

ANALYSIS OF GENDER BIAS
IN HOME ECONOMICS TEXTBOOKS

By

BERNICE ANNE HAYIBOR

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Department of Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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Abstract

Three Canadian home economics textbooks currently used in teaching human relationships were examined to explore the ways in which they are or are not contributing to gender equity. The research posed three questions: To whom is the textbook addressed? What are the characteristics of learners assumed by the textbook? and In what way does the textbook deal with gender bias? In each textbook the preface, index, table of contents, photographs, highlighted sections, and content were examined in detail. The texts were compared to determine commonalities.

The methodology was adapted from earlier textbook analyses of sex equity which were based on the study of intentions outlined in the preface, photographs, and language. Recent feminist work suggests that studies of bias must consider not only the biological concept of sex but also the social construction of gender which relates to those characteristics, activities, and roles traditionally associated with one sex. The feminist concepts of gender sensitivity and gender balance were used in this textbook analysis.

The textbooks were found to contribute to gender equity in five ways. The first approach, including males, is not adequate because it involves the risk of males and a male perspective becoming dominant. The second approach, using inclusive language, is also inadequate because it involves the risk of masking the differences existing between females

and males and the problems arising from gender. Exposing differences and addressing social issues relating to gender are two approaches which may hold promise in contributing to gender equity but in the texts examined were inadequate because the issues were presented as neutral or unproblematic. Encouraging critical thinking was the final approach used in only one textbook and its contribution to gender equity was minimal because critical thinking was applied inconsistently and rarely applied specifically to problems of gender. Gender sensitivity and gender balance require the appropriate use of inclusive and sex specific language, the balanced inclusion of females and males, and detailed, sensitive, and critical discussion of issues related to gender.

The findings of this study raise concerns about the analysis of textbooks. Home economics textbooks have the unique challenge of including males without allowing males and a male perspective to become dominant. Overcoming the problems of gender requires sensitivity in exposing gender differences. Neutralizing knowledge and presenting knowledge as factual rather than problematic masks differences and problems arising from them. The findings of this research suggest analysis of textbooks for gender bias should not be restricted to surface features such as explicit intentions stated in prefaces, photographs, and language. Elimination of gender bias requires substantive changes in textbook content.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The new sociology of education which emerged during the 1970's characterizes school curriculum as a "social invention, reflecting conscious or unconscious cultural choices (in accordance with) the values and beliefs of dominant groups" (Whitty, 1985, p.8). That our culture and ways of thinking have been historically shaped by a male perspective has been increasingly recognized over the last two decades. Feminist educators argue that school knowledge is dominated by a male perspective which, through its omissions and biases, distorts reality (Eichler and Lapointe, 1985).

The object of inquiry in this study is school textbooks, part of the overt, planned school curriculum. The study deals specifically with selected home economics textbooks published in the 1980's and authorized, approved or recommended for use by students and teachers in Canadian schools. It examines the images, relationships and roles of females and males portrayed. The study critically analyzes the form of gender bias exhibited by the books and seeks to determine if they contribute to the achievement of gender equity.

Canadian laws have been influenced by the women's movement. Equal rights are explicit in section 15(1) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms set out by the Constitution Act, 1982, which came into force on Apr. 17,

1985. It states:

15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination ... based on ... sex ...

(2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of ... sex (Government of Canada, 1982, p.15).

Women in Canada should now enjoy equal protection and benefit of the law. Since women's right to equality now exists within Canadian law, social relations should be changing in a direction which reflects this ideal state of equality. The Charter recognizes that, although the right to equality exists, the state of equality has yet to be achieved. It therefore authorizes "affirmative action programs designed to improve the lot of ... disadvantaged groups or individuals (including women) who may have suffered as a result of past discrimination" (Government of Canada, 1982, p.16). The Federal Human Rights Act and the British Columbia Human Rights Act reinforce the equality rights of women (Beveridge and Reid, 1987).

Legislative mandates do not guarantee a change in school practice. "The strength of a mandate rests in the power of its implementation" (Schmuck et al., 1985, p.91). Canadian laws give educators a clear mandate to pursue the implementation of a more equitable education for both females and males, not only through eliminating bias in educational practices, but also through advocating gender equity. Textbooks are one of the many vehicles with the potential for

promoting gender equity in education.

Over the last two decades the pressure of the women's movement and changes in government policy in both Canada and the United States have resulted in the production of guidelines for the elimination of sexism in textbooks (Weston & Stein, 1978; Provincial Advisory Committee on Sex Discrimination, no date). Consequently, some changes in textbooks have taken place. The need for frequent re-evaluation of changes is noted by Eichler (1987) who points out that initial efforts to eliminate sexism in language have occasionally led to a different type of sexist practice. This occurs when generic terms (such as spouse abuse) are used in place of sex specific terms (such as wife battering) making women and women's issues invisible. This study addresses Eichler's (1987) concern by questioning the appropriateness and adequacy of changes which have taken place in home economics textbooks.

Instructional materials, such as school textbooks, may have more impact on students than the knowledge or actions of individual teachers (Herbert, Peterat and Wagner, 1982). Printed materials influence the students outside of the classroom when the teacher is no longer available to act as mediator between the student and the text. Also, imbedded in materials is an implicit view of the learner as one who (a) absorbs knowledge in the form of facts, (b) interprets what is read, or (c) critically appraises knowledge in a socially responsible way (Herbert, Peterat and Wagner, 1982).

The implicit view of the learner is evident in the way in which knowledge is presented, and may influence the way in which the knowledge, both explicit and implicit, is learned.

Explicit sexist messages may be rare in current textbooks but implicitly gender biased messages (such as the acceptance of gender power relations within patriarchy) may persist. These (along with the intended, explicit messages) may be absorbed by students without questioning if the textbook assumes the learner to be a passive receiver of knowledge and simply presents information for unquestioning absorption by students. If textbooks are to bring about social change, they must encourage the critical appraisal of knowledge about society (Weiler, 1988).

As recently as the 1960's, educators were unconscious of the sexist messages conveyed in home economics textbooks. Reflecting the dominant social "ideals" of the time, home economics focused on educating women for their roles in the domestic sphere (home cooking, sewing and child care) and related roles in the public sphere (quantity cooking, industrial sewing and organized day care). Many home economics teachers have rejected the notion that home economics is only appropriate for girls and have sought to show that education for the private sphere is essential for all. Martin (1985) suggests that when each generation "has to ponder anew an issue as complex as the education of women, the resultant ideas tend to be reactive rather than creative, to represent the rejection of some clear evil rather than the

adoption of a well-developed alternative" (p.175). In order to make home economics more appropriate, attempts were made to eliminate such things as the female stereotype and sexist language, but a "well-developed alternative" to the earlier, restrictively female, home economics program has yet to be clearly articulated.

Early efforts in dealing with the problem of sexism in textbooks resulted in the development of "sex-balanced" books. Picturing and featuring males as well as females in home economics textbooks became a priority. Sex balance was achieved by including an equal number of females and males. Whether or not those females and males were in stereotypical activities and exhibited stereotypical characteristics was not an issue (Weis, 1979). However, an equal number of pictures of women and men is insufficient for countering gender bias since many other messages are conveyed through pictures and illustrations (Williger, 1983).

Another way in which books attempted to be non-sexist was by using inclusive language. Words such as people and humankind were substituted for generic terms like man and mankind which were considered by feminists to exclude women. Writers of gender neutral textbooks avoided sex specific terms (husband or wife) in favour of inclusive terms (spouse). Misuse of inclusive language is now recognized by critical feminist thinkers to lead to a problem of gender blindness in which women and women's issues remain invisible (Eichler, 1987). For example, women's poverty which has

arisen partly because of discrimination against women in the workforce and the socialization of females can be ignored by textbooks which use inclusive language because they deal with poverty, work and socialization in a general way rather than a gender sensitive way.

The concept of an education which is "gender sensitive" (Martin, 1985) and "gender balanced" (Tetreault, 1986) has been proposed as an alternative to one which is sexist, sex balanced, or gender neutral. A gender sensitive, gender balanced curriculum and its supporting textbooks would take gender into account and not ignore it. A gender sensitive approach would openly address socialized gender differences and encourage affirmative action to compensate the disadvantaged. A gender balanced approach includes females and males equally unless the issue relates more problematically to one than the other, places equal value on those roles traditionally considered feminine and masculine, and examines issues from both female and male perspectives. These approaches are suggested to overcome "the patriarchal hegemony of schooling" (Eyre, 1987). The concepts of gender balance and gender sensitivity inform the analysis of the textbooks in this study which questions the ways current texts may or may not contribute toward gender equity.

Research Questions

The following questions will guide the analysis of home economics textbooks in this study:

1. To whom is the textbook explicitly and implicitly addressed?
2. What characteristics of learners are assumed by the textbook?
3. In what way does the textbook deal with gender bias? Is it biased or is it neutral, balanced, or sensitive?

Definition of Terms

Concepts which are central to this study are: **sex, sex stereotyping, sex equity, gender, gender equity, patriarchy, division of labour, and feminism**. In the section that follows, these terms will be defined as they are used in this study.

Although the terms sex and gender are frequently used synonymously, they can be distinguished. Sex is a biological construct, usually determined at the time of conception by the chromosomal arrangement. The terms female and male are biological descriptions, and sex differences are those differences which are biologically determined. Behavioral differences between females and males based on genetic explanations are controversial since sex role expectations and other environmental differences begin at birth and continue throughout life (Linn and Peterson, 1985).

Sex stereotyping is the process by which society narrowly and rigidly ascribes traits, roles and behaviors to

females and males based on sex and not on human potential.

It refers to "the conscious/unconscious values and assumptions that ... channel females and males into interests, activities and goals considered appropriate for their sex" (Griffin and Kelly in Williger, 1983, p.4).

Although sex stereotyping is seen by some as simplifying and providing stability in individual lives, the rigid and unthinking acceptance of stereotypes makes them barriers to achievement of full adult potential (Schau, 1985).

Sex equity refers to fair treatment of females and males, treating people as equals regardless of their sex. This concept is relevant to issues such as equality of access to occupations, organizations, and school subjects. "Equity means access to societal and personal accomplishments, including economic reward , for both men and women. Equity means freedom for both sexes to choose school and career activities without social censure. These conditions encourage individuals to achieve their own and other's needs" (Linn and Peterson, 1985, p.53). Equity refers to fairness, impartiality, freedom from bias and discrimination.

Gender is a socially, not biologically, constructed phenomenon. The process of gender differentiation begins at birth as parents and others treat girls and boys differently, socialize girls to be feminine and boys to be masculine, and have different aspirations and expectations for them. Since the process begins so early and is largely unconscious, it is very difficult to distinguish gender differences from

biological (sex) differences (Scott, 1986). Throughout this paper the term "gender" will be assumed to include both the biological concept of sex as well as the social construction of gender.

Gender equity is an evolving concept. It means placing equal value on those socially desirable characteristics and activities traditionally seen as feminine or appropriate for females and those traditionally seen as masculine or appropriate for males. Nurturing must be as appropriate for males as it is for females; assertiveness must be as appropriate for females as it is for males; work in the private sphere must be valued as highly as work in the public sphere; and both women and men must be able to work comfortably and equitably in either or both spheres. Gender equity will only be achieved when female and male are valued equally and socially desirable "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics and activities are appropriate for all. Both women and men must be allowed a full range of characteristics and activities (limited only by their biological differences, not by gender). Throughout this paper the term "gender equity" will be assumed to include both sex equity and gender equity.

When addressing issues related to gender equity it is important to consider the prevailing ideology of patriarchy. The acceptance of this ideology as normal or natural is part of the hegemony (unquestioned assumptions) of this society. Patriarchy refers to a male defined, male controlled

society. Within patriarchy, males define the value system and, as a result, traditional male roles and masculine characteristics are valued more than traditional female roles and feminine characteristics. The patriarchal ideology assumes, consciously or unconsciously, that men are superior to women and have the right to control the life circumstances of women.

When considering gender equity the concept of the division of labour proposed by home economist, Thompson (1986) is useful. She sees work as taking place within two spheres. One is the public, productive, visible sphere where wage labour is situated and the other is the private, reproductive, invisible sphere of unpaid home labour. The two spheres are "distinctive, yet complementary and interdependent, ... interconnected and interactive" (p.278). The patriarchal ideology has traditionally operated within both the public sphere (in that men control both government and business) and the private sphere (in that men are usually considered the "head of the household", unless it is a "male absent" household). Since sex roles are known to differ from culture to culture, the relegation of private sphere work to women and public sphere work to men is "neither biologically based nor given in the nature of things" (Greene, 1985, p.232). Feminist educators see a need to include knowledge about and for both the private and public spheres in the education of both female and male students (Martin, 1985).

Feminism is "a movement for the elimination of sex-based

injustice" (Richards in Eichler, 1987, p.47). Basic to feminist thought is the belief that women have not been considered equal to men and that "the unequal and inferior status of women is unjust and needs to be changed" (Jagger in Biklen and Shakeshaft, 1985, p. 45). The goal of feminism is to insert "the concerns of women from all walks of life into policy and practice, ultimately reshaping the whole world so that it better reflects the experience of both men and women" (Gaskell, 1988, p. 9). Eventual elimination of the patriarchal ideology can be seen as a feminist goal in education.

Limitations

This study examines only home economics textbooks with a family or relationship focus. The study excludes textbooks used in home economics subject specializations such as foods and nutrition, clothing and textiles, housing, and child development because these may not adequately reveal an understanding of relationships and society. Although the format of the analysis could possibly be applied to other textbooks in specific areas in home economics, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to all home economics textbooks.

The study has been limited to a detailed analysis of only three textbooks. The purpose of the study is to analyze the nature of the changes which have occurred in textbooks. It does not attempt to determine the extent to which gender

bias exists in home economics textbooks at this time.

No attempt is made to examine university textbooks in home economics. Only textbooks which are recommended, approved or authorized for use in Canadian junior and senior secondary schools are considered. The study is also limited to textbooks in which English is the language of instruction.

The earliest publication date for any book chosen is 1980 since it is assumed that books of this decade will have been influenced by guidelines regarding sexist language and sex stereotyping. Some of the analysis requires judgements on the part of the researcher which may differ from judgements made by others.

A very important, complex and dynamic relationship exists between the oppression of women and other forms of oppression based on the intersection of gender, race and class. Detailed analysis of race and class bias was not the purpose of this study and no attempt is made to link these forms of oppression.

This study assumes that the textbook is important in shaping the curriculum in use. Research on textbook use in home economics is not available. Therefore the assumption is based on research of textbook use in subjects other than home economics (Apple, 1986).

The study is limited to an examination of textbooks and accompanying teachers' guides and resource materials. No attempt is made to examine the textbook in use. The assumption is that the teacher will use teacher resource

materials as presented and that the textbook and accompanying student resource materials will be used in a relatively uncritical way by both teachers and students. The possibility of the teacher as a mediator between the student and the textbook and the possibility of using textbooks in a critical way is recognized.

Significance

This study contributes to understanding how textbooks have responded to criticisms of being gender biased. The findings of this research will contribute to a framework for future analyses of textbooks, especially home economics textbooks. This study investigates the appropriateness of the concepts of gender sensitivity and gender balance for the analysis of textbook knowledge. These concepts may be appropriate to use in developing future guidelines for eliminating gender bias in the writing of textbooks. In offering current insight regarding text analysis, the study will have practical significance for teachers, departments of education, school districts, and publishers.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of literature examines selected works from the sociology of education addressing the development of school knowledge. Feminist research on the concept of school knowledge is examined in exploring the possible contribution of home economics textbooks to gender equity. Research on the importance of textbooks to teaching and the development of textbooks is reviewed. This section concludes with an examination of previous analyses of gender bias in textbooks.

School Knowledge and the New Sociology of Education

"The study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge" (Apple and King in Werner, 1987, p.92). The dominant views of a society may be revealed through examination of what is present in or absent from any school curricula or texts.

For an understanding of the sociology of school knowledge, the work of Whitty (1985) is instructive although it relates to class rather than gender. During the 1950's, sociologists of education believed deficiencies in working class culture could be compensated by education. Although this notion of social engineering through education was rarely made explicit, sociologists attempted to understand the underachievement of working class students and the inability of education to facilitate upward mobility.

Education was perceived as "good" and the nature of schooling was unquestioned. Educators argued for increased access in order to provide equality of opportunity (Whitty, 1985).

In the 1960's and early 1970's the "new" sociologists of education related the selection of curricular knowledge to the institutional setting of schools and to the structure of society. They argued that curriculum was a social invention involving cultural choices which reflected the values and beliefs of dominant groups in society. The possibility of disinterested knowledge was disputed. During the 1970's, "what we know" became the object of inquiry, not a given. It was recognized that school knowledge is constructed, selected, organized, represented and distributed in different ways, and there is no reason for it to be given the absolute status of "the knowledge" and institutionalized in the school curriculum. Sociologists argued that knowledge, because it is socially constructed, can be reconstructed (Whitty, 1985).

Weiler (1988) argues that educational theorists focus on the relationship of schooling to social class and neglect the production and reproduction of gender relations. Social reproduction and production theories, however, assist in the understanding of oppression. Weiler (1988) writes: "students are shaped by their experiences in schools to internalize or accept a subjectivity and a class position that leads to the reproduction of existing power relationships and social and economic structures" (p.6). She claims it is important to acknowledge an intended role of schools as "apparatuses of

social reproduction and sites of cultural reproduction" (p.24). The role of schools and the processes of schooling are problematic for reproduction theorists. For production theorists, on the other hand, the dominant form of language and the social construction of knowledge are problematic. According to production theory, "both individuals and classes assert their own experience and contest or resist the ideological and material forces imposed upon them ... both teachers and students produce meaning through their own individual and collective consciousness" (Weiler, 1988, p.11).

The contradictory tensions of production and reproduction are important in a critical theory of education (Weiler, 1988). Critical theorists concern themselves with the production and reproduction of social class through schooling. They argue society is exploitive and oppressive, yet capable of change. Critical production theorists have "a political commitment to human betterment" (Bates in Weiler, 1988, p.12). They see potential for individual empowerment through development of critical consciousness and for a transformation of present social arrangements. The contradictory tensions of domination and resistance mutually inform one another in efforts to develop emancipatory projects which will transform the present social arrangements of class, race and gender (Weiler, 1988).

Whitty (1985) considers schools to be sites of ideological practice and struggle. Subject areas offer

representations of the world but not the world itself. Unfortunately, this view of the world may be taken as immutable fact by students. Sociologists of education say we teach, not knowledge, but preferred discourse. However, just as "hegemonic ideological practice has a particular and crucial role in social reproduction, so can oppositional ideological practice, if properly organized, play a significant role in social transformation" (Whitty, 1985, p.38). Critical pedagogy rejects the notion of the teacher as a neutral transmitter of knowledge, the learner as the passive recipient of knowledge, and knowledge as immutable material to impart. Instead it recognizes them as active, changing and changeable agents (Lusted in Weiler, 1988). A contribution to social transformation is made by deconstructing the dominant discourse, (exposing the existing ideological relations of gender, race, and class discrimination, thereby shattering the naturalization of school knowledge) and identifying alternate discourses (Whitty, 1985).

Weiler (1988) argues that critical education theory and feminist theory are essential in a feminist theory of education. Critical education theory and feminist theory are concerned with "the relationship between the individual subject and an oppressive social structure (and both emphasize) social structure and knowledge are socially constructed and are thus open to contestation and change" (Weiler, 1988, p.4). The tensions between production and

reproduction are demonstrated in both theories. Critical education theory, however, rarely considers how gender is produced and reproduced through school practices and textbooks. Feminist theory often fails to recognize the ongoing struggle of schools in knowledge and social relationships (Weiler, 1988). For an analysis of gender and schooling, both critical education theory and feminist theory are necessary.

Feminist Research

During the 1960's and 1970's feminist research in education documented and attempted to eliminate sexism (Biklen and Shakeshaft, 1985). Assumptions which pervaded textbooks (eg. mothers stayed home to cook and clean while fathers went to work) were recognized as stereotypes. Differences between the sexes were recognized as evidence of inequality, not natural or inevitable differences (Gaskell, 1988). Students were receiving information that was basically inaccurate. For example, only 20% of households in the United States fit the stereotype of husband working outside the home and wife at home with children, yet this stereotype was commonly portrayed in texts. In spite of the predominance of the two wage earner family (Schau, 1985), this reality was not being conveyed.

Textbooks were also criticized for making women invisible in knowledge and knowledge production (Westkott, 1979). Unless the scene was domestic, women were absent from

curricula (Howe, 1979). According to the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women "a woman's creative and intellectual potential is either underplayed or ignored ... The sex roles described in these textbooks provide few challenging models for young girls, and they fail to create a sense of community between men and women as fellow human beings" (in Gaskell, 1988, p.13).

Early feminist research on schooling exposed sex stereotyping and sex bias in instructional materials and school practices. It documented sex role stereotyping in texts, absences of women in history books, the degrading and unrealistic portrayal of women in readers and literature, streaming of girls into some curricular areas but not others, and sexism in classroom practices (Weiler, 1988). Solutions to sexism included encouraging young women to enter non-traditional fields of study as the way of accessing higher paying jobs (Gaskell, 1988). Guidelines for avoiding stereotyping in texts and educational materials were developed. The goal of this early feminist research and action was to reform state and provincial policies of education as well as texts and practices (Weiler, 1988).

Other feminist research in education has examined the role of schools in socializing young people. First, schools maintain two different sets of behaviour patterns, skills, desires, and expectations for females and males. Ayim (1979-80) writes:

For generations females have been socialized to be passive, conformist, and dependent, males to be active,

non-conformist, and independent; females have been prepared basically for the role of wife and mother and males for the role of wage-earner. The school system simply reinforces this dichotomy - it does not insist upon (or even encourage) females learning the competitive skills and strategies most valued by the dominant group (p.83).

Martin (1985) claims that "institutions, roles, tasks, traits are detachable from one another and from gender" (p.177).

A second concern regarding socialization is that schools value the public, productive sphere and male traits over the private, reproductive sphere and female traits. Like the media and society at large, schools misrepresent the worth and integrity of the values, life-styles and contributions traditionally associated with women. Although the traditionally female responsibility of nurturance has been essential for the maintenance of society, it is generally unrecognized in school curricula. Even the contribution of women's work in the paid labour force is only marginally recognized in school subjects.

According to Martin (1985), education has been devoted solely to preparation for productive functions. Recent historians of educational thought have neglected marriage, home, family, child rearing and domestic management, in other words, the tasks, traits, functions and institutions of the private sphere. Martin (1985) argues education for society's reproductive processes is essential. Accepting an education for only the public sphere supports the hierarchy of values which places productive processes above reproductive ones and places greater value on traits traditionally associated with

males (Martin, 1985). Gaskell (1988) argues that knowledge must be questioned and reworked with an understanding of "the ways in which gender has shaped the organization of Canadian society" (p.15) and that the concerns of women must be integrated across the curriculum so that all knowledge will be transformed.

What is needed is a basic rethinking of the present gender bound (Martin, 1985), gender biased (Houston, 1985), and gender specific (Klein, 1985) education. Two alternatives which have been proposed are gender free education and gender sensitive/ gender balanced education.

