthoughts in order to ensure that some discussion of women appears not just in "special sections." This fragmentation and isolation implies that women's contributions and experiences are "somehow unrelated to those of the dominant culture" (Sadker & Sadker, 1988, p. 231). Positioning women's history in this manner does not address the problem of marginalization; instead, it unwittingly contributes to it. Unfortunately, neither of the textbooks examined cover the contributions and roles of women in any great detail within the main story line.

Overall, women are included in both textbooks less than 7% of the time, both inside and outside of the main text. These
percentages, I believe, result not from the authors' failure to include women in the texts, but from the structure of knowledge the texts contain. When the emphasis is on political, economic, and military history, rather than on social and cultural history, it is virtually impossible to write a textbook containing an equal number of lines discussing men and women. If women are to be equally included in social studies textbooks, there must be a fundamental reconception of how we define history.

Knowledge about women cannot be added to knowledge about men, because the centre of the system has shifted radically when women are moved from the margins to the centre (hooks, 1994). Minnich echoes these sentiments when she states that,

...women cannot be added to the present construction of knowledge because knowledge of, by, and for women is not simply more of the same; it is not only knowledge of a subset of "mankind" that is conceptually compatible with that of which it is a subset; it is not a category of exotica that can tacked onto courses without implications for that which remains safely "normal"; is not, indeed, neatly separable in any way from any knowledge that is adequate to human-kind (p. 13).

Thus, based on the emphasis on political, economic, and military history in both textbooks, it is no wonder that women comprise less than 7% of each text. The focus on the public rather than the private sphere, in essence, negates the equal presence of women in these social studies texts. The authors cannot be faulted or blamed for this. They are merely conforming to an ideal of how history should be organized and sequenced,
whose stories should be paramount, and whose voices should be heard. The problem is much larger than a single textbook or a single author. The problem is imbedded in the curriculum itself.

4. Critical Analysis of Content

Each textbook offers a lengthy index of names, events, and topics present in the textbook. Each index, however, fails to include the names of many women specifically mentioned or discussed in the text. As I noted earlier, it is unclear why this is the case. Perhaps there was less attention given to ensuring that each woman named in the text also appeared in an indexed entry. Or, perhaps the women included in the text were not considered important enough to be included in the index. One thing is certain though. The indexes are not accurate indicators of the presence of women, their experiences and contributions, in the textbooks. In fact, based on the indexes, it would appear that women are far less present in the text than they actually are. Since the authors have made an effort to include women in the text, it is unfortunate that the index is lacking in this respect. This is not so for males who appear in the index when they appear in the main text.

Throughout both textbooks, the authors take care to include the voices of individuals throughout Canadian history. The number of males quoted in each text far surpasses the number of
females quoted. In essence, the authors, intentionally or not, by allowing such a disparity in quotations, have largely denied females a voice in history. This reinforces the belief that history was largely shaped by men. They speak of their experiences and contributions while women remain silent. Men’s lives "stand in" for women's lives, essentially rendering women invisible to history (Crocco, 1997, p. 32). Thus, only one aspect of a story is being told, and students are the recipients of an incomplete history. The voices of women that fail to make it into social studies textbooks are likely to be forgotten; their stories will remain undervalued and marginal at best (Minnich, 1990).

I need to clarify here that a common misconception is that women did not write about the history that is taught in schools. Perhaps they did not do so in a traditional sense by having historical books or articles published, but they certainly did keep accounts of their experiences and contributions in diary or letter form. In addition, oral histories are finally being recognized by historians as worthy of inclusion in historical texts, and women have a rich tradition in this area.

What is of consolation, however, is that when women are quoted, particularly in Canada Today more so than in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, they are also named. Naming the individuals who contributed to history allows them an identity. Students
will know the names of the few women who speak of their experiences in politics, reform movements, the arts, economics, etc. I would suggest that when an individual is named, their story is more likely to be remembered. This sentiment is echoed by other educators and academics as well (Sadker & Sadker, 1988; Crocco, 1997).