Houston (1985) suggests that "gender free" means "freedom from gender bias" (p. 359). The problem is how best to achieve this goal. When used in its weak sense, gender free refers to an education in which gender is ignored (Houston, 1985). It is an education which is blind to the problems created by the historical social construction of gender. A system which opens all existing courses to all students would qualify as gender free. However, this notion of gender free is inadequate if it does not provide programs or courses intended to eliminate sex-based injustices. Morgan (1985) uses gender free in a stronger sense. She advocates the abolition of gender as a social category. Gender would be disregarded in a very active way with the goal of obliterating gender differentiation within the educational sphere. The elimination or complete restructuring of activities, such as wrestling and balance beam gymnastics, in

which there seem to be natural biological differences between the sexes, is a way of eliminating gender differences (Houston, 1985).

Houston (1985) and Martin (1985) argue these gender free approaches to education make invisible the very problems which need to be addressed. Gender free approaches mask and reinforce subtle forms of gender bias. They ignore important questions central to the issue by assuming the existence of equality. (Houston, 1985). Freedom from gender bias requires careful attention to gender, in other words, an education which is gender sensitive (Houston, 1985; Martin, 1985). The existence of genderized traits at this cultural and historic moment makes a sensitivity to gender necessary (Martin, 1985).

Martin (1985) also argues that simply adding women to the existing education is inadequate. Women's studies courses thrive in universities and colleges but it is "too little, too late, and too elitist to postpone until college years the revelations of the new research" (Martin, 1985, p.197). Nurturance, caring, concern, and connection must be goals of all education to avoid the reproduction of the split between the public and private processes of society. These traits must be recognized as having important significance in our moral, social, and political lives (Martin, 1985). The encouragement of these traits must be goals in all subjects and not limited to courses such as home economics that arise out of the reproductive processes.

Because women and men live interdependently, enlightenment about the education of women should bring enlightenment about the education of men. Rich (1977) wants boys to discover new ways of becoming men just as girls are finding new ways of becoming women. Men need "a kind of compensatory education in the things about which their education as males has left them illiterate" (Rich, 1977, p.216). The restructuring of education will "liberate the potential of all young people, male and female" (Storey, 1979-80, p.18).

Gender involves a dynamic pattern of relationships between people which is affected by other social relationships. Eliminating gender bias means understanding gender differently rather than eliminating it. A gender sensitive curriculum requires attention to gender when, to do so, assists in prevention of bias and achievement of equality (Houston, 1985). Gender sensitivity recognizes the dynamic nature of gender relations. It requires constant vigilance and adjustment in educational practice and policy. It "requires a critical and constant review of the meaning and evaluation attached to gender" (Houston, 1985, p. 369).

Weiler (1988) criticizes much feminist work as too narrow in focus, and overly concerned with texts and institutional structures of schooling. She argues that, if the role of power in social relationships is to be addressed, attention must be paid to broad social and economic structures in addition to the institutions of schooling

(Weiler, 1988). She proposes a critical feminist education theory derived from critical education theory and socialist feminist theory (Weiler, 1988). It would question the origins of gender biased practice and the ways in which other structures of power and control influence schooling. Critical education theory makes two basic assumptions. The first is that there is a significant connection between schooling, the class structure, and the economic system. A focus, therefore, is the relationship of women's schooling and women's work. The second assumption is that capitalism and patriarchy are related and mutually reinforcing. Men and women exist in interconnected and overlapping relationships of gender, race and class (Weiler, 1988).

In socialist feminist theory, as in critical education theory, the two perspectives of reproduction and production can be identified, although the separation is not a distinct and rigid one (Weiler, 1988). A limited amount of work has been done which addresses explicitly the role of schools in the reproduction of gender oppression (Weiler, 1988). Feminist work in social reproduction views oppression of women in the paid work force and domestic work as reproduced through schools. Educational policies are examined for overt and hidden assumptions regarding the role of women in the economy. "The major focus of this approach is on the connection between sexist practices in the schools and women's oppression in society as a whole" (p.31). Feminist reproduction theorists are concerned with patriarchal

oppression and the reproduction of the existing hierarchical society. They see the ideology of schools preparing girls "to accept their role as low paid or unpaid workers in capitalism" (p.32). Schools have reinforced the present arrangement of society in that the students have tended to make "choices" which reproduce the social sexual division of labour in capitalism (Deem in Weiler, 1988).

Feminist production theorists do not view gender ideology as uncontested. Anyon (1984) argues sex role socialization of women is characterized by neither complete acceptance nor complete rejection of the attempted socialization but instead involves "a simultaneous process of accomodation and resistance" (p.25). She suggests that "Gender development involves not so much passive imprinting as active response to social contradictions" (Anyon in Weiler, 1988, p.49). The daily accomodation and resistance of women traps them in the contradictions they would overcome, because their individual accomodation and resistance do not seek to remove the structural causes of the contradictions. Collective action is required. Individual, fragmented effort is politically weak. Anyon (1984) writes:

We must nurture in females a sense of solidarity and potentiation. We must argue the females have the power to work for new, more equitable kinds of social arrangements. Moreover, we must nurture in both females and males the understanding that it is legitimate for women to engage in political struggle. For as women are currently defined by ideologies of femininity, it is not considered feminine for women to act together in political protest.(p. 45-46)

Inherent in the notion of resistance is the hope of

transcendence of oppression. For Weiler (1988) the question is how to create meaning and resist the imposed ideology; how to inform school practice and transform social relationships. Weiler suggests that feminist teaching should be "counter-hegemonic". It should be an organized, conscious, collective action which opposes the hegemony of the existing order (Weiler, 1988). This type of critical teaching deals with the latent and unarticulated resistance of students. Teachers and students can work together in an attempt to develop a critical understanding of the forces which act upon their lives. Schools can be places where ideology can be made conscious and social stereotypes and prejudices can be challenged. The women's movement can develop an alternate version of gender and open discussion of structural limitations and the oppression faced by females. Socialist feminism is committed to social transformation, not just consciousness raising; relationships and power structures must be transformed (Weiler, 1988).

Feminist research about gender raises new challenges for textbook development. Research of the 1960's and 1970's led to suggestions for dealing with sex bias by including women where they had been omitted, eliminating sex stereotypes, and using non-sexist language. More recent feminist research suggests a need for additional guidelines so that textbooks will, in addition to being non-sexist, strive for gender sensitivity and gender balance. Critical feminist theorists such as Weiler (1988) suggest that changing texts alone is

inadequate. Instead, the social changes necessary for achieving equity require counter-hegemonic practice. Nevertheless, Weiler's (1988) argument suggests that texts should encourage a more critical approach to issues by examining hierarchical social practices and structures.

Gender Equity and Home Economics

The ideological association of women with the private sphere is blurred by women's participation in the paid labour force and public life. To focus women's education on the private sphere, as the early home economics courses did, is no longer appropriate. To focus the education of both women and men on preparation for the public sphere is also inappropriate (Martin, 1988). Gender equity in the private sphere is essential if gender equity is to be achieved in the public sphere. The blurring of the division of labour also means that the study of individuals and families is incomplete without also considering their interaction with, and relationship to, other structures of society. Home economics is concerned with the well being of individuals and families and must, therefore, take into account all social structures which affect their well being.

The need for an education which strives for gender equity, especially in the reproductive sphere, is indicated by Gaskell's research (1984) on Vancouver students seeking employment immediately after high school. The students' comments reveal a vast difference in the girls' and boys' perceptions of the future, especially with respect to

marriage. Gaskell (1984) writes

(These girls) overwhelmingly assume that they will have primary responsibility for the domestic labor in their families, while the boys do not consider domestic labor something they have to take into account at all....But (girls) want husbands and they want children. In order to accomplish these, they feel they will have to do the domestic work for a variety of reasons based on their perception of how the world works, and what opportunities are available. Men, they say, will not or cannot do it. (Gaskell, 1984, p.100)

The students' perceptions are very different from the equitable view of marriage stated by Geo-Karis (1975):

Marriage should be a partnership of equals where the dependence is mutual, the obligations reciprocal, and the individualities maintained and respected....The roles and duties of marriage should be assigned according to natural talents and inclinations, not on the basis of sex. (p.287)

An understanding of how domestic labour affects gender differences is important to gender equity, but little research explores how high schools reproduce the organization of domestic work (Gaskell, 1984). Ayim (1986) points out that we cannot have equity without changes in the social context, including the organization of the home and family. This research highlights the role home economics can play in facilitating some of the changes which are essential if we are to achieve a gender equitable society.

Textbooks and Teaching

Textbooks are chosen for this study because they are a concrete and readily examinable part of the planned school curriculum. They have importance as the "authorized version of society's valid knowledge" (Olson in Luke, de Castell &

Luke, 1983, p.113). However, as sociologists of education argue, the knowledge contained in them is neither objective nor neutral. "The choice of particular content...is related both to existing relations of domination and to struggles to alter these relations" (Apple, 1986, p.84).

A study of textbook ideology requires deconstruction. The reflectionist model suggests school materials are structured by some underlying concept of social reality reinforcing the powerlessness of non-dominant groups (Whitty, 1985). For example, Anyon (in Whitty, 1985) analyzed elementary social studies textbooks for their patterns of inclusion and exclusion. She showed how ideology is revealed, not only through what is said, but also through silences, gaps, and absences in content. The patterns of inclusion and exclusion, along with certain stereotypical representations, create an image of the nature and history of both dominant and oppressed groups. She found the portrayal to be consistent and misleading with respect to social class, naturalizing the existing social relationships by providing support for the interests of the dominant group. Most studies of textbooks show they serve in the formation of attitudes and values perpetuating the status quo (Whitty, 1985). Whitty (1985) suggests that class relations (and gender relations) are masked by the fragmentation of classes into individual persons who are then reconstituted into imaginary and non-antagonist groups such as the community and the nation so that conflict and power relations are neutralized.

The question of what content should be taught and learned is a political one. Selection of content is made on "the basis of what someone considers important" (Werner, 1987, p.91). The power to make decisions about textbook knowledge rests in part with publishers who are influenced by evaluation, adoption, and funding procedures of Ministries of Education (Werner, 1987). Content of textbooks represents compromises amongst competing interests (Werner, 1987).

In addition, selection of content is related to finances of the publishing industry. In 1980, total sales in the book publishing industry in the United States amounted to \$6 billion, \$1.5 billion of which came from elementary, secondary and college level texts. The books publishers choose to print must satisfy a market at a price that will withstand competition. Increased competition between a small number of large firms has decreased their willingness to take risks.

Publishing companies concentrate on a small number of "carefully chosen products" (Apple, 1986, p.92). A non-controversial presentation of standard content allows their use in numerous different states and school districts over long periods of time. Controversial issues are usually omitted from texts if they are likely to affect the marketability of the text. Apple (1986) writes "Cultural or educational vision may be overridden by their concern with the market structure in which finances and high profit margins are more important" (p.95).

American textbooks may undergo changes in illustrations and minor revisions in content to make them acceptable to the Canadian market. It is good business practice for publishers to aim their textbooks toward the largest states and provinces with textbook adoption policies such as Ontario, (Werner, 1987) and California and Texas (Apple, 1986).

The pressure of the women's movement has led to the development of textbook guidelines for both publishers and Departments of Education. Guidelines by themselves may be insufficient to bring about change. Anyon (1979) contends, in spite of periodic changes in the content of curriculum, the underlying perspective remains that of the dominant group. Any change addressing gender equity requires a commitment by publishers, and the expertise to recognize subtle forms of discrimination (Scott and Schau, 1985).

The publishing industry, like the larger society, is patriarchal. There are more men than women in positions of authority (Apple, 1986). Thus, decisions about what is valid knowledge are made by men, who are also likely to make conservative decisions based on the marketability of texts rather than on the elimination of social injustice.

Because content is selected with marketability in mind, texts are not neutral in interest. The writing style, however, tends to neutralize knowledge and in doing so establishes both its marketability and its authority as a text (Luke et al., 1983). In practice, textbooks assume additional authority because they are "authorized" by

Departments of Education (Luke et al., 1983).

Textbooks tend to shape modes of instruction as well as the knowledge acquired. If a textbook assumes the learner to be a passive receiver of knowledge, it may be used in an unquestioning way by teacher and learner. Even though texts may be mediated by teachers, the educational context (which is likely to include tests and provincial examinations) makes criticism of texts unlikely (Luke et al, 1983).

Werner (1987) suggests that consistent use of textbooks gives them a major role as agents of socialization. Apple (1986) contends:

The curriculum in most American schools is not defined by courses of study or suggested programs but by the standardized, grade-level-specific text. ... It is estimated ... that 75 percent of the time elementary and secondary students are in classrooms and 90 percent of their time on homework is spent with text materials.
(p.85)

Thus, the curriculum in use is determined to a large extent by the quality of teaching materials available.

At present, no research is available on whether or how textbooks are used in home economics. Because home economics textbooks are published, approved by Departments of Education, and purchased by school boards, it is assumed they are used in home economics, as they are in other school subjects.

The educational system can influence what teachers teach through the textbooks it authorizes or approves. Decisions about how (or if) equity issues are dealt with should be made by Departments of Education, not individual teachers. In a

study of efforts to eliminate sexism in Canadian education, Hegarty (1977) found, although educators are aware of their responsibility to uphold non-sexist standards for students, some of them doubt whether they can or should attempt to affect sexist attitudes. Hegarty (1977) regarded most actions toward non-sexist standards as "tokens". A token approach can actually be detrimental. If it is to be successful, intervention to change sex stereotyping must be powerful (Hegarty, 1977) and the power and authority of the text give it the potential for being more than a "token" effort in eliminating sexism. School boards and Departments of Education can provide leadership in the direction of gender equity by careful selection or rejection of textbooks.

Related Research

The Importance of Sex Equitable Instructional Materials

A "sex-fair reality" (Schau, 1985) should be portrayed in all material presented to students. The expectation that most women will be homemakers and mothers is not a reality, nor is the expectation that men's responsibilities will fall only in the public domain. It is important to portray women and men realistically. Flexibility in role patterns is essential. For example, belief in the female stereotype of a woman's place being in the home causes tension when combined with the reality of participation in the paid labour force (Schau, 1985). Analysis of instructional materials is important because they present sex role models and provide direct instruction about sex roles (Scott & Schau, 1985).

Research has shown when students are exposed to sex equitable materials they become less sex typed in their attitudes. However, these attitudes are not generalized to areas not specifically addressed in the materials. Overall, attitudes of females and males have been affected approximately equally (Scott & Schau, 1985). Attitude change toward equity (more flexible sex role attitudes) increases with increased exposure to sex equitable materials. Exposure to token, non-traditional, roles in materials is inadequate in producing attitude change (Scott & Schau, 1985).

Bias in Instructional Materials

Sadker and Sadker (in Dobry, 1986) list the ways bias is exhibited in instructional materials:

1. omission - providing low visibility of any group in photos or print conveys a message of lesser value or importance.
2. stereotyping - assigning traditional and rigid roles (dominant/ subordinate), behaviors (fearful/ brave), or attributes (strong/ weak) encourages students to see themselves only in stereotypic ways and fail to develop their own unique potential (Dobry, 1986, p.43).
3. imbalance/selectivity - giving only one interpretation of an issue, situation or group distorts reality and ignores complex and differing viewpoints.
4. unreality - portraying contemporary life experience unrealistically avoids or glosses over controversial topics.

5. fragmentation/isolation - separating issues related to one sex from the main body of the text, such as by different coloured type or boxed off lines, implies that these issues are less important or not part of the mainstream.

6. linguistic bias - using any language which introduces bias.

Articles about sexism in textbooks all mention sexist language perhaps because it is easy to recognize and relatively easy to correct. Sexist language could be considered one of the "clear evils" that Martin (1985) suggests we reject. Language is an important issue because it reflects our socialization and conditions the way we think and act. Changing language patterns will allow us to introduce equality and fairness (Sah & Rancy, 1984).

Language needs to be considered in depth because it affects most parts of a textbook. The literature on textbook language deals with using sex specific terms to describe generic situations. The Vancouver School Board (VSB, 1987) refers to these as "false generic" terms. Weis (1979) refers to them as "subsuming terminology", defined as "masculine terms which are commonly believed to include or refer to females as well as males but which, in fact, operate to exclude females" (Burr et al in Weis 1979, p.150).

Eichler (1987) writes:

Non-sexist language..must not be confused with removing sex from language...Sexist language commits either one or both of (these) errors: it may use sex specific terms to describe generic situations and/or may use generic terms to describe sex-specific situations. Either usage must be seen as unacceptable....because it obscures and

confuses descriptions of social phenomena rather than elucidate and accurately describe them. (p.28)

For the purposes of this study, any language which indicates the sex of the person or persons involved will be termed "sex specific". For example, "she", "he", "women", "men", "wife abuse", and "fathering" are sex specific terms. Language which suggests inclusion of both women and men will be referred to as "inclusive", although elsewhere it may be referred to as "generic" or "gender neutral". For example, "spouse abuse", "parenting", and "he and she" are inclusive terms. Using inclusive terms for sex specific situations and sex specific terms for generic situations (Eichler, 1987) will be considered in relation to nouns, pronouns, situations, and concepts.

Nouns

The English language has traditionally used such terms as "man" and "mankind" to refer to the human population. An inclusive word such as "humankind" would be considered non-sexist. Eichler and Lapointe (1985) draw attention to the absurdity of statements such as "Man is a mammal who does not always suckle his young." Because "man" can also be used to refer to an exclusively male population, it is a very ambiguous term (Eichler & Lapointe, 1985). It should be replaced by an appropriate sex specific or inclusive term, depending on the context. When "man" is used rather than "human being", listeners or readers visualize men more often than they visualize women (Sah & Rancy, 1984).

VSB (1987) suggests using substitutions for words which

include "man", or male terms. For example, "manhole cover" should be "access cover", "forefathers" could be "founders" and "cameraman" could be "camera operator". Home economics textbooks should use "homemaker" rather than "housewife" or "househusband". Sah and Rancy (1984) suggest avoiding the feminization of some gender terms because it may be unnecessary (eg. authoress, poetess) or belittling (eg. jockette, astronette).

Pronouns

VSB (1987), Blankenship (1984), Weis (1979), Williger (1983), and Sah and Rancy (1984) draw attention to pronoun usage. The following solutions to problems with pronouns were suggested: (a) avoiding them when not essential to the meaning of the sentence (b) rewording the sentence (c) replacing the masculine pronoun with "one" or "he/she, her/him" (d) changing the sentence to plural, or (e) using the plural pronouns to replace the masculine singular.

Weis (1979) studied pronouns as an indicator of sexism in the language of home economics textbooks from 1964 to 1974. Six personal pronouns (excluding "it") were classified by their referees in the text. A group of people of one sex or both sexes was classified as neutral(N). Pronouns referring to specific persons were classified as "gender referenced": masculine(M), feminine(F), or neutral(N). Pronouns which referred to persons without identified gender were classified as "non-gender referenced" and further subclassified as (M) (F) or (N) depending on the pronoun.

Neutral pronouns (you, they, their) were used more frequently than either masculine or feminine pronouns. Masculine pronouns were used more than feminine pronouns. Observation of the gender referenced pronouns indicated more references to specific females than males. "It seemed that the textbooks were generally saying more about females but were using more masculine than feminine pronouns to say it" (Weis, 1979, p.153-4).

Williger (1983) studied pronouns in home economics textbooks used between 1976 and 1983. She found that neutral pronouns outnumbered female and male pronouns and that male pronouns slightly outnumbered (1.04) female pronouns. She also found more specific reference to females than to males and more male pronouns to refer to unspecified individuals.

Situations

Eichler (1987) draws attention to an issue of sexism in language which is given little attention - the use of inclusive terms for sex specific situations. For example, this problem arises in referring to wife battering as "spouse abuse", to delinquent boys as "delinquent adolescents", and to "one-parent families" when most of these are "headed" by mothers. Use of inclusive terms is usually done in an attempt to be non-sexist but in reality it confuses the issues by masking the impact of gender.

Concepts

Eichler (1987) draws attention to sexism in concepts as more difficult to recognize because it does not relate to the

word itself but to the meaning of the word. "Concepts are sexist if they are based on some form of double standard, although the way in which such a double standard may manifest itself may vary greatly" (p.29). For example: "head of the household" implies a hierarchy; "maternal deprivation" involves a value judgement because "paternal deprivation" is not applied to men who work outside the home (Eichler, 1987); and labelling sexual behavior of adolescent girls as "promiscuous" while calling similar behavior in boys "experimental" judges equivalent behaviors differently (Eichler & Lapointe, 1985).

Eichler (1987) summarizes by saying:

Concepts are sexist if (a) they construct ego as of one sex only but apply the concept generally, (b) are asymmetrical, in the sense that identical behaviors of females and males are evaluated differentially, (c) involve a differential evaluation of male-identified and female-identified traits, (d) are premised on a hierarchical sexual ordering that does not, in fact, obtain in social reality, and lastly (e) are premised on notions of sex appropriateness when in fact we are dealing with a human attribute. (p.31)

Four other ways in which sexism is introduced through language are:

1. using non-equivalent terms such as man and wife. Because their use creates a sexual slur, equivalent terms such as woman and man or wife and husband should be used in their place (VSB, 1984; Sah & Rancy, 1984). Parallel terms for females and males should be used in parallel situations (Eichler and Lapointe, 1985). "Working women" corresponds with "working men", "working mothers" corresponds with

"working fathers". Because Mr. is not parallel to either Mrs. or Miss, Ms. should be used or these titles dropped and people referred to by name only (Eichler & Lapointe, 1985).

In Quebec, a woman does not take her husband's name upon marriage. Children may take either or both names. In other provinces, changing a name upon marriage is not a legal requirement, only a custom (Eichler & Lapointe, 1985).

2. mentioning sex when it adds no relevant information (Sah & Rancy, 1984; VSB, 1987) as in "male nurse", "lady doctor", "woman judge". The VSB (1987) refers to this as "subtle sexism".

3. describing women in terms of physical characteristics and appearance or as mere appendages (as in X's wife, Y's mother). VSB (1987) describes this as the "trivialization" of women and their accomplishments (VSB, 1987).

4. using cliches which denigrate or oppress women such as: the better half, the fair sex, the little woman, a man-sized job, the old lady, old wives' tale, sweet young thing, the weaker sex, the wife, woman's work (VSB, 1987).

Some suggestions in the literature were vague. For example, McMahan (1988) cautions us to watch for "loaded words" and the Ministry of Education (1983) suggests consideration of the "author's tone". Neither elaborates on the meaning of these terms or how we can recognize them.

Scott and Schau (1985) summarized the research findings on language. Inclusive and sex specific language are more likely than generic language to elicit gender balanced

images and understanding. This was especially true for the impact of sex specific language on the images and understandings of boys.

Analyses of Textbooks

Gender bias can be detected by examining various parts of the textbook. Although none of the textbook analyses examined for this study have specifically suggested checking all parts of the book, it may be helpful to consider each part separately. The parts which have been suggested for scrutiny are: the preface (Weis, 1979; Williger, 1983), the index (Blankenship, 1984), photographs and illustrations (Blankenship, 1984; McMahan, 1988; Ministry of Education, 1983; Storey, 1979-80; Weis, 1979; Williger, 1983), highlighted sections (Blankenship, 1984), and content (Blankenship, 1984; Marsden, 1979-80; McMahan, 1988; Ministry of Education, 1983).

Preface

Weis (1979) determined the gender orientation of 100 randomly sampled home economics textbooks, published between 1964 and 1974 by examining the preface to see if a target audience was specified. Weis (1979) found 13% of the home economics books examined were addressed solely to females, 2% solely to males, 20% to males and females, and 65% were nonspecific. Weis (1979) concluded: "home economics textbooks are generally addressed to all secondary students and do not discriminate on the basis of sex in their orientation" (Weis, 1979, p.152).

Williger (1983) replicated portions of Weis' work (gender of target audience, use of masculine and feminine pronouns, equity of photographs portraying females and males in selected role environments) on textbooks published from 1976 to 1983. Of the books published from 1976-1979, 77% were nonspecific about the gender of the target audience. In the period 1980-83, 100% were nonspecific.

Recent feminist literature suggests textbooks should be explicitly oriented toward female and male students. A gender neutral textbook may leave room for interpretation in a traditional or sexist way and is likely to be conservative in its approach. As was pointed out earlier, attempts use inclusive language may mask important women's issues.

Index

Blankenship (1984) studied social studies textbooks and suggested that the index of texts should be analyzed. Scanning it can quickly reveal if women's issues (such as sex discrimination and differential incomes for men and women) and men's issues (such as fathering) have been included.

The language used in the index may also reveal sexist concepts. For example, a "bedroom community" is only that for those who work outside the community, not for those who work inside the homes of the community; "maternal deprivation" is asymmetrical in the way in which it considers male and female parenting; and "head of the household" implies a hierarchically structured sexual relationship which does not adequately reflect social reality. Careful examination of the

index (and the table of contents) can reveal a bias of this type.

Photographs and Illustrations

"An examination of photographs is necessary because of their power to stimulate interest and to leave lasting impressions on the readers" (Blankenship, p 282). In her examination of home economics textbooks, Weis (1979) considered the role environments of the photographs. They were classified as portraying females(F), males(M) or females and males(N). Photographs were classified into six role environments: (1)Home:indoors (2)Home:outdoors (3) Occupational (4) Community (5) School (6) Other. Weis (1979) found females were featured in 47.52% of the photographs, males in 19.73% and both female and male in 32.75%. She also found that photographs "appeared to present females as limited to home and family-oriented activities, and males as limited to activities outside the home and in occupational and community-oriented activities" (Weis, 1979, p.155). Williger (1983) found females were featured in 40.08% of the pictures in the books she examined, males were featured in 29.75% and 30.27% portrayed both females and males. This showed an increase in the portrayal of males.

Williger (1983) recommended future studies look not only at role environments, but also at the specific activities of females and males. Pictures should show a variety of occupations, activities and interests open to both men and women (Storey, 1979-80). Blankenship (1984) suggests a

separate listing of traditional and non-traditional roles. This might reveal, for example, that even when males are pictured indoors, they may still portray traditional roles. The B.C. Ministry of Education (1983) suggests relationships within and between the sexes should also be examined.

Blankenship (1984) advises also looking at textbook cartoons to see how women are portrayed. Because there is now concern about the role of men in the reproductive sphere, home economics educators should be sensitive to how both women and men are portrayed in cartoons.

Highlighted Sections

Blankenship (1984) suggested using frequency tabulations of the featuring of women and men in highlighted sections. Feminist research suggests that including women is not enough and that how they are included must be considered as well. Because home economics textbooks have traditionally focused on women, it is important to check for inclusion of women and men and to note how each is included.

Content

Recognizing gender bias and eliminating it from the content is difficult. Canadian educators are aware of the need to remove stereotypes from books (Marsden, 1979-80; Storey 1979-80). Unfortunately, even though equality between the sexes is favored by Canadian educators, there is difficulty in defining and describing what this means (Marsden, 1979-80) and translating it into any specific arrangement (Ayim, 1986).

In her study of home economics textbooks, Weis (1979) examined role behaviors evident in the text. Five psychosocial roles were used in the analysis: affiliation, intimacy, generativity, nurturance and autonomy (Weis, 1979, p.151). Judgements were made regarding the category of role behavior indicated; whether the behavior was explicitly stated or implied by the content and illustrations, and if the behavior was for males, for females or was a gender neutral statement.

Most role statements in each category were neutral in gender orientation. Females received more direction regarding role behaviors than did males. Affiliation and generativity were less emphasized and were directed equally to both sexes. Intimacy, nurturance and autonomy were emphasized and directed to females more often than to males. Nurturance was not directed to males at all except in gender neutral terms. Weis (1979) suggests the low emphasis on generativity in home economics textbooks indicates a problem in presenting the work of the home and family as legitimate and valued occupation, fully challenging the creativity and productivity of both sexes. Females were more explicitly directed in role behaviors than males and the roles they were explicitly directed toward were traditional for females. Weis (1979) suggests that authors and editors should rigorously strive to insure that the textbooks encourage a full diversity of psychosocial role development for both sexes (Weis, 1979).

The Ministry of Education (1983) suggests checking a

textbook for role portrayal of the sexes and for relationships within and between the sexes. Marsden (1979-80) suggests there should be concern not just with old stereotypes but with new ones being created. She states:

Changing the boundaries of gender identity and getting rid of stereotypes implies that we know where we are going. Officially, we are moving in the direction of making the opportunity structure equal for women and men in our society. But the direction has not been worked out. We are still in the middle of radical social change. (p.23)

Schau (1985) describes materials as sex-role reversed when each sex exhibits traits and behaviors traditionally associated with the opposite sex. Sex fair materials show females and males in traditional and non-traditional roles. Sex affirmative materials emphasize role reversal but explain benefits and problems, institutional barriers, and discrimination. In order to be sex equitable, instructional materials must be both sex fair and sex affirmative (Schau, 1985).

Blankenship (1984) suggests social studies textbooks which do not include consideration of women's issues are sexist. He states women's issues should be included in a substantive, rather than token, way. Determining this requires an examination of content.

In the Analysis of Learning Resources (1983), the Ministry of Education draws attention to the need to check for one-sided treatments of topics or issues. This approach may be too simplistic for this study, however, because Eichler (1987) suggests feminist research can take two forms:

woman centered and non-sexist. A gender sensitive textbook may at times require a one-sided approach (woman centered or man centered), but this should be explicitly stated.

Most of the research on textbooks has focused on achieving sex balance (inclusion of women and men) as well as revealing and eliminating sexist language and sex stereotyped images and roles. The review of feminist research suggests that currently accepted methods for detecting bias in textbooks may eliminate blatant sexism but may not adequately deal with subtle gender bias or promote gender equity. Current feminist thought insists on the transformation of knowledge to equitably include the concerns of women and men and on the transformation of society to a more equitable one not based on the patriarchal hierarchy. None of the previous analyses of textbooks were helpful in developing techniques for analyzing knowledge or recognizing transformative potential.

The feminist concepts of gender sensitivity and gender balance relate to the transformation of knowledge. Gender sensitivity and gender balance are more difficult to address than language and stereotyping. No textbook research exploring the concepts of gender sensitivity and gender balance was found. Although not previously applied in analyses of gender bias, this study will apply these concepts to the analysis of home economics textbooks.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This study investigates how home economics textbooks are changing to overcome earlier types of gender bias (Weis, 1979; Williger, 1983). Some of the suggestions from previous guidelines for textbook analysis are utilized but the examination goes beyond the surface features of the text. It explores whether stereotypical roles and relationships of females and males are reinforced. It examines whether gender balance and gender sensitivity have been achieved in the values and perspectives conveyed and whether the textbooks contribute to gender equity.

The research questions upon which it will focus are:

1. To whom is the textbook explicitly and implicitly addressed?
 - i. Who is the intended audience of the textbook?
 - ii. Are female or male images portrayed ?
 - iii. Is the knowledge expressed from a female or male perspective?
2. What characteristics of learners are assumed by the textbook?
 - i. Are learners expected to accept the textbook knowledge as presented?
 - ii. Are learners encouraged to question social arrangements or analyze social problems?
 - iii. Are learners encouraged to question and challenge the

textbook?

3. In what way does the textbook deal with gender bias? Is it biased or is it neutral, balanced, or sensitive?
 - i. Is the language sexist or are inclusive and sex specific language used appropriately?
 - ii. Are both female and male images and issues included equitably? Does the textbook reinforce the valuing system which gives more emphasis and importance to traditional male characteristics and roles than to traditional female characteristics and roles?
 - iii. Are stereotypical roles and relationships and the dual work role of women reinforced?
 - iv. What does the textbook say about female and male socialization and research on sex and gender differences?
 - v. What position is taken on equity issues and the women's movement?

The Sample

Lists of recommended, authorized or approved textbooks were obtained from provincial Departments and Ministries of Education across Canada. The sample was limited to home economics textbooks with a family or relationship focus. Textbooks which apply only to a specific area of home economics, such as foods and nutrition, clothing and textiles, housing, consumer education or child care, and books published before 1980 were not considered. Because the

purpose of this study is to analyze textbooks in detail, focusing on the nature of the changes in home economics texts, rather than to develop a comprehensive review of the state of gender bias in current texts, a sample of only three textbooks was chosen. The titles chosen for careful examination of the textbook, the teacher's guide and the student activities were: Family Living, Creative Living, and People in Society.

Family Living (1985, Second Edition) was written by Carol Leavenworth, Gay Hendricks, Kathlyn Gay, Lynda C. Harriman and Marlene Miller Kreinin and published in the United States by Prentice-Hall. Family Living is listed for senior home economics courses by Departments or Ministries of Education in British Columbia, Manitoba, and Newfoundland and Labrador. This textbook was chosen because of my personal interest and experience in home economics education in British Columbia. The Teacher's Guide which accompanies the textbook was written by Kathlyn Gay and published in 1985 by Prentice-Hall.

Creative Living (1985, Canadian edition) is a Canadian adaptation of an American textbook written by Josephine A. Foster, M. Janice Hogan, Bettie M. Herring and Audrey G. Giesecking-Williams, and published by Collier Macmillan Canada. Creative Living is listed for junior (grade 7-9) home economics courses by Departments or Ministries of Education in Alberta, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Manitoba, Ontario, and Nova Scotia. This textbook was

chosen because it is the textbook most frequently listed by provincial Departments of Education. It is authorized or approved for use in seven of the ten Canadian provinces. The accompanying Teacher's Resource Book was written by Jeanette Weber and published in 1986 by Collier Macmillan Canada.

People in Society (1988) is a Canadian textbook written by Kenneth J. Hanson and Eleanor Gower and published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada. It is listed in Ontario's Circular 14B for use in History and Contemporary Studies. Because the content of the textbook fits so closely with the curriculum for Family Management 11 and 12 in British Columbia, it is being used as a reference by home economics teachers in the Surrey School District and is being considered for student use. It is also being evaluated for possible inclusion as a home economics textbook by the Nova Scotia Department of Education. People in Society was chosen because it is a recent Canadian publication and because it is being considered for use in the teaching of home economics courses in at least two provinces even though it is not presently a home economics textbook. The Teacher Resource Book which accompanies the textbook was written by Ken Hanson and Eleanor Gower and was published in 1988 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.

The Method

A review of literature on analyses of textbooks for gender bias showed considerable variation in the parts of the textbook examined. Other researchers indicated that gender

bias could be detected in various parts of the books, therefore this study examined several parts of the textbooks. This technique was chosen in order to determine if bias could be consistently detected in all parts of the book and to establish validity in the overall judgement about the book.

The preface, index and the table of contents and photographs are relatively easy to examine for blatant gender bias and the empirical data resulting from such an examination may be easily understood. However, this information does not reveal whether the knowledge contained in the text is gender sensitive or gender balanced. Because feminist educators claim the need for a transformation of knowledge, this study also focused on the content and highlighted sections. No research was available on the detection of bias in the content of textbooks and therefore a procedure was developed for this study. The interpretation of content in the texts is more subject to researcher bias. My judgements have been guided by an understanding of feminist theory and interpretations based on comparisons of the three textbooks examined.

The Procedure

Analysis of the three textbooks was carried out on several parts of the books. The parts of the textbooks examined and the information sought through their examination were as follows:

1. Preface

The preface of each textbook was read carefully to determine:

- a) the intended audience.
- b) the characteristics of the learners assumed by the textbook.
- c) the position taken on equity issues.

2. Table of Contents

The table of contents was studied for evidence of gender bias in language and concepts. Topics relevant to gender equity and the women's movement were listed and counted.

3. Index

The index was examined for evidence of gender bias in language and concepts and for inclusion of topics relevant to gender equity. The relevant topics were listed for the three textbooks so that comparison was possible.

4. Photographs and illustrations

All photographs and illustrations in the books were examined carefully to determine:

- a) the intended audience.
- b) if female or male images are portrayed.
- c) if women's traditional work roles (home maintenance and child care) are represented or if more emphasis and importance is given to traditional male roles.
- d) if stereotypical roles and relationships and the dual work role of women are reinforced.

Weis (1979) classified photographs which included both

females and males as neutral. This approach assumes that all we need to achieve is balance in numbers of females and males presented in textbooks. Williger (1983) suggested a need to consider roles and relationships as well.

Balance

To determine if the books address both females and males and show a balance in the number of female and male images, the following procedures were used:

a) All dominant people in the photographs were counted and classified as "adult", including young adults and the elderly, or as "children", including babies and adolescents. Each person was further classified as female or male.

For Family Living, all photographs from the front cover to the back cover were analyzed except for those which accompanied the table of contents since all of these were included again in the text. Some children (17) were left unclassified ("other") since pink clothing alone was not taken as an indication of femaleness and blue clothing alone was not taken as an indication of maleness. The clothing and hairstyles of most children made classification by sex possible.

Creative Living does not feature people on the book title pages or in the table of contents and the one small photograph of people on the cover was disregarded. All photographs within the textbook were analyzed. Many children (27) were left unclassified because the use of winter clothing makes classification by sex very difficult. In

Creative Living there are many photographs in which only the hands show. These were not counted unless the hands were very obviously male (hairy arms) or female (long nails). It was sometimes difficult to distinguish between adults and adolescents. In each case a judgement about the age grouping was made, considering the environment, activity, and comments accompanying the photograph. Photographs which did not include people were disregarded.

In People in Society, all photographs except the two on the front and back covers are in black and white or in black and white with a purplish tone. These tend to catch the attention somewhat less than the colour photos of the other textbooks. There are no photographs on cover pages or unit title pages. The result is to make the photographs appear to be part of the text rather than as decoration or interest enhancers (motivators). The Preface of the textbook states that "Photographs ... are an integral part of People in Society" (Hanson and Gower, 1988a, p.vii) and the Teacher Resource Book states that "Visual material in the form of photographs ... is used frequently to help develop a topic" (Hanson and Gower, 1988b, p.10).

All photographs within the text were analyzed. The one small photograph of people on the cover was disregarded as were some photographs of large groups (eg. Hanson and Gower, 1988a, p.49). In other photographs (eg. p.157) only people in the foreground were counted and in one photograph (p.140) only the two most important individuals were counted because

the photograph was so small. The clothing and hairstyles of most children made classification by sex possible but the "other" classification was required for some adults and some children.

b) The "children" category was recounted and reclassified as "adolescents" and "young children" to determine how many adolescents of each sex were pictured. This was done because the books intend to address adolescents.

c) The adolescents were recounted and reclassified as white or non-white. This was done because the absence of a significant number of non-white adolescents was noted in Family Living. This procedure was repeated with Creative Living and People in Society.

d) Photographs of solitary individuals were examined and classified by age group, sex, behavior and activity and then by size of photograph (full page and smaller than full page).

Roles and Relationships

To determine the portrayal of roles and relationships and the work done in the home, the following procedures were followed:

a) Photographs were analyzed by location, activities portrayed and sex of the individuals featured. This was done only if the sex of the individual or at least one of the individuals could be determined.

In Family Living, to avoid including specific photographs more than once, only photographs on unit title pages and within chapters were analyzed by location.

Photographs on the book title pages and the table of contents were disregarded because they were repeated in the body of the book. The photographs on the covers of all three books were also disregarded.

People in Society contains many head and shoulders style, posed photographs of specific, named individuals. Since these photographs could not be analyzed by location, behavior or activity in the photograph itself, the accompanying comments were read so that the photographs could be classified. Most photographs of this type were classified by the occupation or activity of the individual featured. Thirty six of the ninety two photographs analyzed were of named people.

b) In order to more fully understand the portrayal of the work done in the home, photographs which had been classified as located in the home were further classified according to the type of behavior or activity of the individuals involved.

Very few of the photographs in People in Society could be classified as located at home and those which could be classified in this way could rarely be classified by the type of activity or behavior shown.

c) In order to understand the portrayal of female and male relationships, photographs which included at least one adolescent or adult of each sex were classified by the activities and relationships portrayed. The three categories used were: no dominance apparent, male dominance and female dominance.

5. Highlighted Sections

Highlighted sections of the textbooks were examined separately from the content of the textbook. This was done to explore whether women or men are isolated from the text in a way that makes them appear to be not part of the mainstream. Integration of female and male concerns rather than isolation is a feminist goal. Examination of the highlighted sections was done in order to determine:

- a) the intended audience.
- b) if the knowledge is expressed from a female or male perspective.
- c) the characteristics of learners assumed by the text.
- d) the way in which the textbook deals with gender bias.

In Family Living the highlighted sections take the form of both "Features" and "Figures" which are set apart from the text by coloured boxes. Creative Living also refers to highlighted sections as "features" and uses the technique of coloured boxes. People in Society includes "Figures". Some of them are in lined boxes and others are in shaded boxes which set them apart from the rest of the text. Those figures which were not set apart from the text in some way were not considered to be highlighted but were considered to be part of the content.

The highlighted sections were read and quotations were noted which indicated the position of the text on questions relevant to gender equity. The style of language and who was being addressed were also noted when bias was evident and

when there was an attempt to be non-sexist.

6. Content

The text, student activities and teacher resource books were examined in order to determine from their content:

- a) the intended audience.
- b) if the knowledge is expressed from a female or male perspective.
- c) the characteristics of the learners assumed by the text.
- d) the way in which the textbook deals with gender bias.

The procedure for examination of the content was to read each chapter and the accompanying student activities very carefully. Each of the textbooks and its teacher resource book was read at least twice noting quotations indicating the position taken on various questions relevant to gender equity. Form of content and language were considered along with the topics of women's issues, work roles, child care, socialization, and relationships.

The analysis of content began with Family Living, proceeded to Creative Living, then to People in Society. When differences or similarities were detected, selected sections were read over again in order to confirm the initial interpretations. When analyzing how each text dealt with an issue of importance to gender equity, the appropriate sections of the three texts were reread to compare or contrast the presentation of the topic. The importance of examining three textbooks was established as commonalities in addressing gender bias emerged. Although commonalities were

noted, differences were also found. Comparison of the differences made it possible to assess the relative usefulness of a variety of attempts to eliminate gender bias. Examination of three texts confirmed the validity of the findings.

Previous analyses of textbooks for gender bias have not focused on the knowledge contained within the content of the text. This research adapted earlier work, looking for problems to do with language, inclusion of females and males, and stereotyping. These procedures are fairly easy and probably are appropriate for determining if textbooks portray a "sex-fair reality" (Schau, 1985) but not for detecting a gender sensitive and gender balanced reality.

It was only through detailed examination of the content that I began to get a sense of understanding about how these textbooks fit with current feminist thought. The information presented became problematic. What is being taught about society and its relationships, whose perspective is being taught or whose interest is being served, and how the students are expected to learn the information became important concerns.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

Each of the three home economics textbooks in this study was analyzed according to the six parts of the books as described in the previous chapter: preface, table of contents, index, photographs and illustrations, highlighted sections, and content.

Preface

The preface was read to determine the intended audience, the characteristics of the learners assumed by the textbooks, and whether there was an intent to address gender equity issues.

The prefaces of both Family Living and People in Society are non-specific about the audience they address. The following quotations reveal this lack of specificity: "This textbook is designed to acquaint you with the full scope of family living, enriching your awareness and defining your skills as an individual, as a family member, and as a parent of tomorrow" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.10) and "We hope this text will help you develop a greater understanding of yourself and the world in which you live" (Hanson and Gower, 1988a, p.vii). Since there is no mention of female or male students, implicitly the books are intended to address all students equally.

Creative Living contains no preface but the preface to the Teacher's Resource Book states the explicit position of

the book: "It is written for both males and females and is free of ... sexual ... stereotyping" (Weber, 1985, p.7). This makes clear its intention to include males in a course which has been traditionally directed to females. Implicitly or explicitly all three textbooks address an audience of females and males.

The second concern in the examination of the prefaces was the characteristics of the learners assumed by each of the books. Both Creative Living and Family Living assume that the students will be passively learning the knowledge contained within the textbook. Family Living states "... questions and statements ... will help you determine how well you have mastered the chapter contents" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.11). People in Society is the only textbook which explicitly acknowledges the students as knowledgeable individuals who are capable of thinking critically about social issues. The preface states the preview questions reveal "how much you already know" and the activities test "your ability to apply critical thinking skills" (Hanson and Gower, 1988, p.vii).

The final concern in the examination of the preface was to determine any intent to address gender equity issues. The stance on gender issues which these textbooks take is not explicit in the preface. Family Living gives the clearest impression of beginning to address problems related to the patriarchal structure in the home by stating: "In dual-earner families, parents must meet the obligations of their jobs and

in addition must manage the home, arrange for child care, fulfill their roles as parents ..." (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.10). Creative Living is not as explicit but gives a similar impression by claiming to reflect the "changing nature of society and the contemporary lifestyles" (Weber, 1985, p. 6) and suggests that students will "examine their role options and plan for the future world of work and family" (p.6). The preface of People in Society also does not explicitly state an intent to address gender equity issues. It does, however, suggest students will be asked to apply critical thinking skills and examine controversial social issues, one of which is day-care. The possibility that each of the three texts may in some way address gender issues is implied but not explicitly stated in the preface of each book.

Table of Contents

The table of contents in each of the three textbooks was examined for evidence of sexism in language and concepts and for inclusion of topics relevant to gender equity or the women's movement. Sexism in language and concepts was not evident in any of the books. People in Society lists two topics (wife abuse and surrogate motherhood) in a sex specific way. Other titles of units, chapters, and sections in all the textbooks are very general and inclusive. For example, "spouse abuse" and "single parent families" appear in Family Living and the "challenge of parenthood" is in Creative Living. Inclusive language is used throughout

the tables of content and, although this conveys no sexism, it may be gender blind. On the other hand, it is quite possible for topics to be listed in an inclusive way and presented in a gender sensitive way. Only an examination of the content will reveal bias or sensitivity and balance.

The textbooks did differ in their inclusion of topics relevant to gender equity. The table of contents of Creative Living lists the fewest topics which might address gender equity issues. The textbook appears very non-controversial. The topics which have the potential for raising equity issues are:

- Relationships and You
- Stereotypes and Prejudice
- Dating and Love
- Children and You: Rewards of Caregiving
- Skills for Parenting
- Caring for Shared Space.

The table of contents of Family Living also includes topics with a potential for raising gender equity issues.