I have pointed out repeatedly that in each textbook, the knowledge of most value is that which is political, economic, or militaristic in nature. Social history is lacking in both textbooks, and it is within the context of social history that women have played a leading role. In some instances, each of the textbooks allude to social issues that have had an effect upon women historically. But, rather than delving into such issues, the authors of the texts briefly mention them and move on. For example, in Canada: A Nation Unfolding, mention is made of women's entry into the labour force, the resurgence of the women's movement in the 1960s, and women's increasing political participation. The authors of the text miss a valuable opportunity to present students with an account of social history in these instances. Since the texts focus on wars, politics, economics, and conflict, men's experiences and contributions are dealt with in depth and detail. They are never merely mentioned and then forgotten. I realize that this is the nature of the current conceptualization of history and this is precisely why it
is so problematic. If a goal of teaching history is to debunk historical myths, then histories that have not been included in "mainstream" history need to be.

It is also important to point out that neither textbook gives much attention to women's lives and experiences outside of the public realm. There is no bridge between the public and the private. Crocco (1997) refers to the lack of discussion surrounding the private realm as "skewing." She maintains that when curriculums or textbooks reflect contributions only to public culture, history is skewed, or lopsided. The challenge lies in writing curriculum and textbooks that do not take a "public" or "private" approach, but instead examine both of these cultures concurrently. As long as publishers and writers continue to present textbooks that offer only a partial understanding of the past, that view history through a single rather than a multiple lens, that render women's stories invisible, then a disservice is done to students.

Overall, neither of the two textbooks present a fair and balanced portrayal of history. Focussing on a particular kind of knowledge is not conducive to eliminating gender bias in social studies textbooks. Women are not always presented as autonomous, and are often depicted as being "acted on" rather than acting upon. Crocco (1997) says it best when she states that,

In essence, a curriculum represents truth and cultural significance for students. If women's lives
(or those of non-elite men) get left out of the curriculum, students receive a message that these lives have been unimportant to history. If political and economic history crowd out social history, and by extension, women's history, then students get the message that childbearing and childrearing, subsistence agriculture, the building of a social order, and the care and maintenance of communities have had little significance over time. Only wars, political power, industrial and technological development, economic evolution and convulsion count in this scheme of history (p. 32).

IMPLICATIONS

Since the two textbooks that I examined are not free from gender bias, the implications for students and teachers who use these textbooks are far reaching. Teachers are subject to time constraints in the amount of time that they can allocate to preparing to teach social studies to students. Subsequently, as previously noted, the textbook becomes a primary vehicle for teaching students about historical and contemporary society. In addition, since most social studies textbooks are structured and organized around the existing curriculum, they are often times the best way for teachers to ensure that the curriculum objectives are met. If these two textbooks continue to exemplify gender bias, then it is likely that other recently published textbooks do as well.

I was fortunate to attend the publishers seminar three years ago which introduced Canada: A Nation Unfolding. At this
seminar, I was led to believe that this textbook was leading edge in social studies. It presents history from a three nations perspective, instead of two; it includes the stories and experiences of minority groups and; women are more visible in the text than they have ever been. Unfortunately, this textbook, as I have illustrated, is not free from bias.

The reality of teaching is that teachers do not have a great deal of time to supplement the textbook with outside resources. Educators who do have the time may not be aware that social studies textbooks contain gender bias. Therefore, information beyond the textbook is not brought into the classroom. Ministries of education created equity guidelines to eliminate blatant forms of bias from textbooks. Likely, teachers believe that since the text has been analyzed by ministry officials and approved for use, it is not problematic. Unfortunately, this could not be further from the truth. Teachers unwittingly perpetuate the biases inherent in the text if they use it in an unquestioning manner.

I am not suggesting that all educators and students read the text in the same way, nor am I denying that many teachers may use the text as a tool to cultivate in students an understanding of the inequities that have existed and continue to exist in society (I have done this myself). There is a dynamic interaction between teacher and student, teacher and text, and student and
text. It is also important to note that the experiences each educator brings to their reading of the text will shape the way they interpret and use it in the classroom. The same may be said of students.

However, my concern is that more often than not, the text is used as a purveyor of historical truth, unquestioned by those interacting with it. I have heard my own students comment that if they read information in a textbook, then it must be "true." What they do not realize is that although much of the information in a textbook is "true" by certain standards, it is only one version of the truth. In a postmodern sense, truth is a construct of the context in which it was created. Because historical accounts were largely written by men, their "truth" is contained within the accounts. Other individuals may have different "truths" that never make their way into mainstream history. As a result, the view of history that textbooks present is often narrowly defined and one-sided.