They are:

- Roles: Roles and Relationships and Sex Roles
- Loving Relationship: Equality
- Assigning Tasks and Roles: Role Perceptions and Effects of Role Perceptions
- Adjusting to Infant Care: Shared Parenting
- Divorce: Effects on Adults
- Other Family Patterns: Single Parent Families and Stepfamilies
- Family Violence: Spouse Abuse, Child Abuse and Reasons for Family Violence

Of the three textbooks examined, People in Society includes the most topics having the potential for raising equity issues. Twenty three topics were identified:

- Heredity and Environment - The Nature-Nurture Debate
- Socialization

Prejudice and Discrimination
 Personality (Freud, Erikson, Maslow)
 Agents of Socialization
 Child-Care Centres
 Agents of Adolescent Socialization
 Socialization and Sex role Stereotyping
 Forms of Marriage (Polygamy, Monogamy)
 Other Living Arrangements (Singlehood, Cohabitation)
 Mate Selection (Arranged Marriages, Dowry and
 Brideprice, Marrying for Love, Dating)
 Marriage Contracts
 Conflict in Marriage
 Wife Abuse
 Changing Roles in Marriage
 The Family as a Social Institution (Functions of the
 Family)
 Child Abuse
 Divorce and the Family
 Emerging Forms of the Family (Single Parent Families,
 Families through Remarriage)
 New Forms of Parenting (Artificial Insemination, Surrogate
 Motherhood)
 Poverty and the Elderly
 Retirement - A Time of Adjustment
 Suicide - Adolescents: A High Risk Group

None of the textbooks include the women's movement as a topic. Creative Living and Family Living have the potential for addressing some issues of gender equity. People in Society has the potential for addressing many important issues. An examination of the content can determine if these topics are addressed in a gender sensitive and gender balanced way.

Index

The index of each of the three textbooks was examined for evidence of sexism in language and concepts and for the inclusion of topics relevant to gender equity and the women's movement. The language of the indexes revealed attempts to use inclusive language in all three texts. For example, "caregiving" is listed in Creative Living, "caregivers" in

People in Society and "parenting" in Family Living.

No sexist language was evident although there was occasional use of sex-specific language which indicated a lack of gender balance in the presentation of some topics. Some of the concepts listed in the index of Family Living refer to the changing role of males but not the changing role of females. "Shared parenting", "joint custody", and "stepfathering" (but not stepmothering) are examples. One male concept (paternity leave) is listed in People in Society but its female equivalent (maternity leave) is not.

Each text includes some topics which may address gender equity issues. The development of gender through socialization is an important topic in considering gender equity. Each of the textbooks included concepts related to sex role socialization. Family Living lists "sex roles", Creative Living lists "stereotypes", and People in Society lists "sex role development".

Of the topics listed in the index of Creative Living only 19 were identified as having the potential to address gender equity issues (Appendix A, Table 1). That is half the number of topics identified in Family Living (38) and less than half of the number in People in Society (41). Perhaps because it is written for a younger audience than the other two books, Creative Living contains more traditional home economics topics such as "appearance", "grooming", "babysitting" and "home maintenance". At the same time, it

contains fewer sensitive or controversial topics. Specific sensitive issues such as spouse and child abuse and divorce may be subsumed under a topic such as "family problems". The topic of single-parent families is not listed but may be included under the topic, "types of families".

The indexes of Family Living and People in Society indicate that equity issues will be dealt with in the textbooks. Topics such as "dual-earner family", "equality in relationships", "family violence", "flexibility in relationships", "roles and expectations", "single-parent families" and "socialization" all appear in the index of Family Living. "Discrimination", "single-parent families", "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms", "marriage, changing role of", and "abuse, spousal" are all topics listed in the index of People in Society.

Some of the topics included in the index of People in Society indicate that this textbook may be more sensitive to the issues of gender than the other two textbooks. For example, "divorce, and father" is listed separately from "divorce, and mother" and both "men" and "women" appear in the index.

Examination of the indexes indicated that the three textbooks attempt to avoid gender bias by using inclusive language. Occasional use of sex specific language (eg. "fathering" not "mothering" in Family Living) suggests a male perspective may be emphasized. The texts include some concepts, such as sex role development, which may or may not

be biased, depending on the treatment within the text. Each textbook includes some topics related to gender equity with Creative Living having the fewest, while People in Society has the most. None of the textbooks have explicitly included topics directly related to the women's movement. Again, the topics included have the potential to address gender equity issues but only an examination of the content will determine if the topics are presented in a gender balanced and gender sensitive way.

Photographs and Illustrations

This analysis of photographs examines the balance of female and male images portrayed in various age groups and considers whether they appear alone or in relationships with others. This section also examines the photographs to determine if stereotyping and the dual work role for women are reinforced. It also considers the relative valuing of traditional female and male roles. This is done through examination of occupational roles, responsibilities in the home, responsibilities in relationships, traditional and non-traditional activities and the portrayal of dominance and activity in the photographs.

Female-male Balance

One of the ways textbooks may counter sexism is through striving for an overall balance in the number of females and males in the photographs. The analysis of photographs reported in Table I shows that Family Living has an overall

sex balance with females making up 46.8% of the people portrayed in the book and males, 48.4%. Females make up 40% of the people portrayed in People in Society and males, 51%. Females make up 50% of the people portrayed in Creative Living and males, 40.5% (Appendix A, Tables 2-4).

When adults were considered separately from children a different picture emerged. In Family Living, which had an overall sex balance, there are more adult females (53.09%) than adult males (46.91%). A close look reveals that the preponderance of females over males (11) is accounted for in two chapters, "Having a Baby" and "Growing and Learning", the chapter on early child development (Appendix A, Table 1). People in Society, which has a slight preponderance of males overall, features more adult females (52.29%) than adult males (47.71 %). Creative Living, which has a slight preponderance of females overall also features more adult females (51.67%) than adult males (48.33%). The photographs in all three textbooks feature more adult females than adult males (Appendix A, Table 5).

Another picture emerged when only children were considered. Both Family Living and People in Society feature more male children than female children. Family Living which has the best overall sex balance includes 56.25% male children and 43.75% female children. People in Society, which has a slight preponderance of males overall has twice as many

Table I

Summary of Numbers of Females and Males in Photographs

Sex/Age Group	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Adults: Males	91	58	73
Females	103	62	80
Total	194	120	153
Children: Males	81	92	52
Females	63	124	27
Total	144	216	79
Totals: Males	172	150	125
Females	166	186	107
Other	17	34	23
Total number of people	355	370	267

male children (65.82%) as female children (34.18%). Creative Living, which has a slight preponderance of females overall is the only one of the three textbooks which has more female children (57.41%) than male children (42.59%).

Adolescents

Since these textbooks are written specifically for adolescents, it is perhaps most important that there be a balance of female and male adolescents in the photographs. It is here the difference between numbers of females and males is even greater in two of the three texts.

Table II shows that Family Living features more adolescent males (60.32%) than adolescent females (39.68%). People in Society features three times as many adolescent males (75%) as adolescent females (25%). Creative Living features more adolescent females (58.33%) than adolescent males (41.67%) (Appendix A, Tables 5-7).

Looking more closely at where the difference occurs reveals that in Creative Living two traditional areas of study in home economics have more adolescent females than adolescent males. The unit on Foods and Nutrition features 14 adolescent females and only 3 adolescent males and the unit on Clothing and Textiles features 20 adolescent females and only 4 adolescent males (Appendix A, Table 6). Both Family Living and People in Society feature more adolescent males than adolescent females. The greatest difference occurs in chapters on individual development, "Yourself and Others" in Family Living (Appendix A, Table 5) and "Heredity,

Table II

Summary of Numbers of Female and Male Adolescents and Young Children

<u>Sex/Age Group</u>	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Adolescents: Female	25	105	9
Male	38	75	27
Total	63	180	36
Young children:			
Female	38	19	18
Male	43	17	25
Total	81	36	43
Other children	17	27	15
Total children	161	243	94

Table III

Summary of Number of Adolescents by "Colour" and Sex

<u>Sex/Colour Group</u>	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Adolescent females:			
White	21	91	9
Non-white	4	14	0
Total	25	105	9
Adolescent males:			
White	28	67	24
Non-white	10	8	3
Total	38	75	27
Total Adolescents:	63	180	36

Environment, and the Individual" and "Adolescence" in People in Society (Appendix A, Table 7).

Table III reveals that adolescent "women of colour" are represented even more poorly than adolescent women in general. A total of 4 adolescent non-white women appear in Family Living compared to 10 non-white males. Two of those are actually the same girl in the same photo which appears on the back cover as well as on page 90. If this girl were not counted (since she appears to be possibly a Mexican-American) it would leave only two adolescent "women of colour" in the entire book. One of the girls appears to be of African origin, the other girl's racial origin is less clear (p.228). Asian and Oriental adolescents are unrepresented and only one Oriental family is pictured in Family Living. Adolescent "women of colour" are not present in People in Society. Photographs of family groups represent many racial groups, but none of them shows a non-white adolescent female. Adolescent "women of colour" fare better in Creative Living than they do in either Family Living or People in Society. Once again, this textbook reveals its female emphasis in photographs. Fourteen (13.33%) of the 105 females are non-white and eight (10.66%) of the 75 males are non-white (Appendix A, Tables 8 - 10).

Equal numbers of females and males is not enough for fair treatment of the sexes in photographs. The size of the photographs, the absence of other people in the photographs, the content of the photographs, and the racial origins of the

people portrayed all carry with them messages about who the book is addressing as well as about images, roles and relationships.

Alone or in Relationship

Although there is not a very large difference in the total number of females and males in the photographs of Family Living, they have the general effect of making males visible and important while making females less visible and less important than males. This male emphasis is apparent in photographs of solitary individuals. Of the 17 photographs of solitary individuals who could be classified by sex, 10 are of adult and adolescent males, 5 of adult or adolescent females and the remaining 2 female children (Appendix B). The textbook includes two full page pictures of solitary adolescent males (p.14 and p.342) and two full page photographs of solitary adult males (p.222 and p.360) but there are no full page photographs of solitary adult or adolescent females. The adult and adolescent males are used to 'decorate' the textbook. The message conveyed by these photographs seems to be that girls already take home economics courses, but in order to address the boys in home economics courses males must be more visible than females. Adult females are shown alone in only three photographs. Here they are described by their marital status and are unmarried. Only one of the solitary males is classified in this way and he is formerly married.

Whereas Family Living exhibits a male emphasis in its

photographs, Creative Living exhibits a female emphasis. The female focus in Creative Living is apparent in the photographs of solitary individuals as it is in other photographs (Appendix C). All three of the full page photographs in the book are of females. Two of them are adolescent females and one a pre-adolescent female. In the smaller than full page photographs of solitary individuals there are 45 females and 36 males. Of the adolescents, 68.89% are female and only 31.11% are male. Considering only solitary adults, Creative Living exhibits a preponderance of males. 60% of the solitary adults are males and only 40% are females. These photos imply that men exist independently while adult women exist in relationship.

Unlike Family Living and Creative Living, People in Society features equal numbers of solitary males and solitary females. There is one full page photograph of a solitary adolescent male (p.121) and one of a solitary elderly female (p.226). There are 15 males and 15 females in smaller than full page photographs of individuals (Appendix D).

Occupational Roles

When occupational roles of females and males are examined in the photographs, women frequently appear in traditional female roles rather than in traditional male roles or positions of power and influence.

In Family Living very few occupational roles are depicted in the photographs and more women (6) than men (4) are depicted this way (Appendix E). The four males are

psychologists and clergy. Four women are shown in traditional roles as health care workers. There are two women in the once non-traditional roles of TV reporter and weather forecaster but the comment beside these photographs points out that the women remain single because of their demanding careers.

Creative Living, which overall pictures more females than males, shows twenty-five males in occupational roles but only twenty-one females. Of the twenty-one females pictured in occupational roles, four of them are in roles caring for or relating to children or adolescents: teacher, day care worker, school cafeteria food service, and assisting children at street crossing (p.157, p.155, p.81 and p.79). The photographs in the chapter "Careers Helping Children" show only women. In the entire textbook, only one of the male occupational roles, a teacher, (p.63) shows involvement with children or adolescents. Females in Creative Living are shown in other traditional women's work. Eight women are pictured at industrial sewing machines. The only male who is pictured working in the clothing industry is a buyer. The traditional male occupational roles of construction and repair relating to housing and machinery are filled more often by males than by females. Eight males are shown in traditional male occupations and only two females are shown in traditional male occupations, a welder and a worker in hard hat (p.78).

In People in Society, twenty males are shown in occupational roles, none of which are nurturing roles (Appendix G). Only twelve women are shown in occupational

roles and three of those are nurturing, childbearing roles (preschool worker, surrogate mother, missionary). Eight males are shown in positions of power or influence: police officers (5), politicians (2), Pope (1). Only three females are shown in positions of power or influence: politicians (2), Queen, (1).

Responsibilities in the Home

Creative Living features, in its photographs and line drawings, far more home maintenance and home management activities than either of the other two textbooks. Creative Living shows six females, but only one male, shopping for food. Five females, and only one male, shop for clothes. Two females are shown shopping for cosmetics and no males are shown shopping for personal care products (Appendix F). In the home, females are doing more cooking than males. Six females but only two males are pictured cooking. The photographs show other housekeeping tasks slightly more evenly distributed between females and males: two adolescent males do the laundry and one does the vacuuming while one adolescent female does the ironing, two clean the bedroom and two make a bed (Appendix I).

Family Living includes six home maintenance and home management photographs fairly evenly distributed between females and males: a man vacuuming with a young girl, a woman cooking with a boy, a man using a blender, a family (adult female and male with children) raking leaves, a man doing home renovation and a woman and children building something

(Appendix H).

Of the photographs which depict the home environment, People in Society does not include any which show the work involved in home maintenance or home management (Appendix J).

Responsibilities in Relationships

An analysis of photographs of the home environment in Family Living shows five males interacting with children and nine females portrayed in this role. Women are also pictured in a more "connected" way than men. For example, a woman and 2 girls look at each other while a man and a boy look at the food (p.262); a woman and girl look at one another, while a man and a boy look at a knife (p.315) (Appendix H). The chapter on "Growing and Learning" (Leavenworth, et al, p.175), about parenting of children in the preschool years, show six women but no men (Appendix A, Table 2). This has the visual effect of giving the role of staying home with young children to the mother. Although the comment by one photograph says "Parents with several children find it easier to manage if they plan ahead" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p. 233-emphasis added), the photograph shows a mother with four children trying to get two of them off to school. In locations which were not readily identifiable, three adult females were pictured with children while only one male was pictured with a child (Appendix E).

Some photographs in Family Living reinforce stereotypical images of women and men as caregivers. One picture in an unidentified environment fits into the category

of "discipline", a father reprimands a child. The picture of the female single parent comments on the emotional aspect of divorce. The picture of a male single parent describes the work and effort involved in being a single parent (Appendix E). This difference between males and females as caregivers was not observed in the photographs of either of the other two textbooks.

Creative Living shows the largest number of photographs which depict caregiving to children. Of the twenty photographs of child caregiving, only four feature adult males and none of them feature adolescent males with children. The remaining sixteen photographs show adult or adolescent females with children. In Creative Living the adolescent female role of babysitting is reinforced (p.142-147) by photographs showing two female babysitters and no males (Appendix F). The intention is probably not to indicate that babysitting is for females though, because the line drawings (p.159-166) show three adolescent males interacting with children and only one adolescent female. Other line drawings (p. 161-162), however, reinforce the stereotype of the female as the caregiver when the hands shown diapering the baby have lace around the cuff of the sleeve indicating that the person changing the baby is female.

Only two photographs in People in Society show people involved in caregiving tasks with children. A woman is shown giving a baby a bottle and a "househusband" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.168) does the same (Appendix G). The photographs,

partly through their absence, do not reinforce the stereotype of females as caregivers to children to the extent that those in Family Living and Creative Living do. However, both the line drawings (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.160 and 181) show the woman rather than the man holding the baby.

Non-traditional Activities

Some photographs serve to counteract stereotyping. In Family Living, three photographs feature males in non-traditional activities: a man and girl decorating a gingerbread house (p.337), a man and girl vacuuming (p.198) and a man using a blender (p.360). One shows a woman doing a woodworking project with a girl and a boy. However, when this photograph is studied it shows the woman as incompetent in a traditional male task. The woman is painting an unfinished project - the girl measures and the boy sands. These three tasks are incompatible. It is obvious that the photograph was "posed" and included for the "effect" of counteracting a stereotype. For anyone who really looks at it, the stereotype of the incompetent female will be reinforced.

In Creative Living, one photograph suggests male incompetence in a traditionally female task. It is likely that this also is a "posed" photograph. A man's hands are shown cutting a pattern which is placed on fabric. Closer attention to the photograph reveals that the pattern pieces are not pinned down, he is beginning to cut the fabric in the middle not at the edge, and the pattern is for a skirt. The section of Creative Living titled "Be an Entrepreneur"

(Foster et al, 1985, p.233-234) may be encouraging adolescents to see themselves in non-traditional occupational roles. The line drawings show a girl as a babysitter but a girl also washing cars, a girl and boy gardening, a boy cleaning, a girl at a computer, and girls and boys in a band.

People in Society does not include photographs which appear to be token efforts to encourage non-traditional activities. Few photographs of activity are included in the book and the two non-traditional activities (p.136 and p.169) are not tokens because they illustrate specific content in the textbook.

Dominance and Activity in Relationships

The relationship between females and males can, to some extent, be determined by observing photographs. Family Living features many photographs (51 out of 91 - 56%) which include both females and males. In Family Living, males take more active or more dominant roles than do females (Appendix K). For example, a man carves while the family sits (p.283), and males play musical instruments while females listen (p.75,91,126). There are 21 photographs (41%) which include a wide variety of activities and in which the male is more active or dominant. Females are more active or dominant in only 5 photographs (10%) and then in traditional roles such as nurturing and shopping (p.54 and p.220), or just having fun (p.79 and 82). Throughout, there are 25 photographs (49%) in which neither male nor female is more active or dominant.

Creative Living contains very few photographs (22 out of

192 - 11%) which include both females and males. Most of these photographs (15 - 68%) do not show either females or males as more active or dominant (Appendix L). However, Creative Living shows females as more active or dominant than males in 6 photographs (27%); a male is more active or dominant in only one photograph (>5%). The active females are, however, pictured in traditional roles as teacher (p.157), as waitress (p.246), as nurturer (p.21), selling tickets in a theatre (p.170), and shopping (p.287).

People in Society also uses many photographs (27 out of 88 - 30%) which include both female and male. In most of them (20 - 74%) neither male nor female is dominant (Appendix M). Males are more dominant in seven photographs (26%). Three of these photographs have male police officers. There are no photographs in which females are more dominant.

Observation of photographs reveals that the three textbooks examined are quite different from each other. Family Living has an overall sex balance, whereas People in Society has more males than females, and Creative Living has more females than males. All three textbooks feature more adult females than adult males. Both Family Living and People in Society feature more adolescent males than females, whereas Creative Living features more adolescent females than adolescent males. Adolescent "women of colour" are poorly represented in all three textbooks. Creative Living features more solitary females than males whereas Family Living features more solitary males than females and People in

Society features equal numbers of solitary females and males. Family Living depicts few occupational roles but all texts show women most often in traditional occupational roles. People in Society features no photographs which depict home maintenance and home management activities whereas Creative Living features more women than men in these activities and Family Living shows an equal number of women and men involved in home management and home maintenance. Both Family Living and Creative Living include token, posed photographs ineptly portraying non-traditional activities. In People in Society, however, such tokens do not appear. People in Society also does not feature either the female or male as active or dominant whereas in Family Living males are more active or dominant and in Creative Living females are more active or dominant but in traditionally female activities.

Highlighted Sections

The following section reports the findings from the examination of the highlighted sections of the textbooks. Information was considered to be highlighted if it was set apart from the rest of the text in a coloured or outlined box. First, the findings of gender bias are reported. Second, the findings regarding attempts to deal with gender bias are reported.

Gender Bias

All textbooks exhibited examples of gender bias. The three types of bias noted were one-sided presentations, sexist language, and stereotyping.

One-sided Presentation

Each of the three textbooks has examples of highlighted sections which focus on one sex while ignoring or minimizing the other. In the highlighted sections of Family Living, seven of the forty-one "Features" focus on a male or give a male perspective. For example: "Fathering" (p.170); "Smiling, Development of" (p.178)- a male's experience of parenting; "The Last Day" (p.334)- a father loses custody of his son; and "Being a Stepfather" (p.338).

Creative Living features females more often than males in the highlighted sections, just as it does in the photographs. Eight of the "Features" focus on females or female examples. For example: "Caring for the Unborn" completely ignores the role of the male in prenatal care (p.127) and "Design Illusions" (p.377) features four females in dresses and one male in warm-up or jogging clothes.

People in Society features three highlighted sections on females and five on males. Unfortunately, focusing only on the female may mean that important information about males is left out. For example, "Blind too long" (p.187) focuses on a female child abuser but makes no mention of how patterns of child abuse or reasons for abuse may be different for males. Similarly, focusing only on the male may mean that important information about females is neglected. Some examples in which only the male experience of an issue is recognized occur in People in Society. For example: "Divorced father

frustrated by winner-take-all laws" (p.193); "If you hurt your wife or girlfriend when you are angry, you should know that:..." (p.167); and "Househusbands a growing phenomenon" (p.168).

Sexist Language

The elimination of sexist language is an important way in which textbooks deal with the problem of gender bias. Sexist language occurs more frequently in the highlighted sections than in the content. The use of "he" as a generic pronoun slips into the highlighted sections of two of these textbooks. It appears in quotations such as: "He smiles early, because he is a social being" (McNulty in Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.178); "If one tugs at a single thing in nature, he finds it attached to everything else in the world" (Muir in Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.288-9); and "a New Yorker spends a lifetime within the confines of an area smaller than a country village. Let him walk two blocks from his corner and he is in a strange land ..." (E.B. White in Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.306). One "Feature" in Creative Living also uses the "generic" male pronoun in "Some Ways to Make Decisions" (Foster et al, 1985, p.27) in the comment that "a swimmer does well to follow the example of his coach".

In addition to using the generic "he", Family Living also slips from its usual use of inclusive language to sexist language in another highlighted section. The terminology moves from "homemaker" to "housewife" and back to "homemaker" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.125) as if the two were

synonymous. Two jobs of the "housewife" are referred to as "laundress" and "seamstress" and quality of clothing is determined by checking the "workmanship" (p.294).

Stereotyping

Each of the three texts contains examples of highlighted sections reinforcing stereotypical patterns of behaviour or roles for women and men. These highlighted sections are presented in an unproblematic way. The textbooks do not suggest their use in discussions regarding traditional behaviors or roles.

Two highlighted sections in Creative Living reinforce the stereotype of the woman staying home with the children. They are: "Scenes from a Marriage" (Foster et al, 1985, p.150) in which Donna quits work when she has a baby and Mario leaves school to get a job, and "Parenting in Different Cultures" (p.120) which states "...grandparents - often help mothers care for their children" (emphasis added).

Some examples from People in Society reinforce the traditional role of the mother or wife as caregiver, as in the following:

Psychologist says TV can be beneficial to kids who are active viewers ... the difference between involved and passive viewing ... comes from how much leeway mothers allow their children in selecting and discussing programs. The mother who dominates her child's viewing is more likely to produce a passive viewer ...(Bishop in Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.129)

Raising teens: a tough business ... Novick wipes the guilt from a working mother's plate The problem is when mothers have to work irregular hours.... If mothers work, and so many do just to keep up with expensive teenagers needs... parents have confused (teenagers)

about what to expect. 'There's changed modelling of parents, especially women...' (Hanson & Gower, p.182-3)

Family Living features three historical write-ups in which females and males have roles and positions very different from one another. They are: "Chivalry and Courtly Love" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.75), "An Anglo-Saxon Betrothal" (p.98), and "Payday at the Pellegrini's" (p.134). The textbook does not suggest their use in discussion of what is said about women's historical position in society or the changes (or lack of change) in women's roles.