Many educators and academics have speculated about the impact of gender biased textbooks on students' understanding and interpretation of the past. It has been suggested that when women's history is relatively invisible in texts, female students will not have a sense of their own pasts (Tetrault, 1987; Baldwin & Baldwin, 1992). They, like the women omitted from historical discourse, will be marginalized; they will learn that the lives,
experiences and contributions of women throughout history do not warrant discussion in textbooks with a political, economic, and military focus. This in turn will continue to perpetuate socially constructed imbalances between males and females. What is "masculine" continues to be valued and what is "feminine" continues to be devalued.

Despite the abundance of literature and research available that addresses the problematic nature of gender bias in social studies textbooks, there has not been, to my knowledge, any studies conducted which focus on how this bias impacts both female and male students. As evidenced in my review of literature, there has been a great deal of speculation as to how students are affected by textbooks which present lopsided or narrow views of history. Yet, I believe that speculating about how gender biased textbooks impact students does not tangibly address the problem. There is a need for research in the schools, specifically social studies classrooms, that explores how students react to the history that they learn and how they perceive this history. Until this occurs, it is unlikely that the situation will improve.

Finally, I have maintained that gender bias is not so much a result of the textbooks being written for social studies courses, as it is a problem with the very nature of the social studies curriculum itself. Unless there is a fundamental reconception of
what knowledge should be valued and taught in social studies, nothing will change. Though this may sound fatalistic, I firmly believe it is the case. How can women's lives, experiences and contributions be woven into such a narrowly defined view of history as currently exists in the curriculum? It is, according to Minnich (1990) not the goal to "mainstream" women's history, but to change our conception of what counts as historical contribution. She states that,

Mainstreaming implies that there is one main stream and what we want is to join it, that we are a tributary at best, and that our goal is to achieve the 'normalcy' of becoming invisible in a big river. Transformation on the other hand, puts the emphasis not on joining what is but on changing it (p. 13).

The challenge to educators committed to gender equity in social studies classrooms lies in rethinking what we mean by gender equity in social studies texts differently from the superficial ways we have in the past, and convincing those individuals responsible for the development and implementation of curriculum that the curriculum itself must be rewritten. Now, in Alberta, the possibilities for achieving this reconceptualization abound as ministry officials and educators begin to plan a Western Canadian social studies curriculum. With time and patience, it is possible to look beyond the textbook to the curriculum itself as a source of change in social studies education.
Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Before we can even begin to ask how the literature of women would be different and special, we need to reconstruct its past, to rediscover the scores of women novelists, poets and dramatists whose work has been obscured by time, and to establish the continuity of the female tradition from decade to decade, rather than from Great Woman to Great Woman (Showalter, in Hallett & Davis, 1993, p.268).

Textbooks are ubiquitous in classrooms, thus what they contain is of import to both students and teachers as these texts act as the curriculum. Students are apt to believe what they read as true, yet, as I have illustrated presenting a particular view of history presents students with limited historical “truth.” The two textbooks that I examined were not free from gender bias. In language, visual representation, positioning, and content, each textbook perpetuates the belief that the history of Canada has been dominated by males. Students are the recipients of this view of history and it is likely that their awareness and understanding of the past and present is shaped, in part, by this. More research is needed regarding the impact of gender biased textbooks on students.

By grounding my research in a community of feminist thinkers and educators, I have illustrated that despite the existence of equity guidelines, gender bias still exists in the two social studies textbooks I have examined. The review of literature I conducted alerted me to the presence of gender bias in other textbooks examined. It also allowed me to create my framework of
analysis, including categories I felt were lacking in other studies. Thus, my research provides a more probing analysis while at the same time creating a language which can be used in professional development activities. The creation of my analytical framework has revealed the very implicit and subtle forms that gender bias takes. Clearly, there is a need to rethink the way in which gender equity goals have been approached thus far.

More importantly however, educators committed to achieving change must look to the curriculum itself as the fundamental source of gender bias. Textbook authors have made an effort to include women in the pages of their text. However, they are constrained by the mandated knowledge objectives in social studies curriculum, so the textbooks that they write will never be free of gender bias as long as the knowledge that is valued in social studies continues to be of a political, economic, or military nature.

Without exception, the language of the two textbooks, although not blatantly gendered often denies women the agency that they so rightly deserve. It categorizes them in nameless, faceless collectives, negating individual experiences and contributions. Visually, women are represented, though less often than men, and less often alone then in photos of men and women. Detailed accounts of women's lives and experiences occur
more often outside of the main text than within, reinforcing their historical marginalization in a contemporary textbook. Finally, neither of the textbooks was found to present a fair and equitable portrayal of history; not a surprising finding if consideration is given to the nature of the knowledge that is valued in social studies.

As a result of these findings a number of recommendations must be made. First, textbook guidelines that are currently in place must be discarded in favour of categories such as I have created in order to move beyond a superficial approach to gender equity. Second, teachers need to become educated with regard to identifying gender bias in textbooks. I would even go so far as to suggest that teacher education programs should be encouraged to do just that in either their methods courses or in a separate course designed to address issues of inequity in education. Third, textbook authors and publishers must be alerted to the problematic nature of the way in which content about women is included in textbooks. Fourth, research must be conducted to assess what students learn from their textbooks, both knowledge and attitudes. Finally, and most importantly, the social studies curriculum itself needs to be reconceptualized. The traditional bodies of knowledge included in social studies curriculum are not conducive to valuing historical contributions in both the public and private realm.
We have journeyed far on the road to achieving equity. Journeys however, are not always easy. This one has been long and arduous and there are still many miles to go. It is my emphatic hope that educators, both in schools and universities, are not lulled into a sense of complacency simply because the situation for women in society has improved!
Appendix A:

Women in Traditional Roles

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

Page 102: Woman as mother.
Page 108: Woman as mother.
Page 139: Wives and mothers seeing their sons and husbands off to war.
Page 156: Group of nuns voting in a Wartime Election. Although their role as nuns is traditional, the activity that they are engaging in, voting, is not.
Page 175: Several women engaged in caring for wounded soldiers.
Page 193: Woman holding a baby.
Page 200: Woman reading an Eaton's Catalogue to her daughter.
Page 223: Woman as mother.
Page 248: Woman as gossip.
Page 258: Women nurses during WWII.
Page 261: Woman as mother.
Page 310: Woman as nurse.
Page 343: Woman as mother.
Page 365: Woman as mother.
Page 372: Native woman tanning a hide.
Page 397: Chinese woman shopping.
(Appendix A continued)

Canada Today

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Female elementary teacher.</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Nuns working during the war.</td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Ursuline nuns in early years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Wives of miners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Woman as mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Woman as teacher.</td>
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<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Woman serving food.</td>
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<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Girls sorting food.</td>
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<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Woman as nurse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>Female court clerk / typist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>Woman as mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>Woman as mother / caregiver.</td>
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<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>Woman preparing food.</td>
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</tbody>
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Appendix B:
Women in Non-Traditional Roles

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

Page 35: Woman as politician.
Page 44: Woman as politician.
Page 45: Woman as politician.
Page 54: Woman as RCMP officer.
Page 57: Woman as police officer.
Page 59: Woman as judge.
Page 67: Woman as judge (family court).
Page 68: Woman as guard.
Page 152: Women working in munitions factory.
Page 154: Women in quasi-military organization; depicted shooting guns at rifle range.
Page 155: Women pilot and women mechanics.
Page 187: Women volunteering as gas attendants.
Page 212: Woman as radio announcer in 1937.
Page 218: Female basketball team.
Page 219: Female hockey team.
Page 220: Women graduating from the University of Toronto in 1928.
Page 253: Women munitions workers, WWII.
Page 259: Canadian Women at War (CWAC).
Page 243: Women protesting.
Page 348: Female astronaut.
Page 402: Women graduating from the University of Toronto.
Page 403: Women participating in a "Take Back the Night" rally.
Page 406: Female politician.
Canada Today

Page 4: Females engaged in protest.
Page 13: Female politician (Jeanne Sauve).
Page 20: Female hockey players.
Page 21: Female hockey goalie.
Page 52: Woman broadcaster (Lisa Payette).
Page 53: Females protesting.
Page 56: Female politician - President of PQ.
Page 76: Female sprinter (Angella Taylor).
Page 88: Female politician.
Page 88: Women engaging in protest march.
Page 94: Female MLA (Irene Parlby).
Page 94: Female politician (Violet McNaughton).
Page 97: Women engaged in protest.
Page 116: Female premier.
Page 157: Female banker / customer relations officer.
Page 172: Females striking.
Page 174: Females playing virtual reality race car driving.
Page 190: Woman working at a machine.
Page 213: Females working on auto assembly line.
Page 230: Female premier.
Page 237: Female police officer.
Page 241: Female Supreme Court Judge.
Page 256: Female politicians.
Page 257: Female MP (Jan Brown).
Page 282: Female police officer.
Page 301: Women protesting at Pro-Choice Rally.
Page 313: Woman as "liberator" (Nellie McClung).
Page 320: Females attending political party meeting.
Page 321: Female campaign workers.
Page 344: Females as Senators.
Page 356: Woman filling tank with gasoline.
Page 364: Female ambulance driver filling tank with gas (Grace MacPherson).
Page 366: Women working in munitions factory.
Page 380: Woman working in munitions factory.
Page 402: Female Nobel Laureate.
Page 406: Female peacekeeper.
Page 432: Female prime minister (Norway).
Page 448: Female politician.
Appendix C:  
Women Appearing As "Great"