Another highlighted section in Family Living suggests that women are instinctive caregivers: "When anything happens in Johnny's room - noises, that is - we both start running. My wife runs for Johnny, and I run for the book. She's playing this thing by instinct, and I'm playing by the book" (McNulty in Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.178).

Attempts to Deal with Gender Bias

All textbooks examined attempt to deal with gender bias. The ways noted were the use of inclusive language, the inclusion of males, the mention of female and male differences, and the inclusion of gender equity issues.

Inclusive Language

One approach to overcoming gender bias taken by these textbooks is gender neutrality. Examples of inclusive language occur in the highlighted sections of all three books. Neutrality may mean that important issues are masked or excluded as in the following from Creative Living: "How to Have a Successful Date" (Foster et al, 1985, p.91) which

avoids mention of any traditions which might be different for females and males, and "Matching the Toy to the Child" (p.133) which says nothing about the socialization of children through toys.

Inclusive language may also mean that important differences are not recognized as in the following examples:

(a) In the section on health (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.255 & 256), "adults" are grouped into one category although, in reality, women's health problems are somewhat different from men's at present.

(b) For all factors affecting the divorce rate except marriage age (eg.lack of education) females and males are grouped together (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p. 329).

(c) Sexual Attitudes of Canadian Teenagers (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.127), Terminal Values (p.131), and Personal Concerns (p.132) are reported for adolescents in general from different regions in Canada. It would be interesting to know how or if female and male adolescents differ on these.

Inclusion of Males

Another approach used occasionally in highlighted sections to overcome gender bias is the attempt to include both females and males in a balanced way. This is done by showing how concepts can be relevant to or can apply to both females and males. Many highlighted sections of Creative Living attempt to present information in a balanced way. Some examples are: "Setting up Goals (Foster et al, 1985, p.175) which uses female and male examples, and "Measuring Up"

(p.406-407) which provides information for both females and males. No issues of importance to gender equity are handled in a balanced way.

A better gender sensitive and balanced approach is used in the two highlighted sections of People in Society, "What can a battered woman do?" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.165) and "What can a batterer do?" (p.166). This issue is then personalized for males in another highlighted section, "If you hurt your wife or girlfriend when you are angry, you should know that ..." (p. 167 - emphasis added). However, it is not personalized in the additional section on females, "Keeping her in line ... Wife battering: its time to break the silence" (p.164 - emphasis added). The same level of personalization for both females and males would help all students to relate to this issue and maintain, rather than distort, the gender balance.

Female and Male Differences

Some highlighted sections in each textbook attempt to deal with gender bias by mentioning differences between females and males. Unfortunately, too little information is included to be of value in understanding the reasons for the difference or the problems created by the it. Two examples from Creative Living are:

(a)"The Aging Family" draws attention to the fact that women outlive men and suggests that "more attention (be paid) to the needs of widows and women living alone" (Foster et al, 1985, p.71). It doesn't address the problem of poverty among

female seniors or the causes of it.

(b) "Eating Disorders" (Foster et al, 1985, p.271)

acknowledges that anorexia and bulimia affect more girls than boys but then uses "he or she" rather than just the female pronoun and does not elaborate on why girls are more affected. Some factors relating to the development of anorexia are postulated but they tend to blame the victim for being "overly sensitive" and "perfect":

The disorder seems to be basically psychological, but no one is really sure of the exact cause. Victims are usually young women. They tend to be overly sensitive and want to be perfect in all they do. When they learn that society encourages thinness, they try to become thin.
(Foster et al, 1985, p.271)

The importance of socialization and the idea that women are evaluated much more harshly than men when it comes to weight are not mentioned.

An example from Family Living which mentions a difference but includes too little information to be of value is "Parenting Tasks" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.214) which shows the unequal distribution of tasks around the home but reports it unproblematically.

Some examples from People in Society mention issues of female and male difference but give too little information to be of much value in understanding problems. Two are:

(a) "For children under 13, there seems to be little difference in the number of incidents of abuse involving girls and boys. Over the age of 13, there are more cases involving girls" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.189). No

explanation of the difference is given.

(b) "Income Averages for Canadian Families" (p.193) which clearly shows the difference (\$12,400) in income between females and male headed single parent families but gives no further information.

Gender Equity Issues

All three textbooks included highlighted sections which attempt to deal with gender issues. Three "features" in Family Living seem to have been used in an attempt to change students perceptions of women's abilities and roles. They are:

- (a) "As females and males become friends and equals, as they study, work and compete with each other, the distance required for idealizing the opposite sex is lost. That's when reality enters and the myths depart" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.75). This is a concluding statement after some comments on chivalry and courtly love.
- (b) "Who Supports the Family?" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.119) acknowledges the financial contribution of women to the family and the comments focus on women.
- (c) "Sex Differences in Sports" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.23) concludes with the statement that "there can be greater differences among members of one sex than between the average man and the average woman."

One highlighted activity in Creative Living challenges students' sex stereotyping:

Here is a list of 10 character traits. Write the numbers 1 to 10 on a piece of paper and mark each M or F, for

masculine or feminine.

1. Helps others
2. Is aggressive
3. Is home oriented
4. Is independent
5. Is quiet
6. Is active
7. Is emotional
8. Never cries
9. Is unable to make decisions
10. Makes decisions easily

When given this list, most people agree that men have the even-numbered traits and women have the odd-numbered ones. But those general statements aren't really true of all men and women.

You can help end this stereotyping:

- * Develop your own skills and interests. Don't limit yourself by believing stereotypes.
- * Before you say "Girls shouldn't do that," or "Boys don't act that way," stop yourself. What you say can influence your brothers and sisters. Try to help them be more flexible in how they think and act. If you encourage them, they are likely to think for and be themselves. (Foster et al, 1985, p.80)

Two texts include highlighted sections on day care, an issue of importance if women are to move freely into the public sphere. Creative Living addresses this issue in its support of "family services" in the highlighted section which states that "Today, over 50 percent of Canadian mothers work outside the home, and this percentage is expected to increase in the future. For this reason, there is a growing demand for more, and more generous, family services" (Foster et al, 1985, p.120).

People in Society has included two highlighted sections on day care - one in favour of it and one opposed to it. Kagan's position is that it is a myth that mothers should be the primary influence and are the best ones to "mould young people into healthy human beings" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.111). He believes that others can also do the job well.

White writes in opposition to day care and, at first, appears to be giving mothers the responsibility for child care as in the following: "If you are a mother working to make ends meet, dump the job and live poor for a few years" (p.108) and "Even if a mother has four children at home, she'll pay more attention to the distress calls of a two-month old ..." (p.109). White's assumptions about women are somewhat reversed later in the same highlighted section when he comments that "...men should be as actively involved in childcare as women are" (p.110) and that his ideal situation is the unrealistic proposal that both parents work part-time.

People in Society uses three other features on women's issues. They are: "Soviets divided on women's role" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.171); "Court gives assist to girl over hockey" (p.135-136); and "Male - female differences" which states "Some feminists have argued that all emotional differences are culturally determined ... it is unlikely that (cultural factors) accounted for all the differences, some of which were clearly drawn along sexual lines" (p.137). In Dr. Lee Salk's opinion, hormones and cultural conditioning both play a part. This textbook presents a position in opposition to the feminist position unproblematically. In the Suggested Activities students are asked to state whether they "agree or disagree with his view" (p.137).

The highlighted sections exhibited considerable inconsistency in the way in which the problem of gender bias is addressed. Bias is evident in the highlighted sections of

all three textbooks. Some sections present one-sided information. Others contain sexist language or reinforce stereotypes. Still others attempt to deal with gender bias: most are written in inclusive language, some attempt to include females and males in a balanced way, and others noted female and male differences or mentioned issues of relevance to gender equity. However, many of these attempts were flawed and a strong position in favour of gender equity is not taken by any of the textbooks. The textbooks generally try to maintain a neutral rather than transformative stance.

Content

The following section examines the content (including student activities) of the textbooks. Content includes not only what is said but also how it is said and the questions which are asked about it. To address the question of the characteristics of the learners assumed by the text, the examination of the content begins with a consideration of the form of presentation of the content, that is whether the content is presented as factual or problematic. The discussion of the findings continues by examining how the problem of bias has been dealt with first through an examination of language then through an examination of the substantive content, that is, what is presented as knowledge and whether that knowledge is presented in a substantive or superficial way.

Form of content: factual or problematic?

The language of the textbook reveals the assumptions about learners and whether the knowledge presented is considered to be factual or problematic. In Family Living and Creative Living learners are basically assumed to be unknowledgeable, passive receivers of textbook knowledge. They are given the "facts" but rarely told the sources of these "facts" so that they can learn more if they choose. There is never any suggestion that they might question this knowledge in any way or apply it in a critical way to social issues.

In Family Living most objectives begin with words such as identify, name, describe, state, list, explain, tell, give, define. Others, such as evaluate, appear less often and can still be used in recalling information from the text. The review questions which accompany each chapter of Family Living ask the learner to describe, name, and list items from the content of the textbook. The review section is "made up of questions and statements that will help you determine how well you have mastered the chapter contents" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.11 - emphasis added). The Teachers' Guide provides the correct answers from the text to assist the teacher in marking the student's work. The implication is that there are right answers and those from the students own experiences are not encouraged. "Objective" test questions (multiple choice, true and false, matching) and a complete answer key are provided to assist the teacher in determining

whether or not the students have mastered the content or learned the key ideas.

Creative Living assumes at times that students are thinking individuals. In the "Answers to Unit Review Questions" in the Teacher's Resource Book (p.155-157), "answers will vary" is given in place of a specific answer to some questions. Although students are not expected to limit themselves to rote learning, much rote learning is expected. All of the "Test Items" on pages 110-152 are of the True/False, matching, completion, and multiple choice type. Even the completion type is given very specific answers in the answer key on pages 152-154. Students are not encouraged to challenge the text or the knowledge contained within it.

People in Society explicitly states that learners are knowledgeable people who are capable of thinking critically about social issues. Each chapter begins with "a set of questions that introduces you to the topic and tells you how much you already know" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.vii - emphasis added). The Suggested Activities are intended to test the students "ability to apply critical thinking skills" (p.vii) and "to develop the students' ability to think critically about the issues under discussion" (Hanson & Gower, 1988b, p.8). Each chapter concludes with "A Social Issue to Explore", relating to a topic in the chapter over which there is some controversy. "Students are encouraged to develop reasoned opinions on those issues that will affect their adult lives" (p.8). This idea is carried through in

activities such as "Explain whether you agree that ..."
(Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.128) and "Which view do you agree
with and why?"(p.128)

Although many exercises are of the type that would encourage critical thinking, many other questions encourage rote learning rather than thoughtful answers. In addition, the encouragement of critical thinking is not always carried through in the text. After a description of Freud's work, the textbook states that "Freud's work has been criticized ... his stages of development were based mainly on a male model of behavior" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.68). After a description of Erikson's and Maslow's work it states "Maslow's theories have been subject to many of the same criticisms as Freud's and Erikson's" (p.72). Unfortunately, these criticisms are quite easily dismissed by the statements "Nevertheless, Freud has been one of the most influential thinkers on human behavior. His work continues to influence treatment of individuals with personality problems" (p.68) and "Despite these criticisms, psychologists argue that Maslow's theory of personality development has some value" (p.72).

People in Society does not specifically instruct students to question and challenge the text but encourages them to question and challenge research. For example, students are asked to consider why "Do you believe women should abandon their children during the day to pursue careers?" is a "loaded question" (p.21). They are also

encouraged to take a position on social issues. For example, they are asked to agree or disagree with one of the views presented on day care. By doing this it may help the students learn to question all that they read, including the textbook. Of the three textbooks, only People in Society encourages some critical thinking, the development of reasoned opinions and political activity.

Language of Content

One of the ways of dealing with sexism and stereotyping in texts is by changing the words used. Sexist language is rare in the content but one aspect in Creative Living was the use of "Mr." and "Mrs.". Each of the three textbooks shows evidence of an effort to counter gender bias by using inclusive language, using sex specific language, and choice of pronouns. These approaches and some of the problems associated with their use will be discussed in the following section.

Inclusive language.

The use of inclusive words is a characteristic of all three textbooks. In Family Living, "parenting" is frequently used in place of "mothering" or "fathering" and Creative Living and People in Society use the more inclusive word "caregiving". "Spouse" has replaced husband or wife in all three textbooks and Family Living also uses "life partner" and "marriage partner". "Homemaker" and "homemanager" are used in Family Living, whereas Creative Living avoids this concept. "Firefighters" has replaced "firemen" in Family

Living, "police officer" has replaced "policeman" in Creative Living and "humanity" has replaced "mankind" in People in Society.

Attempts to use inclusive language create some problems. Gender neutrality masks experiences that are different for women and men. At times the use of "non-sexist" language in Family Living is particularly inappropriate. For example, the following quotation accompanies a photograph of three mothers in a class exercising with their small babies: "Exercise classes for parents and their infants can benefit both. While parents improve muscle tone, they learn various exercises to help their children's muscle development ..." (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.180 - emphasis added). The mothers are getting their abdominals in shape after the experience of pregnancy got them out of shape. This is hardly necessary for fathers.

Many times throughout the three texts the use of inclusive language means that experiences of women and men are assumed to be similar when, in fact, there is a possibility that they may be very different. The discussion of the "empty nest" stage in Family Living provides an example:

Parents may miss having young people around to advise, to fix things for, or to kid with, for children often make parents feel resourceful and young. The parents may also find time on their hands and feel less useful with no children in the household. They may need to find new interests in order to maintain a positive self-image. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.319)

The "empty nest" stage must be experienced differently by those women who have spent much of their lives caring for

their children than it would be by men who have been or are working at a job outside the home.

People in Society, like Family Living also fails to recognize different contributions of women and men by using inclusive language. For example, "The elderly also babysit and provide nurturing for children when both parents in a family work outside the home" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.222). This is a role most often taken by elderly women.

"Retirement" is another area where differences between women and men exist but are not recognized or are minimized in each of the three textbooks. This stage of life will be quite different for a woman who has worked in the home all her life and a man who has worked outside the home. One cannot "retire" from household responsibilities. Retirement from public sphere work may also come earlier for men than for women. By using inclusive words such as "retired person" and "retired people" as People in Society does in four out of five of the Suggested Activities (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.236) this book and the others do not acknowledge what "retirement" means to traditional women. None of the texts mention that retirement from the workforce is a time for renegotiating all the work that gets done in homes. Issues such as this are expressed neutrally as in the following quotation from People in Society: "Retirement can also mean adjusting to spending more time with the spouse. This is a time for retired couples to enjoy activities together; however it can mean adjusting to less privacy, more household

chores, and too much free time" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.234).

Concentration on the use of inclusive language may cause other problems as well. The textbooks tend to generalize the results of studies even when the studies have been conducted on only one sex. For example in Family Living, the section on delinquency refers to a study of 500 adolescent boys and then generalizes to "young people" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.346).

The use of inclusive language may mean that real social issues are ignored or minimized. This problem arises with the discussion of single parent families. The difference between females and males is recognized at first by the comment "Most single-parent families, about 17 million, are headed by women without a husband in the household. Single-parent households maintained by the father alone number less than 2 million" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.336). However, the remainder of the discussion refers to the single parent, even though problems are different for females and males. The examination of this topic from the perspective of the custodial parent never that of the non-custodial parent may in itself be inappropriate. "Single parents" may not be "single" but people who parent alone.

The section on "spouse abuse" (p.351) in Family Living is another area where important problems are not addressed because of attempts to neutralize the issue by using inclusive language. Violence against women by is more

prevalent and severe than violence of women against men. Textbook content should make this clear. It should also not ignore violence against those women who are not married.

In Creative Living inclusive language also distorts the different experiences of females and males: "Teens are getting the word - the percentage of teens who smoke has decreased ten percent in recent years" (Foster et al, 1985, p.277). The change in the smoking patterns for girls and boys has not been the same although this textbook reports the information inclusively.

Sex specific language.

Although inclusive language is used throughout all the textbooks, none used it to the total exclusion of sex specific words. "Mother" and "father" are used frequently in examples throughout Creative Living, "mothering" and "fathering" are specifically mentioned in Family Living, and People in Society refers to "wife abuse" after introducing the topic of "spouse abuse". The appropriate use of sex specific language is important in the achievement of gender sensitivity.

The section on wife battering in People in Society offers one example of a somewhat gender sensitive treatment of content, although discussion should not have been limited to "wives" and "girlfriends". People in Society first defines the abuse in an inclusive way "Spousal abuse is physical or emotional violence or assault applied by one spouse to another" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.163) and emphasizes the

seriousness of it, "Spousal abuse is a criminal offence" (p.163). Although it reports that "there is a rising number of reported cases of husband abuse and homosexual abuse" (p.163), this textbook acknowledges that most cases "are committed by husbands against their wives" and throughout the remainder of the discussion the text is gender sensitive in its emphasis on wife abuse and the problems of the male abuser. Some comments about the prevalence of or research on abuse of males could add balance to this gender sensitive treatment.

Rather than displaying gender sensitivity, most attempts to use sex specific language create problems of gender bias. Childbirth is one obvious area in which females and males have roles which are quite different. The following example from Family Living shows how, using the male as the subject, the role of the male can be emphasized while the role of the female is minimized.

Attending prenatal classes together is an excellent way for husband and wife to share the first stage of parenthood. The couple learns breathing and muscle-relaxing exercises together so that the expectant father can help his partner practice throughout the pregnancy. He also can assist during the birth of their child by encouraging his wife to relax and breathe properly. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.155)

Emphasis is on the father's assistance not on the mother's learning, practicing and doing.

Sex specific language can also minimize or ignore the role of males when females become the subject. When it comes to responsibility for prenatal health, Family Living leaves men out. The textbook summarizes their advice as "Mothers

must watch their diets carefully and must avoid substances that may harm the unborn child" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.171). No importance is given to the role that fathers can play in assisting, encouraging and supporting their partners. In this particular area males only enter in an inclusive statement, "Before the baby is born, expectant parents have an important parenting role: To provide the mother-to-be with proper care" (p.158).

Choice of pronouns.

One of the ways in which the textbooks deal with sexism in language is through the use of inclusive pronouns. Each of the textbooks examined dealt with female and male pronouns through the use of "he or she" in place of the generic "he". Family Living does not slip into the generic "he" except in the highlighted sections as mentioned earlier. People in Society (p.128) allows "he" to enter as a generic pronoun in one of the student activities.

Most of the time, Creative Living, uses inclusive pronouns. In this way it suggests that the work force is not "gendered" as in the following: "A principal heads up only one school. He or she makes sure that the school teaches what the community wants to have taught" (Foster et al, 1985, p.158); "A school dietitian plans and directs ... His or her aim is to ..." (p.158); "pediatricians ... like all doctors, they've had ..." (p.156); and "mother's helper" ... "he or she" (p.155). But the textbook is not absolutely consistent in the use of inclusive pronouns. The workforce is gendered

in statements such as: "watch the neighbour work in his garden" (p.134) and "Sally decides to talk to her minister. He ..." (p.65).

In addition to using inclusive pronouns, both Creative Living and Family Living use another technique to deal with pronouns. The technique involves the alternating use of "she" and "he". Although this technique may appear non-sexist, its use can reinforce sexist assumptions. For example, in the section of Creative Living titled "How to Feed Babies and Toddlers" (Foster et al, 1985, p.160-161) this technique of alternating pronouns has been used from one example to the next but not within the examples. As a result the helpless infant is consistently labelled with a female pronoun, reinforcing the dependence and helplessness of females, and the more independent toddler is consistently labelled with the male pronoun, reinforcing the idea of male independence. This problem occurs consistently in the "How to Bathe a Child" and "Child Safety" sections (p.162-164).

The problem of reinforcing sexist stereotypes also arises in Family Living when the technique of alternating pronouns is used in the following list of possible expectations: "She has to like travelling." "He should share in the house work." "She should have a college education." "He ought to have a steady job." "Her ideals ought to be the same as mine." "He should have a sense of humour." (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.96) The two which cause some difficulty here are the second and the fourth. "She should

share in the housework" and "She should have a steady job" really elicit different ideas from "He should share in the housework" and "He should have a steady job". The textbook has used six examples of expectations alternating from the female pronoun to the male pronoun, but the expectations are still based on the assumption that the male works outside the home (steady job) and that the female's work outside the home is secondary, but since she does work outside the home he should share the housework, but not necessarily equally.

All of the textbooks use inclusive nouns and inclusive pronouns, but not to the complete exclusion of sex specific language. Both inclusive language and sex specific language create problems of gender bias. Gender sensitivity and gender balance will require the careful and appropriate use of both sex specific and inclusive language.

Substantive Content

Five topics provide information how substantive content of the textbook deals with gender bias. The topics considered are: women's issues and problems, work roles, child care, socialization, and relationships. These topics were examined because they are referred to in at least one of the textbooks examined and are appropriate for inclusion in home economics textbooks about families and relationships.

Women's issues and problems

This study examines four issues which were identified by this researcher as women's issues appropriate for inclusion in a course on families and society: the changing social

roles and position of women, day care, divorce and single parent families, and woman battering. It is understood that these are not exclusively women's issues but that they affect females and males differently, usually unequally. The impact these issues have had on women has frequently been more severe and destructive than the impact on men.

(a) The changing social roles and position of women

The changing social roles and position of women in society are acknowledged, at least in a minor way, in all three textbooks. Creative Living's only contribution to changing the position and role of women is its opposition to stereotyping (Foster et al, 1985, p.79). This textbook takes an "individual approach" by considering stereotypes as restricting and limiting individual "chances" (p.79).

Although Family Living identifies the problem of stereotypes as more social than individual, it attempts to be value free or neutral on women's changing roles. It does not advocate an equity position but attempts to make various sex roles acceptable.

While there are still recognizable differences in boys' and girls' behavior in the United States, the roles of male and female are generally less rigidly defined today than they were in the past. Women were once viewed as one kind of people, while men were seen as a different kind. Work and other activities performed by women were usually quite different from those performed by men. If people enjoyed activities inconsistent with their sex roles they were considered inadequate or odd. The social pressure to maintain certain behaviors considered proper for men or appropriate for women is called sex-role stereotyping. Such stereotyping is still common throughout many parts of the world since most people accept the roles society sets for them. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.25)

Sex role stereotyping is dealt with as if it is a problem of the past: "Today, sex roles are different than they were a generation ago, let alone a century ago. Some men and women believe that if they follow rigid sex roles, they may limit their potential" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.25). Once again it appears that the problem with stereotyped sex roles is the limitation of individual potential. Problems arising from the stereotypical socialization of females and males, such as, wife battering, date rape and emotional abuse, are not mentioned.

Family Living acknowledges that changes in the role and position of women are occurring but does not advocate further change, acknowledge reasons why change is essential, or even take a positive stand on change. The textbook's greatest number of comments on the changing role of women and its only recognition of the women's movement is in the chapter on "singles" (p.362-3). Postponement of marriage and choosing a career rather than marriage are presented as outcomes of the women's movement. This gives the impression that the women's movement could lead to the disappearance of the family through women choosing to remain single and devote their lives to careers. It doesn't address the problem of the dual responsibility given to women and the difficulties women face in managing a career and a family. This discussion omits those who choose alternatives other than marriage, such as parenting alone.