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

Queen Elizabeth II: Queen of the England and Canada's symbolic head of state. (appears in 4 photos).
Mary Collins: former federal minister of economic diversification.
Emily Stowe: suffragist.
Idola Saint-Jean: suffragist.
Louise McKinney: suffragist and member of the "famous five."
Henrietta Edwards: suffragist and member of the "famous five."
Kim Campbell: Canada's first female prime minister. (appears in 2 photos).
Ethel Blondin: first native woman in Canada elected to the House of Commons.
Bertha Wilson: first woman to be appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada.
Emmeline Pankhusrt: suffragists.
and Nellie McClung
Mary Pickford: Canadian film star; "America's Sweetheart."
Agnes MacPhail: Canada's first woman member of parliament.
The Edmonton Grads: the most successful basketball team in history.
k.d. lang: singer and songwriter.
Roberta Bondar: the second Canadian astronaut in space.
(Appendix C continued)

Canada Today

Dale Campbell: First Nations artist.
Celine Dion: Singer and songwriter.
Jeanne Sauvé: Former Governor General of Canada.
L.M. Montgomery: Renowned novelist.
Team Canada: Women's world championship hockey team.
Manon Rheaume: First female to play in NHL.
Gabrielle Roy: Award winning French-Canadian author.
Lise Payette: At one time, one of the most dominant women in Quebec's cultural and political scene.
Monique Simard: Vice President of the Parti Québécois.
Ofra Harnoy: Famous cellist.
Liona Boyd: Award winning classical guitarist.
Angella Taylor: Sprinter and medal winner.
Irene Parlby: First woman cabinet minister in Alberta.
Violet McNaughton: Suffragette; helped develop platform for Progressive Party.
k.d. lang: Singer and songwriter.
Hillary Clinton: First Lady; health care activist.

Queen Elizabeth II: Queen of England and Canada's symbolic head of state (she appears in 3 other photos).

Jeannette Lavell: Native Activist.
Nellie McClung: Suffragette and "liberator."
Grace MacPherson: Ambulance driver in WWI - described as "bravest of them all."

Aung San Suu Kyi: Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.
Gro Harlem Bruntland: Prime Minister of Norway.
Barbara McDougall: Former Minister of External Affairs.
Ludmilla Chiriaeff: Governor General Award winner.
Appendix D: 
Portraits of Individuals

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

Page 86: Wilfrid Laurier
Page 87: Chief Poundmaker
Page 93: Emmeline Pankhurst and Nellie McClung
Page 108: Louis Riel
Page 125: Reginald Fessenden
Page 203: J.S. Woodsworth
Page 216: An unnamed male "rum-runner"
Page 233: Adolf Hitler
Page 318: Jean Lesage
Page 391: Brian Mulroney
Page 410: man dressed for the Native Chicken Dance ceremony
Appendix E:
Minority Women / Women of Color

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

Page 45: Native Canadian woman, Ethel Blondin
Page 101: French Canadian woman with family
Page 103: Two immigrant girls, ethnicity indeterminate
Page 108: Metis woman with male Metis traders
Page 249: Crowd photo of Japanese Canadian internees during WWII. Japanese women are included in the crowd scene.
Page 261: Two Immigrant women and one immigrant child, ethnicity indeterminate, but included in a section on "Canada's War Brides."
Page 290: UN Poster, in which females and males of all ethnicities are depicted.
Page 310: Somalian citizens. Three women included in photo.
Page 367: Immigrant children in Canadian school. Two Asian girls included.
Page 372: Innuit woman tanning hide.
Page 376: Immigrant Jewish family; 3 women depicted.
Page 395: Children holding a Canadian flag. 3 girls of varying ethnicities.
Page 397: Asian woman in Vancouver’s Chinatown.
Page 398: Black Canadian family. Includes males and females.
Page 400: Black female child in painting.
Page 411: Native women in photo of Native self-government.
Page 413: Native woman standing beside Elijah Harper.
(Appendix E continued)

Canada Today

Page 2: First Nations Artist Dale Campbell.
Page 61: Latin American dancer dancing.
Page 61: Black women in modern dance troupe.
Page 73: 2 Asian women with 5 Asian males.
Page 75: Israeli immigrant Ofra Harnoy.
Page 76: Black woman competing in Olympics.
Page 77: Latvian dancer Ludmilla Chiriaeff.
Page 84: Chinese girls attending language school.
Page 88: 2 Asian women at Harmony March.
Page 109: Japanese woman and child leaning out of train window.
Page 131: Native men and women in canoe.
Page 163: Several minority women in group photo of Canadian Airlines employees.
Page 164: 3 Indian girls sorting food.
Page 190: Asian woman working at computer.
Page 277: Native woman with child.
Page 308: Minority women at citizenship ceremony.
Page 328: East Indian woman with female child.
Page 329: East Indian woman walking with man.
Page 348: Native boys and girls attending class outside.
Page 375: Japanese men and women at Hastings Park.
Page 387: Japanese school girls in uniform.
Page 387: Black teenage girl.
Page 437: African woman cooking food.
## Appendix F:

### Positioning of Women

**Canada: A Nation Unfolding**

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Canada Today

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Appendix G:
Analysis of Index

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

1. "Baby Bonus", 256
2. Bondar, Roberta, 349
3. Campbell, Kim, 41, 44, 404-405
4. Edmonton Grads, 218
5. Elizabeth II, Queen, 14, 16
6. McClung, Nellie, 93, 94, 218
7. Macphail, Agnes, 218
8. Murphy, Judge Emily, 220-221
9. Native Peoples, women, 404
10. "Persons Case", 220-221
11. Pickford, Mary, 213
12. Prohibition, 78, 216-218
13. Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 402, 403-404
14. Social reform, and women, 155-156
15. Suffragists, 149, 156
16. Voting rights, 13
   for women, see Women
17. War brides, 261, 376
18. Women:
   after World War II, 258, 260
   in Canadian politics, 41
   and changes in civil law, 71
   as persons, 220-221
   social reform, 94, 155-156
   in sport, 218, 220
   voting rights for, 13, 93, 156, 160, 218
   in World War I, 154-155
   in World War II, 256-258, 259
19. Women's movement:
   1960s-present, 399, 402-405, 420
   turn of the century, 94
(Appendix G continued)

Canada Today

1. Aboriginal women and equality rights, 276-77
2. Nuala, Beck, 470
3. Boyd, Liona, 76
4. Brundtland, Gro Harlem, 432
5. Campbell, Kim, 54
6. Canadian International Development Agency, women's rights, 439
6. Casgrain, Therese, right to vote, 44
8. Chiriaeff, Ludmilla, 77
9. Clinton, Hillary, 205
10. Conquest, Mary Owen, 13
11. Foreign aid, by Canada, women's rights, 439
12. Harnoy, Ofra, 75
13. Hockey in Canada, women's hockey, 20-21
14. Kidder, Margot, 14
15. Kyi, Aung San Suu, 402
16. lang, k.d., 14
17. Laurence, Margaret, 14
18. Lavell, Jeannette, 276-77
19. MacPherson, Grace, 364
20. McClung, Nellie, 313
21. McDougal, Barbara, 448
22. Montgomery, Lucy Maud, 13
23. National Action Committee on the Status of Women, 315
24. Payette, Lise, 52
26. Rheume, Manon, 21
27. Right to Vote. See Voting in Canada
28. Roy, Gabrielle, 48, 49
29. Royal Winnipeg Ballet, 14
30. Sauve, Jeanne, 13
31. Takashima, Shizuye, 14
32. Taylor, Angella, 76
33. Thobani, Sunera, 315
34. Voting in Canada, 309
   right to vote, 312-315
35. Whitton, Charlotte, 13
(Appendix G continued)

36. Women in Canada
   in armed forces, 381
   voting rights, 312, 313-15
   World War I, 366
   World War II, 380-81
37. Women's Movement in Canada, 17
38. World War I,
   women's role, 366
39. World War II,
   women's role, 380-81
Appendix H:
Textbook Quotations