People in Society barely recognizes the women's

movement. The comment "The suffragettes who chained themselves to pillars of buildings in the early 20th century to draw attention to their cause - securing the vote for women - were seen as behaving abnormally" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.79) is one of the few recognitions of this movement. A change in the current legal status of women is briefly acknowledged but only in a preview question on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (p.30). No specific information is included in the text on discrimination against women, nor is attention directed specifically to it in the suggested activities. The text omits any discussion of the fight to get women included in the Charter, an important step for the women's movement in Canada.

People in Society also emphasizes the choice of women to remain childless. "Statistics show that the percentage of women in Canada who are or were married and remain childless is on the rise" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.141) and "... for many women, childbearing is no longer a main source of satisfaction. Many women seek personal fulfilment and economic independence through careers" (p.142). The fact that it is harder for women than men to have both children and a career is not mentioned. No emphasis is given to why this choice to remain childless is being made. The social implications of women choosing to remain childless are not addressed.

When focusing on the changing roles of women and men, People in Society frequently emphasizes change in the male

role rather than change in the female role. Students are asked to discuss why men are taking on household responsibilities, traditionally "women's work" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.172). They are not asked if men are taking over more responsibilities or why it is necessary to share household tasks more equitably than they are shared at present. This textbook also draws attention to men and their changing role. For example, "People are beginning to see nurturing as an important value to develop in both boys and girls" (p.135). People in Society takes a male perspective in dealing with "men's issues" rather than women's issues. For example, "More men are ... petitioning their employers for benefits such as paternity leave and time allotments to care for sick children" (p.171). The textbook does not mention employment issues for women. Maternity leave is neither mentioned nor defined in People in Society. No mention is made of other issues which could benefit all parents who work outside the home, but especially women, such as flexible schedules, parttime work, job sharing, and day care at the work site.

(b) Day care

Unless both single and married women make the choice to remain childless or women with children choose not to be employed, the availability of quality daycare will continue to be a major issue in the struggle for gender equity. However, Creative Living makes no comment on day care, alluding to it in a highlighted section as "family services"

(Foster et al, 1985, p.120). In Family Living, day care is seen only as a family matter, not a social problem for governments or employers to deal with. Comments suggest the problem of day care is best dealt with by getting help from relatives and friends.

If both parents work, child care can become a problem. If there are no relatives or friends who can help, parents might have to hire a babysitter, find a reputable day-care center, or work different shifts so that one parent can be home with the children. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.152)

In People in Society, day care is generally regarded as an individual issue, not a social issue. Most of the discussion is in the highlighted sections and deals with whether or not day care is good for children. In the content, day care is mentioned as a social issue in one comment: "In Canada, day care centres have not been seen as a priority. Day care has traditionally been treated as a private good to be purchased by parents. Education, on the other hand, has been treated as a public good and is fully paid through taxes" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.107). The textbook doesn't suggest any further activities which will help students to explore child care as a social issue, although one activity in the Teacher Resource Book suggests that students write an editorial on who should bear the cost of raising children and why (Hanson & Gower, 1988b, p.56).

(c) Divorce and single parent families

All three textbooks include divorce and single parenting, though the treatment of the topics varies. Creative Living keeps the comments brief, neutral and

unproblematic. Poverty among "female headed" single parent families is not acknowledged. The different problems faced by females and males when they become "single parents" are not addressed. "Single parents support their families, care for their children, and run their households, just as couples do. But they must do things alone" (Foster et al, 1985, p.55). This textbook emphasizes what children can do to help. Similarly, the comments on "divorce" (p.68) focus on the reaction of children to it. This approach may have been taken because the book is addressed to younger students.

Family Living addresses only very briefly the way that divorce affects females and males differently.

Research shows that some couples stay together for economic security, in spite of conflicts. This is particularly true where women don't have vocational skills and fear that they can't survive independently. However, the likelihood of divorce rises when the husband is unemployed. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.330)

Some differences are reported from a male perspective, such as

.... in general, legal decisions favor women when awarding custody of the children, the home, and household property. Men usually are required to make child-support payments, and sometimes they must also pay alimony to the wife. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.332)

The textbook fails to mention that, generally, a woman's standard of living falls after divorce as her disposable income decreases whereas the man's disposable income increases. It also ignores the fact that, even though men are required to make child care payments, many of them default on these payments. Yet it later states "nearly half the (single-parent) families were just getting by, 'coping when and as

they could'" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.335), and "most single parents have financial worries" (p.337). It fails to mention that most of those who suffer financially are females. The use of inclusive language masks the problem.

People in Society comments on how the experiences of men and women are different. For example:

A majority of divorced men leave the family household and do not have custody of children. They have greater opportunities than women to have an active social life. For the majority of divorced women, an active social life is difficult because they must maintain a job and care for the children. A divorced woman's responsibilities do not give her the freedom enjoyed by her former spouse. (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.191)

Divorced men remarry in greater numbers than divorced females (sic), and divorced women receive custody in most cases. These facts help to account for 1981 statistics that show that single mothers made up almost 83% of single parents whereas single fathers made up only 17%. (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.196-197)

People in Society recognizes that "a high percentage of divorced men do not make support payments", "female single parents are hard hit by the economic effects of divorce" and "about half of Canada's female-led families live in poverty" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.193). While the problem has been stated, what could or should be done about it is not addressed.

People in Society includes two activities on single parents; one focuses on the female and another on the male. The focus on the female is in the "preview", before discussion of the topic begins: "Suggest reasons why the majority of single-parent families are led by women" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.176). At the end of the chapter, the

textbook focuses on the male: "Debate whether or not men are discriminated against in custody cases" (p.196). There are no Suggested Activities that relate to women and poverty after divorce or government responsibility in enforcing child support and alimony payments.

(d) Woman battering

Violence against women is limited to wife abuse and spouse abuse in two of the textbooks examined. Creative Living does not acknowledge the subject. Family Living has a short section on "spouse abuse". Once again this textbook takes the male perspective more than the female perspective and provides too little information to be of value.

Violence against one's marital partner may range from verbal cruelty to severe physical abuse or even homicide. Statistics show that wife abuse is reported more often than husband abuse, no doubt because social stereotypes of manhood discourage men from reporting such incidents. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.351 - emphasis added)

Such comments minimize the importance of abuse as a problem for women. Another comment recognizes only one of the problems associated with wife abuse: "Lack of personal or financial resources...(women) see no way to care for themselves or for their children outside the marriage" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p. 352). The socialization which encourages women into this position is not addressed. There is nothing else to develop students' understanding of sources of the problem or possible solutions.

People in Society is more gender sensitive and gender balanced. The historical existence of wife abuse in European

cultures is recognized:

Wife beating and wife killing were recognized rights of men in ancient Greece and Rome. During the Middle Ages, husbands could kill their wives for adultery. In most Middle Age societies, men were considered to own their wives and had complete and unquestioned authority over them. (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.163)

Profiles of both the abused and the abuser are included. The textbook recognizes the role of sex role stereotyping in the present problem of abuse: "The Abuser ... holds stereotyped views about female and male roles (males are to be the providers and source of authority in the home; women [sic] are to be housewives and mothers)" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.165). Other information on wife abuse is included in the highlighted sections.

The Suggested Activities which accompany the section on wife abuse in People in Society are neither gender sensitive nor gender balanced. They focus on the male perspective. One of the questions on wife abuse has the students assume they are male. Exercises in which the students assumed that they were the female could also have been included. The students look at this relationship only from the perspective of the male involved. In another exercise, students are asked to "write a radio advertisement that gives advice to men who abuse their wives (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.167)". What about one for women who are abused by their partners or husbands? Or one for adolescent women abused by their boyfriends? Only the Teacher Resource Book has one exercise focused on abused women. It is concerned with "services ... to meet the needs of these women and their children" (Hanson & Gower, 1988b,

p.78) and the funding of shelters.

Work roles.

One goal of the women's movement has been to achieve a shift to a more equitable distribution of work in both paid public work and unpaid private work. The implicit and explicit assumptions of the textbooks regarding work will be reported in this section.

All three of the textbooks examined implicitly locate the male's major area of work in the public sphere while giving the major responsibility for work in the private sphere to females.

People in Society makes no explicit reference to the work in the home but implicitly assigns this role to women in case studies reinforcing traditional roles. For example, in the conflict situation for which students are to work out a compromise: "Rob and Laurie can't agree on an appropriate location for a family holiday. Laurie is a homemaker... Rob is a salesperson..."(Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.161). The case study of the remarriage situation also has female and male in traditional roles: "Remarried seven years ago to a banking executive, Joanne Green ... left her office job to devote herself to the five children" (p. 199-200). No case studies feature situations where both partners work outside the home and the problem of the division of work in the home is not addressed.

Creative Living explicitly advocates that housekeeping duties be shared: "Part of keeping a home comfortable is

caring for it to keep it clean. Just as the whole family shares the space, each person should help clean it" (Foster et al, 1985, p.474). In spite of this explicit statement, there are some implicit assumptions about roles, evident in the statements made about "mother" and "father". For example:

(a) Mothers are responsible for organizing food and meals:

"... you may offer to set the table when your mother is very busy" (Foster et al, 1985, p.10 - emphasis added).

(b) Mothers are responsible for ensuring that house cleaning and home management tasks are completed: "... if you see that your mother or older brother is very busy on a particular day, volunteer to clean up the living room" (Foster et al, 1985, p.496 - emphasis added).

(c) Mothers have a dual responsibility in that they also work outside the home: "talk to your mother about the dinner dishes ... don't try to talk about it when she's late leaving for work one morning" (Foster et al, 1985, p.62 - emphasis added).

(d) The financial concerns of the family are fathers' responsibility: "When your father gives you some extra dollars, he's telling you that he approves of you" (Foster et al, 1985, p.17 - emphasis added).

Although Family Living makes no explicit statements regarding the division of labour, household responsibilities are frequently assigned to women while men are placed in employment. This is indicated by the following examples:

A couple must decide not only what money means to them, but also who takes responsibility for financial decisions. If the husband alone has a paying job, he may believe that he should decide what to do with the income. Yet, the wife may indirectly have helped to produce that income or expanded its use. Her management skills, such as wise shopping, may have provided both a productive and healthy environment for the family and more material goods. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.124)

However, various studies show that many working wives still have the major responsibilities for home care. Further, the wives' careers have secondary status as compared to those of their husbands. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.118)

With the birth of the first child, a more clear cut division of responsibilities emerges along sex role lines. According to available data, most couples agree that women should handle home management while husbands earn a living.... Couples studied continued to feel this way even when the wife returned to outside work. In general, husbands seemed to help out less around the house after the first child was born. They left even more of the housework to the wife, especially if she had quit her job for good. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.152)

In addition to giving them responsibility for homes, none of the textbooks appear to place significant value on the roles that females take in the public sphere. Some comments trivialize the woman's contribution to the financial support of the family. For example, Family Living states:

One obvious benefit in having both partners work is increased family income. Extra money can help improve the standard of living and the overall morale of the family. Research also indicates that women who choose to have jobs, rather than work because they need to help make ends meet, seem to be happier individuals, which of course can make them better company for their families. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.120 - emphasis added)

People in Society also trivializes the financial responsibility and contribution of women. This is evident in statements such as "Some women work to assist the family financially, whereas others work to become financially

independent or for personal satisfaction" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.170) and "If mothers work, and so many do, just to keep up with teenagers' expensive needs ..." (p.192). The text assumes that the major financial responsibility for families is taken by males. Although some women also accept the major financial responsibility for families (even in some male-present households) it is not recognized. The importance of women's contributions and the possibility of an equitable sharing of responsibilities should both be included in these texts. The role of women in the public sphere is minimized even when People in Society breaks with traditional roles and emphasizes the role of "househusbands" (p.170). No mention of the role that the wives of these househusbands have in the financial support of their families. As a result the text implies that women's work in the public sphere is of minor importance.

Although the three textbooks give women the major role in the home, changes in female and male roles which are beginning to take place are recognized in Family Living and People in Society. In Family Living changes in perception of work roles of females and males is acknowledged: "The view that women can perform most jobs, except those requiring great physical strength, as capably as men has gained in acceptance" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.114). But the textbook still tries to teach the concept of sex roles in the statement, "Sex roles are still very important today, although in recent years they have undergone significant

changes in American culture" (p.10). Sometimes Family Living supports a non-gendered workforce as with the questions, "Which of us should earn the income and determine how it is managed? Should we both do this?"(p.123). However, the commitment of Family Living to the idea of a change in roles appears incomplete as it attempts to be neutral:

In different societies and even in different families, the roles of male and female are not viewed in the same way. In one society, for example, males are active "doers" working outside the house; women are in charge of domestic affairs. In another society, the roles may be less clearly defined. You know from your own experience that adults in different families hold various ideas about male and female roles. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.25)

Even though some change in the roles of females and males is acknowledged, Family Living still views traditional roles in a positive way. "If couples prefer to accept traditional roles, they are free to choose them. They aim for mutually satisfying, or reciprocal, roles" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.115). Family Living does not elaborate upon or even ask students to think about the problems associated with traditional role arrangements. A review question simply asks students to recognize the traditional arrangement: "Describe some customary ways in which a husband and wife carry out their expected roles" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.128) to which the Teacher's Guide gives the answer, "Traditional marital roles cast the husband as breadwinner and the wife as homemaker" (Gay, 1985, p.22).

However, when it comes to the more common, but less "traditional", dual earner family, Family Living is less positive. In a review question students are asked to look for

problems: "Name three problems that members of dual-earner families might encounter" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.129 - emphasis added) to which the Teacher's Guide gives the answer "There may be conflicts over who will do the household chores, disagreements over how the two incomes should be spent, and problems arising over which spouse's job or career should have priority" (Gay, 1985, p.22). The textbook does not ask students to think about the benefits to be gained from being in a dual earner family.

In addition to supporting traditional roles and looking for problems in dual-earner families, Family Living trivializes the importance of equitable relationships:

In cooperation ... both partners determine their roles according to their own abilities. The wife might be better at bookkeeping and handling the budget, so she pays all the household bills, sets aside the savings, and gives out "spending money." The husband might be a good cook, so he prepares many of the family meals. The wife does the yardwork because the husband hates it. The husband takes care of the mechanical failures around the home because he likes to fix things. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.117 - emphasis added)

On first reading, the above quotation may appear to advocate equitable relationships but, unfortunately, the wife does not only what she is good at and but also what he hates to do, whereas the husband does what he is good at and what he likes to do. No mention is made of the dishes, vacuuming, laundry, toilets and bathtubs or any other cleaning tasks.

The position taken by People in Society seems more positive about role changes: "In Canadian society today, the role expectations for husbands and wives are changing. In a

legal sense, a woman's status has evolved from that of her husband's possession to equal partner in the marriage" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.170). This does not exactly advocate equitable relationships, assist in achieving them, or elaborate on how the new laws actually operate, but it is a beginning.

People in Society sees dual earner families as meeting challenges:

Marriages in which both partners work outside the home present new challenges. Even though both partners hold jobs, children must still be cared for, and chores must be done to ensure that the household functions well. How are child care and the household managed when husband and wife both work full-time? How are domestic responsibilities shared? (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.170)

The chapter on marriage emphasizes "You will have to decide how to share responsibilities" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.140). People in Society suggests no solutions, does not provide case studies for examples of solutions but recognizes dual earner families by encouraging students to begin thinking about them. People in Society also recognizes the dual responsibility of women when it states: "Canadian studies indicate that in families with both spouses working full-time, women are responsible for the majority of domestic chores" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.171). In spite of that the book continues:

Many women now expect their husbands to participate more fully in the nurturing of the children and the performance of household chores. Men, too, are changing their expectations. Many men no longer emphasize the importance of a good housekeeper in a marriage, and they expect their wives to continue to work outside the home. (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.171)

Not only does the textbook minimize the importance of studies which show when both spouses are working women do most of the housework, it also makes women responsible for ensuring male participation and makes "good housekeeping" seem trivial. If men do not emphasize the importance of a "good housekeeper" they probably do not place much value on becoming good housekeepers.

Although both Family Living and People in Society recognize that roles are changing, neither makes a significant contribution toward meeting challenges or solving problems, nor do they advocate changes in roles. Disagreement about work inside the home is a major cause of friction in marriage and relationships. The importance of this conflict is recognized to some extent. People in Society lists "sharing of household duties" as one of the "Common Sources of Conflict in Marriage" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.158). Family Living also acknowledges that roles can be a problem: "The likelihood of divorce is higher if ... the couple has always had opposing views on the roles of husband and wife" (Leavenworth, 1985, p.329-330) and

The partners realize that they don't have the same ideas about what it means to be a husband or a wife ... the highest percentage of divorces occurs during the second or third years of marriage They buckle under the strain of trying to adjust to their separate and combined marital roles. (Leavenworth, 1985, p.116)

Creative Living does not acknowledge the conflict of roles that can occur in families nor the importance of this conflict. Instead, it simply advocates the sharing of household tasks by all who share the household. At the same

time it also trivializes the work involved as in the following:

Cooking at home can be easier if it's a team effort. Why not make a game of it? You can get together with other family members and organize a meal. Everyone can make a contribution to shopping or cooking. And everyone can join in eating it. (Foster et al, 1985, p.280)

Creative Living and People in Society suggest activities to help students begin to address the problem of division of household tasks:

(a) People in Society provides students with a list of chores and suggests that students "using the list, survey five working couples to find out how chores are divided" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.172-17) and write a paragraph to summarize the findings. The textbook does not ask students to find out if the way chores are divided is perceived by either or both members of the couple as a problem. Just because students find out that the chores are divided one way or another does not make that way necessarily appropriate or unproblematic. Students need to discuss this and develop their own reasoned opinions about the equitable division of chores but the textbook does not go this far in the Suggested Activities.

(b) The Teacher's Resource Book for Creative Living suggests an assignment "Cooking and Cleaning: A Family Affair" which has students analyze responsibilities in the home, determine if each member has "an equal share of household chores" and suggest ways in which to "balance the household responsibilities" (Weber, 1986, p.17).

Both Family Living and Creative Living present marriage and career almost as mutually exclusive options for females. Family Living acknowledges the choice is more likely to apply to women: "Women may find the prospect of a career more appealing than the idea of home management" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.363), and "Some people choose to remain single because they are pursuing a particularly demanding career" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.366). Although this last comment appears beside the photographs of two women, Family Living does not explicitly acknowledge that this applies, in general, to women more than men or that having to make a choice is a problem. Family Living goes on to present children and a career as incompatible options when discussing the reasons that people remain childless: "Sometimes, a wife wants to pursue a career without taking time out to have children" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.138).

Creative Living does not acknowledge that, at present, it is women who are most likely to have to make the choice between family and career. Instead it makes the neutral statement "Of course, not everyone chooses to marry. You may prefer to dedicate your life to a career" (Foster et al, 1985, p.96) as if it applied equally to females and males.

These textbooks give the impression that one must choose between family/marriage and career. Men have been able to have both families and careers. It is women who have been having to choose. The textbooks do not address this difference as a problem nor do they adequately address the

possibility of choosing both or neither.

Child Care

In this section the findings about who is assumed to be responsible for child care tasks are reported. Contradictions between the implicit and explicit messages are considered.

People in Society gives the role of child care to women only through implicit messages in the highlighted sections mentioned earlier. The intent of the textbook may be quite different from that indicated by the highlighted sections since the text of the book gives no explicit indication about who should be responsible for child care. For that reason, comments in this section will be limited to the other two textbooks.

Both Family Living and Creative Living have explicit messages advocating the sharing of parenting and the appropriateness of child care tasks for both females and males. The implicit assumptions underlying some of the comments of the textbooks, however, are in conflict with these explicit messages.

The appropriateness of child care responsibilities for both females and males is suggested in Creative Living by statements such as "Many people can parent, including parents and babysitters. In some families, parenting is shared by the parents, grandparents, older brothers and sisters, and a day-care centre" (Foster et al, 1985, p.119) and "Fathers share in primary responsibilities, such as changing diapers, feeding, entertaining, and showing love and affection to

their children" (p.152).

Similar ideas are expressed in Family Living in the form of inclusive statements such as "Parenthood may be one of the most rewarding jobs you will have as an adult" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.150). Family Living, however, addresses many statements explicitly to the father in advocating shared parenting. This is seen in the following:

Throughout history, fathers have not been much involved in child care. This has given rise to the notion that they shouldn't or can't handle the responsibility. Today the view that fathers are unable or reluctant to care for their children is beginning to change. Studies show that fathers, if given the opportunity, become as emotionally involved as mothers and are just as capable and competent. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.169)

Sharing child raising responsibilities helps fathers learn more about the development of their children. They and their children become better acquainted. Fathers who actively participate in child care have the potential to develop strong and satisfying relationships. One study reported that in play situations with both parents present, eight month old infants sought out their fathers. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p. 172)

One of the differences between these two textbooks is that, in Creative Living, fathers are expected to share in "primary responsibilities" (Foster et al, 1985, p.152) such as feeding and diapering. In Family Living, however, there is no mention of feeding, diaper changing or bathing. The work involved in looking after a baby is ignored. Instead the emphasis is on "attachment" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.177-179) and "growth and development" (p. 181-194). Bonding is mentioned as a "crucial factor in a baby's physical and mental growth" (p.176) and the bonding of fathers to their children is encouraged by statements such as "Little research

has been done on bonding between fathers and infants, but psychologists believe that the same pattern probably exists" (p.177).

Both Creative Living and Family Living advocate the sharing of parenting. They do not explicitly express the assumption that the major responsibility for that role falls to the mother. In spite of that, each of these textbooks makes statements which suggest that women are likely to leave the paid workforce to look after children. For example, Family Living states: "Indirect costs (of raising a child) refer to the potential income lost if a mother leaves her job to raise children" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.154 - emphasis added). Family Living also makes statements such as: "... mothers can take their infants for regular, free checkups" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.252) and "Shopping expeditions for two mothers with active toddlers can be chaotic... The mothers might wisely decide to take turns watching the children" (p.235). The traditional assumption about who is responsible for child care also passes unquestioned in

Creative Living:

Two months later, Donna was pregnant. Neither of them had planned it that way or thought much about having a baby. Donna decided to give up her job, and she postponed plans for school. Mario withdrew his application to college and got a job driving a delivery truck. (Foster et al, 1985, p.149)

Creative Living gives the major responsibility for child care to the mother, even if those mothers are working in the suggestions that a "mother's helper" is one who "cares for

the children of a working parent or working parents" (Foster et al, 1985, p.154) and "Many mothers find (school cafeteria work) a convenient job, because it allows them to work when their children are in school and to be home after school is out" (p.157).

Creative Living reinforces traditional parenting styles, casting the female in the nurturing role and the male in the disciplining role. This can be seen in the following: "At home, when your mother lets you stay overnight at a friends house, she is showing you that she trusts you" (Foster et al, 1985, p.17 - emphasis added), "mother praises you for doing the food shopping well" (p.41), "your father yells at you" (p.41,) and "Does your father always give you a curfew ...?" (p.60).

The only textbook which puts any emphasis on the topic of babysitting is Creative Living. This is probably because it is aimed at younger students than the other two textbooks. Once again the explicit message appears to be in conflict with the implicit message. The neutral statement "Many young people like working as part-time caregivers" (Foster et al, 1985, p.119) is probably meant to include males as babysitters. This role, however, is implicitly given to young women by the use of female names in the examples. "Monique" is assisting "Mrs. McArthur" by babysitting for her and "is even considering a 'mother's helper' job" (118-119); Annie (p.141) is another babysitter; and "Susan's budget" (p.194) includes income from babysitting.

Socialization

Many of the problems which women in this society experience may be related to the different socialization of females and males. Since much socialization takes place in the family it is an appropriate topic in any course focused on families. For that reason, the treatment of socialization in each of the three textbooks was examined.

In Family Living, the socialization of children is mentioned as one of the functions of families but the different socialization of female and male children receives no mention.

One important family function is to socialize children. Socialization is the process by which children learn behavior that is acceptable to the family and to the rest of society. Most of your viewpoints and attitudes are learned in your family. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.132)

Sex roles are not seen as a problem in this textbook, just something to be acquired from the culture, passed on without questioning: "During (the years of childhood) children also become aware of whether they are female or male. As a result, they learn the different roles assigned to each sex in their culture" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.36) and "From observing others, young children learn not only the proper behaviors for adult roles, but also who should play those roles" (p.204).

Although it has yet to be proved, most experts believe that sex differences in human behavior result from environmental differences. Many parents tend to treat their male and female children differently, and a child tends to imitate the behavior, or role, of the parent of the same sex. Role is a major factor in the way boys and girls behave, and in the expectations they will have toward the opposite sex. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.22)

The textbook does not refer to the specific differences in female and male socialization nor is the difference treated as a problem.

The topic of socialization is included in People in Society. "Socialization describes the lifelong process by which we learn the beliefs, values, and customs that make up our culture. We learn about and shape our behavior through contact with other people, often in groups" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.57). Socialization is listed as one of the "Functions of the Family" (p.177). However, when socialization of small children is dealt with (p.99), there is no mention of differences in socialization of females and males.

The textbook includes sex role socialization in the section on adolescence. In the preview, students are asked to "Make a list of the ways in which your upbringing might be different if you were a member of the opposite sex" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.116). About sex role socialization the textbook states:

Although everyone goes through a process of socialization, not all people are socialized equally ... Stereotypes, like all generalizations, do not take into account individual differences, and tend to lag behind changes in social custom... Until recently, girls were expected to play gentle games and to be sweet and sensitive. Boys were expected to take part in rough sports and to be strong and tough. Although our society has traditionally viewed males and females in these ways these views do not exist everywhere. (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.133) (Two examples are given from other cultures.)

Children develop their understanding of sex roles through a variety of agents - parents, other authority figures,

peers, advertising, and other media. In our society, sex-role expectations are in the process of changing. Changing gender expectations are reflected in the way we raise our children. (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.135)

Although these comments are not specific enough to be really helpful in the development of appropriate parenting skills or an understanding of the power and pervasiveness of socialization, at least the tone of the comments appears to favour the changes taking place. People in Society suggests several activities which have students focusing on female and male socialization (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.135 & 137). The Teacher Resource book also contains an exercise "Sex Roles and Careers" (Hanson & Gower, 1988b, p.71).

Creative Living does not mention socialization even though it is explicit in its intention to oppose stereotyping which will "limit your chances" (Foster et al, 1985, p.79). The sources of stereotyping are said to be "tradition" and "media". The concept of socialization is addressed only in a highlighted section but the importance is downplayed.

Even though much socialization takes place in families, these textbooks give little recognition to the difference in female and male socialization. The role of socialization agents other than the family is minimized and no recognition is given to the problems arising from the different socialization of females and males.

Relationships

The following section reports findings regarding the relationships between females and males. Since these books are addressed to adolescents and are concerned with personal

lives rather than careers, most of the relationship comments relate to dating, courtship and marriage.

Creative Living includes suggestions on relationships such as where to go on a date, "Crushes", "Love", and "Breaking Up" (p.90). The discussion is kept neutral as in "Arrive on time, or call if you're late" and "Be ready on time. Don't keep your date waiting" (p.91). Mention of traditional practices is avoided. For example, no one phones another to ask for the date, no one drives a car, no one pays. The book attempts to deal more with feelings than with dating practices. Because practices are never discussed or questioned, change is not encouraged.

Family Living refers to "A Loving Relationship" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.81) rather than to "dating" and "courtship". Much of the discussion in the content centers around "Myths about Love" (p.74). Family Living, however, is the only textbook which explicitly attempts to deal with equality in relationships, albeit trivialized and simplified:

In healthy, growing love relationships, the two people are committed to establishing and maintaining equality in the relationship. Equality means that the ideas and feelings of both people are considered whenever a decision is to be made that will affect the relationship. (Leavenworth, 1985, p.83)

The reasons for equality in relationships are rather trivial: "If one person makes all the decisions, that person may soon feel pressured, while the other person may feel left out and resentful" (p.83); "avoids misunderstandings and enhances feelings of trust" (p.82); "more secure" (p.82); and "more

fun" (p.83). Equality in relationships is also trivialized in the review questions which ask students to "explain some ways in which equality can enliven a relationship" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.86 - emphasis added). The book fails to recognize the difficulty in achieving equality in relationships because of male/female socialization and cultural expectations.

Family Living attempts to raise questions about marriage relationships: "In democratic marriages, who has authority? Is it possible to share decision making on all issues?" (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.120). These questions are followed immediately by a weak statement "Each couple will need to work out the answers for themselves in constructive ways" (p.120). The students are given no help in searching out non-traditional answers to the questions raised.

At times Family Living appears to advocate equity in relationships but it also attempts to be value-free in trying to acknowledge both traditional and equitable marriage roles as appropriate choices. This textbook is not controversial. It doesn't take a stand or even discuss the advantages and disadvantages of non-traditional and traditional relationships. The wavering stance adopted by this textbook can be seen in the following:

Even though their experiences differ, most couples do develop in their relationships according to predictable patterns ... The terms husband and wife imply a set of roles. If a marriage is to succeed, a couple must agree on what they expect of themselves and each other in the roles of husband and wife. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.114)

In the traditional view of marital roles, certain traits and tasks are assigned to the husband and wife. "Father

knows best," for example is an old saying that assumes superior wisdom in the males. Various studies show that many couples still view their roles in traditional terms. Unmarried people, too, often express their desire to divide household tasks along traditional lines when they marry, with women caring for the home and children and men taking on financial responsibilities.

Nevertheless, the majority of people surveyed in recent years regarding their views on marital roles believed that women should not be restricted to the home and that men should share the responsibility for managing the home. The view that women can perform most jobs, except those requiring great physical strength, as capably as men has gained in acceptance. A number of national polls and surveys conducted during the 1970s indicate that a majority of husbands now feel less pressure to be the all-powerful, all knowing authority figure in the home and that they perform many household tasks. More and more people are coming to believe that both husband and wife should contribute both money and household labour to the support of the family. (Leavenworth et al, 1985, p.114-115)

The content of People in Society deals more with history and cultural traditions than with present practice in relationships. Subheadings include "Arranged Marriages" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.148), "Dowry and Brideprice" (p.150), and "Romantic Marriages"(p.150). The historical and cultural traditions are simply presented, not critically analyzed with respect to what they say about the cultural and historic relationships between women and men.

In referring to current Canadian customs, People in Society discusses the process, "casual dating", "going steady", "becoming engaged", and "getting married" (Hanson & Gower, 1988a, p.154). The discussion is kept very neutral as in "Dating also helps people learn to get along with others and to accomodate different personalities" (p.155.) There is no mention of traditional practices and no critical analysis of them. The Suggested Activities do not encourage critical

analysis of any of the cultural, past, or present traditions. Some comments in People in Society unconsciously reinforce the traditional roles of male as the pursuer and female as the pursued. For example, "Danny is so shy that he cannot ask Kathy for a date" (p.116) and "Courtship begins at sundown each day when groups of ardent young men ... call on young women in their thatched homes" (p.153).

Although the textbooks discuss courtship, dating, and love they do not deal in any way with the traditional rituals (eg. boys asking, paying, driving) which keep females dependent and vulnerable. Only one of the textbooks attempts to deal with equitable marriages and then only very weakly because it also attempts to be value-free. There is no mention of relationships other than marriage and all relationships are heterosexual. Past and present practices in relationships are never critically analyzed to determine what assumptions are made about relationships between women and men.

Many topics important to the achievement of gender equity are included in the content of the textbooks examined. However, the inclusion of important topics is by itself not enough. It is important to consider how these topics are included. In the textbooks examined there were conflicts between explicit and implicit messages, some topics were examined from a male perspective more often than from a female or gender balanced perspective, the treatment of issues was often trivial rather than substantive and critical

analysis of issues was not encouraged. In general the textbooks strive more often for gender neutrality than for gender sensitivity and gender balance.

Summary of Findings

This study examined various parts of home economics textbooks for evidence of gender bias. The details reported in this chapter are briefly summarized.

The preface of the texts revealed that the books were intended to address either a non-specific audience or a female and male audience. Two of the textbooks assumed a view of learners as absorbing knowledge in the form of facts, whereas the third textbook assumed that students will critically appraise knowledge. Implied in each of the prefaces was the suggestion that the textbooks may address some issues of relevance to gender equity.

The tables of contents in all three textbooks were written in inclusive language making it difficult to determine if equity issues were addressed. Some topics had the potential to address gender equity issues. The textbooks varied greatly in the number of relevant topics included. The examination of tables of contents revealed no mention of the women's movement.

Like the tables of contents, the index of each text was written in inclusive language. Sex specific language was occasionally included. Some use of sex specific language revealed that the knowledge was presented from a male perspective. The textbooks varied greatly in the inclusion of

topics relevant to gender equity but all textbooks showed the potential to address some important issues.

In the photographs and illustrations, balancing the total numbers of females and males was one of the ways the problem of gender bias was addressed. However, when adolescents alone were considered, two texts emphasized males and one text emphasized females. Non-white adolescent females were not represented or were poorly represented. Adult and adolescent women, when shown in occupational roles, were pictured most frequently in traditional roles.

The portrayal of responsibilities in the private sphere showed considerable variation. One text portrayed females more often than males in home management and home maintenance tasks. Another text portrayed these tasks infrequently but showed a balance between females and males. The third text did not portray any of these tasks for either females or males. In two of the texts, child caregiving was frequently portrayed but this role was assigned to females. In the third text, this role was almost completely ignored but the two photographs portrayed a female and a male. Two of the textbooks included token photographs of females and males in non-traditional activities. The third textbook does not include these tokens. Two of the textbooks portray males as more active or dominant than females. Males visually dominate one book because of the size and colour of the photographs of solitary males. One textbook portrays females more frequently than males and as more active or dominant but in traditional

roles. These findings revealed that simply achieving a balance between total numbers of females and males in photographs does not eliminate gender bias.

The highlighted sections of the textbooks dealt with gender bias inconsistently. Many problems of bias were found. These sections frequently gave a one-sided presentation of an issue, most often from a male perspective. Most of the highlighted sections used inclusive language thereby masking or excluding important gender issues. Most examples of sexist language were found in highlighted sections as if it is not monitored as carefully in these sections. Highlighted sections were also found to reinforce stereotypical patterns of behaviour for females and males.

Some highlighted sections attempted to deal with gender bias but rarely successfully. A few examples exhibited balance in their presentation. Some drew attention to female and male differences but included too little information to be of value in understanding the problems. Others highlighted issues of relevance to gender equity but failed to take a strong position in favour of equity. The highlighted sections were found to exhibit problems of gender bias as well as to attempt to deal with problems of gender equity.

The content of the textbooks was also found to contribute to the maintenance of problems related to gender equity. Two of the textbooks presented information as facts for retention by the learner. The third text attempted to encourage critical thinking but frequently failed in this

attempt. The content of all the textbooks was generally expressed in inclusive language which frequently masked the reality of gender issues. The occasional use of sex specific language led to the problems of reinforcing stereotypes and presenting only one perspective on an issue.

None of the textbooks took a strong stand on any women's issues or equity issues, and the women's movement was basically ignored. The texts have taken minor and tentative steps in the direction of gender equity but this effort was weakened by attempts to be value-free or neutral on issues. At times the explicit messages of the content were in conflict with the implicit messages. These findings show that, although some attempts have been made to eliminate gender bias, much bias still exists. The textbooks do not promote gender equity.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

This research examined three home economics texts and questioned how these texts may or may not contribute to gender equity in schooling. The research was guided by three questions:

1. To whom is the textbook explicitly and implicitly addressed?
 - i. Who is the intended audience of the textbook?
 - ii. Are the images portrayed female or male?
 - iii. Is the knowledge expressed from a female or male perspective?

Traditionally, home economics textbooks addressed a female audience. The elimination of gender bias demands that the concerns of females and males be included. The audience addressed by each textbook was explicit or implicit in the text. The intended audience was explicitly revealed or implied in the preface. Weis (1979) and Williger (1983) examined the prefaces of texts. Inherent in their work were two assumptions: first, the target audience of a textbook could be determined by analyzing the preface and second, addressing a non-specific audience was non-sexist. Both of these assumptions were questioned by this research.

The assumption that a target audience can be determined by reading the preface applied only to the intended audience. An implied audience, addressed unconsciously and unintentionally, was revealed in other parts of the textbooks.

Even though the explicit intention stated in the preface of one of the textbooks was to address both female and male students, there was a contradiction between this intention and the message conveyed in other parts of the text. This book featured more females, especially adolescent females, in the photographs and used more highlighted sections directed to females or from a female perspective. The content of this book was so neutralized that it addressed some androgenous person, neither female nor male. Even if an intention to address a female and male audience is explicitly set forth in a preface it cannot be assumed this intention will be consistent with the rest of the textbook. Examination of other parts of the book is essential to determine if the intended audience stated in the preface is the same as the implied audience conveyed in the remainder of the book.

A non-specific audience was assumed by Weis (1979) and Williger (1983) to be non-sexist and inclusive of females and males. The prefaces of two textbooks implied that a non-specific audience of females and males was addressed. Both these textbooks addressed males more than females. They featured more adolescent males than females in the photographs, featured males or gave a male perspective more often in highlighted sections, and frequently neutralized or trivialized issues of importance to females in the content. The findings of this research suggest that the intention to address a non-specific audience may not contribute to gender

sensitivity and gender balance. Analysis of a preface alone is insufficient for determining if females and males will be included equally in a text.

Traditionally, home economics textbooks portrayed more female than male images. In attempting to eliminate bias, home economics texts faced a unique problem. Whereas textbooks in most subjects have had to strive to include more females, home economics textbooks have had to include more males. Photographs are an important feature of texts and can appeal either to females or males. Images contained in the photographs and illustrations were examined in relation to the question of who is addressed by the textbook.

One textbook was very traditional. Although an apparent attempt had been made to include males, more female than male images remained in the photographs, especially in activities traditionally dominated by females. Photographs of solitary females were more prevalent than those of solitary males and very few photographs featured both females and males. Despite the specific intention to address females and males stated in the preface, the photographs in this text address females. This finding suggests that the unequal portrayal of female and male images may unintentionally occur in texts, making examination of photographs important.

Both the other textbooks included more male than female images. One featured many photographs of both females and males but included slightly more male images than female ones

(although there were three times as many adolescent males as females). Males did not visually dominate the book, because the lack of colour made these photographs less decorative. Most photographs in the third book featured females and males, making this text quite different from those examined by Weis (1979) and Williger (1983), both of whom found a higher proportion of female only photographs. This textbook achieved the best balance in numbers of females and males. However, it also created a new problem related to gender bias in home economics. This textbook featured more solitary males than solitary females. The use of full page, decorative pictures of solitary males made them more visible than females. In attempting to overcome the problem of emphasizing females, this textbook made male images more dominant. This research indicates that, not only the total number of females and males is important, but also that the colour, size and number of people in the photographs should be considered.

These findings suggest the intention to address females and males stated or implied in the preface was contradicted by emphasizing either females or males in photographs. In efforts to include males in home economics textbooks it will be important to avoid making females less visible than males.

Highlighted sections and content (including student activities) were examined to determine if the knowledge contained within them was expressed from a female or male perspective. Research on textbooks other than home economics

textbooks suggested that knowledge is most frequently expressed from a male perspective. No research on home economics textbooks considered the perspective from which knowledge was presented but Weis (1979) determined that females were given more direction regarding role behaviors than males.

The most traditional home economics textbook focused more highlighted sections on females than on males. The content of this book was simplified and neutralized so that the book was addressed to an androgenous person. The knowledge was not usually expressed from either a female or male perspective. Problems associated with gender were ignored because gender was eliminated. This textbook was inconsistent with respect to the audience addressed. The photographs and highlighted sections addressed females and the content addressed neither even though the preface indicated that both females and males would be addressed.

Males were consistently emphasized in the other two texts. Highlighted sections focused on males or expressed knowledge from a male perspective. In the content, these texts also addressed males more than females and presented a male perspective more often than a female one. This problem was evident in the emphasis on the changing role of males in the nurturing of children, the impact of divorce on the father's relationship with the children, and issues such as "paternity leave". These two texts exhibited greater

consistency than the other text. Photographs, highlighted sections, and content all addressed males more than females and presented a male perspective. Because the prefaces of these texts were non-specific with respect to the target audience, this research questions the assumption that addressing a non-specific audience is non-sexist and includes females and males.

This research suggests it is important to consider both the intended audience and the implied, unintended audience when analyzing textbooks. The preface may reveal the intended audience but the photographs, highlighted sections, and content reveal an implied audience. Messages conveyed by these parts of the books may be inconsistent and contradictory.

Gender equity literature suggests both females and males must be included in textbooks and knowledge expressed from the perspectives of both. Textbooks may intend to address both females and males by being non-specific. However, the notion of gender sensitivity requires careful attention to gender. It is therefore appropriate to be explicit about addressing females and males. This intention should be combined with very careful selection and presentation of photographs, highlighted sections, and content, addressing both females and males and including both female and male perspectives.

Home economics textbooks face a challenge when including

males. In order to achieve gender balance, knowledge should be presented from both female and male perspectives without making a male perspective appear more valued or dominant than a female one. In order to achieve gender sensitivity, this balance must be achieved without ignoring the problems women experience as a result of the social construction of gender.

2. What characteristics of learners are assumed by the textbook?

- i. Are learners expected to accept the textbook knowledge as presented?
- ii. Are learners encouraged to question social arrangements or analyze social problems?
- iii. Are learners encouraged to question and challenge the textbook?

No previous research on gender bias in textbooks analyzed their potential role in social transformation yet current feminist thought insists social transformation is essential. This research question was posed in order to determine if these texts play a role in social transformation through encouraging critical social inquiry. The question was addressed by examining the preface, highlighted sections and content (including student activities) of the textbooks.

The assumed characteristics of learners were suggested by the prefaces. Two textbooks implied in the preface that students would absorb knowledge contained in the textbook, accepting it as presented. The content and highlighted sections in the texts were presented in a way consistent with this intention. Knowledge was presented as facts and activities were designed to test the student's recall or

understanding of these facts. Critical feminist pedagogy rejects the notion of the learner as a passive recipient of knowledge and knowledge as immutable fact. Although critical analysis of these texts could be encouraged by the teacher, the texts alone do not encourage critical social inquiry.

The third textbook stated clearly in the preface that students were knowledgeable and able to think critically about social issues. To some extent, this text did encourage critical thinking on social issues, presenting more than one viewpoint on an issue and encouraging students to take a stand on an issue and defend or refute their position. This text also encouraged students to consider ways of becoming politically involved with respect to controversial social issues. This suggestion is consistent with Anyon's (1979) position that students need to learn that it is appropriate for females, as well as males, to engage in political protest. None of the political activities suggested, however, related specifically to gender issues.

This textbook frequently fell short of its goal of developing critical thinking. Many activities were based only on recall of information presented and others considered problems from a male perspective only. Occasionally the presentation of information was biased, as in the dismissal of the feminist criticism of three psychologists. These findings once again suggest the intention stated in the preface may not be consistent with the rest of the book. This

inconsistency makes examination of highlighted sections and content, including student activities, essential.

At no time did any of the textbooks suggest students should question or challenge the textbook. In all three textbooks, learners were expected to accept the authority of the text. In practice, however, the text in use is mediated by a teacher who can encourage its use in a critical way.

One possible way for texts to contribute to gender equity is to encourage students to think critically about society and social issues with gender equity as a goal. If textbook knowledge is to play a part in social transformation as suggested by Weiler (1988), information should be considered problematic rather than factual and students should learn to critically examine social issues and develop ways of affecting social institutions. Critical feminist educators have a political commitment to the improvement of the condition of females. Presenting statistics on problems such as poverty or wife abuse is not enough. An individual approach to these problems is also inadequate. More important is an understanding of the role that social institutions and socialization play in the development of societal problems. Feminist teaching has a counter-hegemonic goal (Weiler, 1988). It exposes the existing order and develops an understanding of social forces affecting our lives. A consideration of causes and possible solutions to social problems is essential if home economics textbooks are to

contribute to gender equity.

**3. In what way does the textbook deal with gender bias?
Is it biased or is it neutral, balanced, or sensitive?**

The sub-questions of this research question will be examined separately in the following section.

i. Is the language sexist or are inclusive and sex specific language used appropriately?

Language was analyzed in all parts of the textbooks except the preface and photographs. Sexist language appeared in highlighted sections more than in other sections of the books. All three books used the generic "he" in highlighted sections. One text also used the sex specific word, housewife, to apply to a generic situation. It is possible, when publishers were checking for bias in language, the highlighted sections were omitted from this consideration so that sexist language was left in.

The major way these texts dealt with sexism in language was through the use of inclusive words. In general, this made it difficult to detect either gender bias or gender balance and sensitivity in the index or table of contents. Language was examined in highlighted sections and content of the texts and all showed evidence of striving to be non-sexist through gender neutrality. However, inappropriate use of inclusive language caused problems. It masked differences between women and men and ignored disadvantages women suffer as a result of socialization and past discrimination. Inclusive language also led to the generalization of research findings to both

sexes, even though the research may have been carried out on one sex only.

Inclusive language was not used to the exclusion of sex specific language. Occasionally gender balance and gender sensitivity were implied by the use of sex specific language in the index. Gender balance was suggested in one text by inclusion of sex specific concepts such as mothering and fathering, women and men. Gender sensitivity was suggested in the table of contents of the same text by inclusion of "wife abuse". In all texts, sex specific language created problems of bias rather than gender balance and sensitivity in highlighted sections and content. Sex specific language ignored or minimized the role of one sex while emphasizing the other. It also reinforced sex stereotypes as in the alternating use of "she" and "he" and in the examples which contained either "mother" or "father".

If textbooks are to be gender sensitive and gender balanced, not just non-sexist, both inclusive and sex-specific language must be used appropriately in all parts of the book. Inclusive language is appropriate and its use is important when a concept applies equally to both females and males. Sex specific language is appropriate when addressing problems relating to gender. It is important that inclusive language not mask gender problems and that sex specific language not lead to an unbalanced presentation or the reinforcing of stereotypes.