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
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Page 236: Govt Director Frederick Blair Male
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Page 246: Prime Minister Mackenzie King Male
Page 248: WRNCS "Plotter" unnamed Female
Page 250: Prime Minister Mackenzie King Male
Page 250: Japanese Internee Frank Moritsugu Male
Page 251: Writer David Suzuki Male
Page 251: Govt Official James Forbes Male
Page 254: Cabinet Minister C.D. Howe Male
Page 257: Farmer unnamed Female
Page 259: WRNCS Member unnamed Female
Page 260: Prime Minister Mackenzie King Male
Page 260: Prime Minister Mackenzie King Male
Page 261: War Bride Eunice Partington Female
Page 261: War Bride Phyllis Clements Female
Page 269: Soldier unnamed Male
Page 274: Soldier / Writer Farley Mowat Male
Page 274: German Soldier unnamed Male
Page 275: Soldier unnamed Male
Page 277: Jewish Prisoner unnamed Male
Page 278: Painter Pablo Picasso Male
Page 281: Emperor Hirohito Male
Page 281: Scientist Robert Oppenheimer Male
Page 293: Editor Ian Darragh Male
Page 293: Politician Lester Pearson Male
Page 293: Teacher unnamed Male
Page 296: Politician Louis St. Laurent Male
Page 297: Politician Winston Churchill Male
Page 300: Peace Keeper Jane Thelwell Female
Page 300: Afghan Citizen unnamed Female
Page 301: Politician Lester Pearson Male
Page 305: Politician Mikhail Gorbachev Male
Page 314: Politician Charles de Gaulle Male
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Page 332: Author Reginald Bibby Male
(Appendix H continued)

Page 332: Author Donald Posterski Male
Page 333: Politician Harcourt Male
Page 334: Politician Jean Cretien Male
Page 334: Politician John A. Macdonald Male
Page 340: Writer Robert Fulford Male
Page 341: Writer Pierre Burton Male
Page 341: Writer Northrop Frye Male
Page 341: Chairperson Arthur Gelber Male
Page 343: Prime Minister John Diefenbaker Male
Page 345: Prime Minister John Diefenbaker Male
Page 345: Politician Lester Pearson Male
Page 346: President Ronald Reagan Male
Page 346: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney Male
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Page 348: Astronaut Roberta Bondar Female
Page 349: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney Male
Page 350: President Lyndon Johnson Male
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Page 354: Politician Pierre Trudeau Male
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Page 382: Secretary of State Judy LaMarsh Female
Page 383: Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau Male
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Page 389: Communications Marshall McLuhan Male
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Page 399: Politician Flora MacDonald Female
Page 402: "Farmer's Wife" unnamed Female
Page 403: Feminist Gloria Steinem Female
Page 406: Native Chief Chief Dan George Male
Page 406: Judge unnamed Male
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Page 413: Native Leader George Erasmus Male
### Canada Today

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Appendix I:
Chapter and Unit Reviews

How often are women, women's issues and experiences included in Chapter and Unit Reviews?

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

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Appendix J:
Table of Contents

Canada: A Nation Unfolding

Unit I: Government and Law
  Chapter 1. How is Canada Governed
  Chapter 2. Canadian Government in Action
  Chapter 3. Canada's Judicial System

Unit II: Laying the Foundations: From Confederation to 1911
  Chapter 4. A Nation Emerges
  Chapter 5. French-English Relations
  Chapter 6. Canadian-American Relations

Unit III: The War to End All Wars: Canada and World War I
  Chapter 7. War on the Western Front
  Chapter 8. War on the Home Front
  Chapter 9. Coming of Age

Unit IV: From Boom to Bust: Canada in the 1920s and 1930s
  Chapter 10. Prosperity and Depression
  Chapter 11. Life in Canada in the 1920s and 1930s

Unit V: War Returns: Canada and World War II
  Chapter 12. The Breakdown of Peace
  Chapter 13. War on the Home Front
  Chapter 14. Canada's Role in Ending the War

Unit VI: The Dawning of a New Era: The Cold War and Beyond
  Chapter 16: Canada's Role on the International Stage
  Chapter 17: French-English Relations
  Chapter 18: Canadian-American Relations

Unit VII: The Changing Face of Canada
  Chapter 19: Life in Canada after World War II
  Chapter 20: Canada from the 1960s to the 1980s
  Chapter 21: Canada as a Multicultural Nation
(Appendix J continued)

Canada Today

Culture Chapters:

Chapter 1 - The Canadian Identity
  Focusing on the Issues
  What Is a Canadian?
  A Gallery of Canadian Achievement
  The Evolving Nature of Our Identity
  Hockey: Canada's National Sport
  The Challenge of Protecting Canadian Culture
  Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 3 - Canada's Cultural Diversity
  Focusing on the Issues
  Culture and Canadians
  The Development of a Culturally Diverse Nation
  Canada's Immigration Policy
  Immigrant Experiences: Troubles and Triumphs
  A Difficult Issue: Levels of Immigration
  Official Multiculturalism: Advantages and Challenges
  Reviewing the Issues

Political Chapters:

Chapter 2 - French-English Relations
  Focussing on the Issues
  The Early Years and the Quebec Act
  Two Cultures Advancing Towards Nationhood
  Two Cultures Diverge
  Jean Lesage and the Quiet Revolution
  Pierre Trudeau's Vision, Official Languages, and the FLQ
  The Parti Quebecois, the 1980 Referendum, and the Constitution
  Brian Mulroney's Vision
  Bouchard and Parizeau Versus the Federalists
  First Nations and Quebec
  Reviewing the Issues
Chapter 4 - Challenges and Opportunities: Our Evolving Identity
Focusing on the Issues
Regional Identities: Western Alienation
Regional Identities: The French-English Language Question
The Challenge of Racism
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 9 - You and Your Government
Focusing on the Issues
The Purpose of Government
The Powers of Government
What Type of Government Do We Have in Canada?
The Three Levels of Government
The Federal Government
Provincial and Territorial Governments
Local Governments
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 10 - Rights and Responsibilities: You and the Law
Focusing on the Issues
Rights and Responsibilities
Civil and Criminal Law
The Canadian Legal System
Juvenile Justice Legislation in Canada
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 11 - The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy
Focusing on the Issues
Citizenship in Canada
Influencing the Government: Voting
Influencing the Government: Pressure Groups and the Media
Influencing the Government: Joining a Political Party
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 12 - Challenges and Opportunities: The Constitution
Focusing on the Issues
Canada's Changing Constitution
Recent Attempts at Constitutional Reform
Should the Senate be Reformed?
Aboriginal Self-Government
Reviewing the Issues
Economic Chapters:

Chapter 5 - A Diverse Land
- Focusing on the Issues
- From Sea to Sea
- Canada: A Land of Diverse Regions
- Regional Economic Disparity in Canada
- Unifying Forces Within Canada
- Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 6 - You and the Economy
- Focusing on the Issues
- What Is an Economic System?
- How the Economy Works: Supply and Demand
- What Kind of Economy Do We Have in Canada?
- The Role of Labour: Adapting to a New Age
- The Economic Impact of Technology
- Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 7 - Challenges and Opportunities: The Continent
- Focusing on the Issues
- Ties Between Canada and the US
- A History of Close Trade Relations
- Free Trade on the Continent
- Foreign Investment in Canada
- Caring for Your Health: The Medicare Debate
- Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 8 - Challenges and Opportunities: The World
- Focusing on the Issues
- Why Trade is Important to Canada
- What Canada Trades
- Canada and Trade Blocs
- Currency and Commodity Markets
- Trade with Europe
- Trade on the Pacific Rim
- Reviewing the Issues
Conflict and Challenges Chapters:

Chapter 13 - Canada and War
Focusing on the Issues
World War I, 1914-1918
World War II, 1939-1945
The Cold War
In Defence of Canada: Today and Tomorrow
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 14 - Canada and Peace
Focusing on the Issues
What is the United Nations
The United Nations Today
The United Nations in Action: Peacemaking and Peacekeeping
Sovereignty and Humane Intervention: The World Debates
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 15 - Canada and the Global Community
Focusing on the Issues
The World Challenged
Food Facts: An Investigation
Sustainable Development
Foreign Aid
Reviewing the Issues

Chapter 16 - Challenges and Opportunities: Now and in the Future
Focusing on the Issues
International Trade and Human Rights
First Nations and the World Today
Diseases and Health: A World Response to a World Problem
The High-Tech Information Age
Reviewing the Issues
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Flaherty, P. (1989). History and/or herstory: One man's thoughts on learning and teaching women's history in high school. The History and Social Science Teacher, 25 (1), 14-17.