This research suggests that identification of sexist language is not an easy matter. Pronouns are no longer an adequate indicator of sexism as in the research by Weis (1979) and Williger (1983) because they are generally used inclusively or avoided. False generic terms (VSB, 1987) have generally been replaced by inclusive words. Determining gender bias in language now must address Eichler's (1987) concern of using inclusive language to address sex specific situations. The judgement no longer depends upon the word itself but on the context within which it is used. Therefore, an understanding of gender problems is essential so appropriate judgements can be made about the use of both inclusive and sex specific language.

- ii. Are both female and male images and issues included equitably? Does the textbook reinforce the valuing system which gives more emphasis and importance to traditional male characteristics and roles than to traditional female characteristics and roles?

One of the easiest and most obvious ways of countering gender bias in texts is to attempt to balance the number of female and male images in photographs. In home economics textbook this was done by adding males. All textbooks examined came close (difference no greater than 11%) to achieving an overall sex balance in photographs. There was a greater difference when children were considered. Two of the textbooks included more male children than female children which may reflect the higher value which many cultures place on male children. There was an even greater difference when

only adolescents were considered. Two of the textbooks included more adolescent males than females. This may have been the result of attempting to include males in a traditionally female dominated area, but had the effect of placing more value on males than females. The low representation of non-white adolescents, especially females, also indicated an undervaluing of females and a lack of concern for achieving a balance which more closely reflects the racial balance of the country.

The male emphasis in one of the textbooks and the female emphasis in another was reflected by the inclusion of a greater number of solitary individuals. Traditionally women have been considered most frequently in relationship with others. It will be important to feature solitary women in photographs, but not predominantly in traditional activities as in the textbook with female emphasis. Balanced inclusion of females and males in a variety of activities, both traditional and non-traditional, could contribute to gender balance.

Another major way these textbooks dealt with gender bias was through adapting knowledge to include males. There were some examples in which information for females and males was included in a balanced way. In some highlighted sections and content, however, the emphasis on males and the shaping of knowledge from a male perspective implicitly gave more value to males.

All textbooks dealt with issues potentially relevant to gender equity. These issues were addressed factually rather than problematically. In one text, the neutralization and simplification of content minimized controversy. The other two textbooks generally shaped knowledge about relevant issues from a male more than female perspective, as in the bonding of fathers to infants and in the need for paternity leave. Although changes in the roles of women will require compensatory education for males, this concentration on males reshaped knowledge from a male perspective. As a result, fewer women's issues than men's issues were emphasized. Also, the disadvantages women suffer, such as heavier work loads in private sphere work and lower incomes in public sphere work, were minimized. The integration of both female and male concerns is essential to the achievement of gender balance.

The valuing (or lack of valuing) of women's traditional work was evident when photographs of home maintenance work were examined. It should be reasonable to expect that a textbook used in home economics would value highly the work done in homes. The most traditional home economics textbook featured far more photographs of work in homes than did the other textbooks. The textbook with the highest visibility of males gave more emphasis in photographs to family togetherness and fun than to work done in families. The third textbook includes no photographs of home maintenance work. As home economists seek to include more males in their subject,

it will be important to avoid adopting a male dominated value system which gives little emphasis to work done in the private sphere.

The low value placed on work done in homes was reflected in the content of these texts as well as in the photographs. Sharing work in homes was emphasized in one text but it was also trivialized as "fun". Another text emphasized the sharing of the nurturing role but ignored the work in caring for children and the work of home management and home maintenance. The third text included nothing about work traditionally done by women or the importance of redistributing this work. It appears that, in attempts to include males, the content was revalued and some traditional content was omitted. The problem of the dual work role of women can be ignored if work done in homes is trivialized or ignored. The achievement of gender equity will depend upon the redistribution of work in the private sphere and the valuing of this work by both females and males.

Education has traditionally been defined by males and has been related to the public sphere. Martin (1985) insists that education must no longer reproduce the split between public and private spheres. A gender balanced and gender sensitive education will include education for and about both spheres. This education is essential for all. As home economics textbooks seek to include males, knowledge must not be reshaped to exclude traditionally female experience and

knowledge.

iii. Are stereotypical roles and relationships and the dual work role of women reinforced?

All three textbooks reinforced the traditional division of labour by implicitly locating women most frequently in stereotypical roles whether in the private sphere or the public sphere. This was evident in the photographs, highlighted sections and content. In the photographs of two textbooks, more men than women were shown in public sphere work roles. Rarely did these texts portray women in occupations involving power or influence. They were most frequently portrayed in nurturing, food service, and clothing construction roles. In the third book, more women than men were pictured in occupational roles but then most frequently in traditional, nurturing roles. This textbook featured two women in non-traditional occupations but emphasized that they remained single because the work was very demanding.

In the content of the books, women's work in the public sphere was trivialized. A woman's income was considered to be secondary to a man's and she was often considered to be working for personal satisfaction. Women were portrayed as the parents who would give up public sphere work to stay home with children. The textbooks minimized the importance of women's contributions to families through work in the public sphere. The textbooks ignored the traditional socialization of women into lower paying jobs and none advocated attempting

to enter non-traditional jobs.

Stereotypical roles in the private sphere were only slightly reinforced in the photographs of two textbooks. One of these textbooks attempted to balance the number of females and males shown in home maintenance roles. However, because there are so few of these photographs, they could be considered tokens, especially when one photograph posed a woman and two children working together on incompatible construction tasks. The other textbook featured more women than men cooking and shopping for food but divided other home maintenance tasks more evenly between females and males. The third textbook avoided reinforcing the traditional division of labour by omitting home maintenance photographs altogether.

The content of the texts did not give the home management and home maintenance role explicitly to women. One text advocated the sharing of the work in the home. The other two texts suggested that couples would have to work this out in their own ways. The overall implicit message in all three texts, however, gave the major responsibility for work in the home to women.

In addition to the responsibility for home maintenance work, females were given the major responsibility for child care. This message was inconsistently implied in photographs, highlighted sections and content. The photographs and illustrations of two textbooks portray more females than

males in child care roles. The importance of this role is minimized in the third text by the use of only two photographs, one of a woman and one of a man. Women's traditional role in child care is reinforced in this book by two line drawings showing women holding children. Highlighted sections in all the textbooks implicitly reinforced the mother as major caregiver.

Content in two textbooks displayed a conflict between explicit and implicit messages about child care. Both advocated shared parenting but implicitly gave the major responsibility to women. They also contained the implicit message that mothers nurture and fathers discipline. The students were not encouraged to critically analyze the inappropriateness of assigning roles in this way. The content of the third textbook contained no explicit or implicit messages about female or male responsibility for child care. It was ignored except in the highlighted section on househusbands.

Stereotypical assignment of roles keeps women dependent on and subordinate to men. A contribution toward gender equity could be made by advocating greater role flexibility and a more equitable division of labour in both public and private spheres. Current social arrangements must be presented as problematic.

In addition to reinforcing stereotypical roles, these textbooks reinforce stereotypical relationships. This was

most evident in photographs. Women have traditionally been socialized to be passive and dependent while men are socialized to be active, responsible, and dominant.

Relationships were examined in photographs which portrayed at least one adult or adolescent of each sex. Stereotypical relationships were reinforced by two of the texts which portrayed men as both more active and more dominant. The third textbook portrayed women as active and dominant more frequently than men but only in traditional female roles. Women were not shown as more active and dominant in non-traditional roles.

Equality in relationships was mentioned but not strongly advocated in the content of these textbooks. One textbook explicitly opposed stereotyping but limited its discussion of relationships to dating. The discussion was gender neutral so that equality in relationships was not mentioned. Another book trivialized equal relationships by suggesting that they were "more fun". The third book emphasized traditions in other cultures. In these last two books, efforts were made to neutralize the content and make it value-free by accepting both patriarchal and equitable relationships. All these approaches are likely to reinforce traditional practices in relationships, keeping women dependent on men and men responsible for, and superior to women. If textbooks on relationships are to contribute to gender equity then traditional customs must be raised to the conscious level and

explicitly challenged.

The textbooks persisted in giving the image of the traditional nuclear family more visibility than the more common dual income family. None of these textbooks acknowledged the benefits of two income families or dealt with how to meet the challenges of living in them. They dealt superficially, if at all, with the problems faced by women in one parent families. The possible benefits of divorce and one parent families were ignored. Information about remarriage families and how to meet their challenges received no useful emphasis. The only example of a remarriage family used in one textbook reinforced the stereotypical roles of women and men. All emphasis was placed on families of marriage and heterosexual relationships. The importance of equity in various types of relationships was not addressed.

The reinforcing of stereotypical roles and relationships was inconsistent in the books. In the photographs, some progress was made toward changing stereotypes but the role of women in nurturing and home maintenance was somewhat reinforced. The books took tentative steps toward equity in relationships but fell far short of advocating it. Even when equity in relationships was suggested, implicit messages reinforced women's traditional roles.

A goal of the women's movement is to shift the distribution of work done in the private sphere and public sphere more equitably. All three textbooks reinforced the

stereotypical arrangement of the major responsibility in the private sphere resting with women and the major responsibility in the public sphere resting with males. The textbooks recognized women's participation in the public sphere but minimized and trivialized it. Information about relationships was neutralized and simplified so that it was not controversial and did not contribute to the transformation of social arrangements. The portrayal of roles and relationships in these textbooks was usually stereotyped and unrealistic.

iv. What does the textbook say about female and male socialization and research on gender differences?

Many problems experienced by women can be traced to the different socialization of females and males. The issue of socialization was considered in examination of highlighted sections and content. One activity in a highlighted section referred to the characteristics usually considered feminine or masculine and suggested individuals should not limit themselves in this way. Socialization was presented strictly as an individual problem rather than a social issue. Socialization was a content topic in only two books and no emphasis was placed on the different ways females and males are socialized or on the problems this may create. Socialization was mentioned as a function of the family. Much socialization is done by the media, advertising, schools, and other social institutions but it was not emphasized in the textbooks. Since parenting is a topic in home economics there

is the potential to critically address socialization. Future parents must understand the pervasive and unconscious nature of socialization and attempt to intervene so problems which females and males experience as a result of this socialization can be addressed.

Female and male differences were occasionally addressed in highlighted sections. Exposing differences is important in the achievement of gender sensitivity but none of the textbooks included enough information to be of any significance. Differences were presented factually rather than problematically. No relationship was drawn between these differences and gender socialization or the patriarchal structures of society. Gender sensitivity will require attention, not only to differences, but also to how these differences arise out of the social construction of gender and have generally placed women at a social disadvantage.

v. What position is taken on equity issues and the women's movement?

This question was explored through examining the preface, table of contents, index, highlighted sections, and content. An intention to address some issues related to gender equity was implied in the prefaces of the textbooks. The suggestions that textbooks would examine stereotyping, changing roles, the changing society, or controversial social issues created the impression that issues important to gender equity would be dealt with.

The potential to address equity issues was revealed in an examination of the index and table of contents of each textbook. The use of sex specific language in one textbook made the position more explicit. The mention of "wife abuse" in the table of contents and "divorce, and mother" as well as "divorce, and father" in the index suggested the possibility of a gender sensitive and gender balanced approach to sensitive issues. Since these textbooks used inclusive language more often than sex specific language, the position on equity issues was not clear but in all textbooks some topics relevant to gender equity were identified.

Although an intention to address equity issues was implied in the prefaces and the potential to address important equity issues was identified in the indexes and tables of contents, the perspective taken on issues, as opposed to the inclusion of issues, was determined by examination of highlighted sections and content. All three textbooks included highlighted sections dealing with issues of relevance to gender equity. Unfortunately these issues were weakly presented as if the textbooks were unwilling to take a strong stand in favour of gender equity. Even though the women's movement has had a strong impact on both society and families, none of the textbooks commented upon it in a highlighted section. Although gender equity is now embedded in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the textbooks try to maintain a neutral stance on gender equity as if it is

a topic about which a decision has not yet been made.

The content of the textbooks was examined to determine the position taken on specific issues identified by the researcher as relevant to gender equity. Day care is an example of an important issue which could be addressed in a home economics course. Equity in the public workforce cannot be achieved until adequate day care and the equal participation of men in child care releases women and men equally to participate in the public workforce. This issue received little recognition in two of the texts and was presented strictly as an individual issue, not a social one. Brief comments in the third text began to address day care as a social issue but gave very little information about problems or possible solutions.

Problems which women suffer as a result of divorce and single parenting, such as poverty, were addressed only briefly in the textbooks and were presented factually rather than problematically. How the problems were related to socialization and discrimination against women in the public workforce were not addressed. The attempted neutralization of content masked the importance of divorce and single parenting as issues with a more devastating impact on women than on men.

Woman battering is another important issue which should be addressed in a course on relationships and families. It was ignored by one textbook and masked by neutralization as

"spouse abuse" in another. The third textbook limited its discussion generally to "wife abuse" and attempted to be sensitive and balanced by presenting information for both abused females and abusing males. This textbook falls short of gender balance, however, by putting extra emphasis on males. The battering of women who are not also wives was ignored, except for one reference to "girlfriend".

Division of labour in the private sphere is an important equity issue. The work of home maintenance was trivialized by one book and basically ignored in the content of the other two books. One area in which the textbooks advocated change was the nurturing role of males. This was explicitly encouraged in all three texts. The implicit message of texts, however, was that the major responsibility for this role still goes to women. The division of work will have to be more critically examined if traditional practices are to be changed.

Women's struggles toward equity were not acknowledged by any of the textbooks in a positive and meaningful way. The Charter received brief mention in one text and the women's movement was mentioned in the chapter on being single in another. Although all textbooks acknowledged in some way that women's roles are changing, none of them advocated further change. Two of the textbooks focused upon changes in male roles. While this is important, it should not be emphasized at the expense of discussion of change in women's roles.

Traditional socialization and past discrimination cause some social problems to have a more devastating impact on women than on men. These issues will have to be addressed explicitly and critically if equity is to be achieved. Only People in Society began to substantively address some issues of importance to women but these issues were often addressed from a male perspective. All the books addressed males or attempted to be neutral rather than to take a strong stand on these issues as women's issues. Although the women's movement has gained acceptance through changes in Canadian laws, this important movement and the issues it raises were virtually ignored in these textbooks.

Three research questions were posed in exploring the ways in which home economics texts may or may not contribute to gender equity in schooling. Overall, the textbooks make little contribution to gender equity. Some steps were taken in dealing with gender bias by using inclusive language and by including males. These same steps have also introduced new forms of gender bias to the texts. None of the textbooks deal adequately with the existing differences between females and males or with issues of relevance to gender equity. All of the textbooks fall short of advocating equity or assisting in the transformation of this society to a more equitable one by encouraging critical social inquiry.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms makes gender equity an appropriate goal in education. Home economics, because of its focus on relationships among individuals, families, and society, could play a pivotal role in striving toward this goal of equity. This examination of home economics textbooks revealed that attempts are being made to address the problem of gender bias. Five approaches to the elimination of bias were detected in the textbooks analyzed in this study: inclusion of females and males, use of inclusive language, exposing female and male differences, addressing issues of relevance to gender equity, and encouraging critical thinking.

A predominant approach was to include males in order to balance the traditional female focus in home economics. The result in two of the textbooks was to give more emphasis to males and to a male perspective than to females and a female perspective. Male emphasis may be a response to gender bias which applies uniquely to home economics textbooks. This male emphasis was evident in the photographs, highlighted sections and content, and was exhibited in the following ways:

1. Males were featured in photographs more often or more decoratively and were often more active and dominant than the females.

2. Highlighted sections and content concentrated on issues relating to changes in male roles (especially nurturing) rather than on changes in women's roles or the problems which women face because of socialization and past discrimination.
3. Women's traditional work in the private sphere (except for nurturing) was given less emphasis implying a lower value.

Another predominant approach was to use inclusive language in order to be non-sexist and address a non-specific audience. The result was that differences between females and males were often ignored and problems relating to gender were masked. Inclusive language was evident in all parts of the texts except for the photographs and was exhibited in the following ways:

1. When a topic was addressed in an inclusive way knowledge was presented as gender free. Gender differences were minimized. Problems related to socialization and stereotyping were not addressed and research was reported as if it applied generally to females and males even though the research may have been done on only one sex.
2. Gender biased cultural traditions were ignored. Patriarchy remained unquestioned. Equity in relationships was acknowledged but trivialized and never strongly promoted.
3. Traditional assumptions about roles remained unquestioned perpetuating the dual work role for women.

These first two approaches were considered insufficient in contributing to gender equity. Including males led to the

reshaping of home economics from a male perspective while masking women's perspectives. Inclusive language led to the masking of important issues of gender inequity. Both of these approaches led to problems of gender bias. A gender balanced approach would mean that issues should be examined from perspectives of both women and men. A gender sensitive approach would mean explicit attention should be given to more subtle problems of bias arising from gender socialization. Both these approaches would alter the content in texts as well as the form in which knowledge is presented.

A third approach to the elimination of gender bias was to expose female and male differences. This approach was most frequently used in highlighted sections. It exhibited two problems. First, information on differences was reported factually. Since differences frequently reflect the inequality which has resulted from discrimination (as in the lower incomes of women) and socialization (as in the dual work load) and they ought to be exposed as problems, not just factual differences. Secondly, usually too little information was included about differences to be of any use. The causes of the differences related to social inequities should be questioned, and problems arising from these differences explored.

Another approach to the elimination of bias was to address issues of relevance to gender equity. Highlighted sections and content in all three books had the potential to

address important issues but none took a strong stand assisting in the achievement of gender equity. Three problems were noted in the way the textbooks dealt with equity issues. First, the texts attempted to be neutral, rather than controversial. Second, problems relating to gender were treated as individual rather than social problems. The role played by social institutions in the development of these problems was never considered. Third, issues were frequently examined from a male perspective. The most gender sensitive and gender balanced approach in an important issue was the discussion of "wife abuse" in People in Society. Even this treatment fell short of ideal because one highlighted section was directed personally ("you") to men while another referred to women impersonally ("wife"). No issues of relevance to gender equity were presented in a way that is likely to assist in the achievement of equity.

Although these last two approaches to the elimination of bias hold promise, in the textbooks examined they did not assist in progress toward gender equity. Although issues were included, the manner of presentation was unproblematic and non-controversial therefore unlikely to contribute to gender equity. This supports the research on textbooks which suggests that publishers choose to market books with a standard content avoiding controversy (Apple, 1986).

The final approach to the elimination of bias, encouraging critical thinking, was detected in only one

textbook. This approach assumes the learners are knowledgeable persons. Although this approach was not consistently present throughout the textbook and was not used to direct the student's attention to issues of gender, it fits well with the concept of critical feminist pedagogy. It therefore holds promise in the development of gender equitable texts.

The development of critical thinking skills permits learners to question current social conditions which may lead to a better understanding of the social order and the forces which affect our lives. This may encourage students to take action toward social transformation including improvement in conditions for women. Only through thinking critically about the impact of gender in this society will students become conscious of it and aware of the possibility of and need for change. If textbooks are to encourage gender sensitivity, they will need to encourage critical thinking about social issues not rote learning of facts about the existing society. Teaching must be counter-hegemonic, that is, it must question and challenge prevailing assumptions (Weiler, 1988). Gender relations are dynamic. Continued sensitivity to gender will require constant adjustment. The development of critical thinking skills will allow students to continue to develop their understanding of gender relations and work toward the achievement of gender equity.

This research contributes to research of textbooks

through its analysis of various parts of the books. A shortcoming of earlier research such as that by Weis (1979) and Williger (1983) was that they did not analyze the knowledge contained in texts. Much textbook analysis has focused on surface features such as the preface, photographs, and language. This research suggests that changing surface features of texts is insufficient in eliminating gender bias. The restructuring of knowledge requires detailed analysis of existing knowledge so that subtle bias can be detected. Therefore, the writing of unbiased textbooks requires attention, not only to surface features of a textbook, but also to the knowledge it contains.

As this research progressed the importance of careful examination of the content became evident. The preface, index and table of contents were easy to examine, but the intentions may not be carried through into the content and the topics listed may not be presented in a way that assists the progress toward gender equity. Photographs and highlighted sections catch the interest and are easily examined but may not carry the same message as the content. Because textbooks are an integral and important part of the school curriculum, the knowledge contained within them must be examined carefully and critically.

The findings of this research suggest some questions which should be asked about home economics textbooks in order to determine if they are free of gender bias. The following

questions are appropriate for teachers and administrators to use in analyzing home economics textbooks before adopting them for student use. In addition they may be helpful in guiding the preparation of textbooks.

1. Is inclusive language used in generic situations? Is sex specific language used to clarify problems arising from sex discrimination and gender socialization?
2. Are both women and men represented equitably and meaningfully in a variety of activities in both private and public spheres?
3. Are both women's issues and men's issues addressed in balanced and sensitive ways? Are issues examined from both the female and male perspectives? Are the different problems faced by women and men addressed in meaningful ways?
4. Are important issues of relevance to gender equity addressed meaningfully in the content or represented only in highlighted sections?
5. Are students encouraged to think critically about social issues and traditions?
6. Are private sphere activities and socially desirable, traditionally feminine characteristics given high value or has the emphasis shifted to public sphere activities and socially desirable, traditionally masculine characteristics?
7. Are female and male differences and the resulting problems addressed in meaningful ways?
8. Are women's struggles for equity and problems arising from

past discrimination recognized and meaningfully addressed?

9. Does the textbook advocate gender equity?

A textbook which exhibits these qualities has the potential to contribute to an education which may achieve the ideals of gender equity. The elimination of gender bias in home economics textbooks will not be achieved simply by including males and using inclusive language. While language and photographs are important, content is most important. If knowledge is a social invention reflecting the dominant perspective then knowledge can be transformed. Feminist research suggests that knowledge must be reshaped in gender balanced and gender sensitive ways so that the gender related problems of both females and males can be addressed and some progress made toward the achievement of gender equity. Development of critical thinking skills is desirable since changing gender relations require constant re-evaluation and adjustment.

Recommendations for Further Research

This research assumed home economics textbooks are used uncritically in teaching. This assumption was based on research in textbooks other than those for home economics. Further research should be directed to textbook use in home economics to determine if they are used, how much they are used, and whether they are used uncritically. The role textbooks take in shaping the curriculum in home economics is unknown.

Further research could also be directed to analyzing the current state of gender bias in home economics textbooks. The questions posed in the conclusion of this research could be applied to a larger sample of textbooks on families and relationships. To determine if these questions are useful in the analysis of all home economics textbooks, research could be expanded to include different content areas such as foods and nutrition and clothing and textiles.

Certain issues were assumed to be important in progress toward gender equity. These areas of study were derived from a review of current feminist writing. More research needs to be directed toward content which should be included in a home economics curriculum. If progress is to be made in the direction of gender equity, more dialogue is needed between feminists, home economists, and others concerned with the achievement of equity. Other biases, such as those of race, class, culture, and heterosexuality should be considered in this discussion. The content of home economics must be restructured to reflect a more realistic portrayal of Canadian society, keeping equity as a goal in this restructuring.

Another area for further study is the role of textbooks in progress toward gender equity. This research assumed textbooks have a major impact on student learning and could help to develop gender equitable attitudes and behaviors. This research suggests textbooks should explore controversial

issues and develop critical thinking skills. More attention needs to be directed to whether textbooks can be transformative and what they must be like in order to be transformative.

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Appendix A

Table 1

Presence of Gender Equity Topics in Index of Textbooks

Topic	Textbook		
	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Abuse, elderly			X
Anorexia (nervosa)		X	X
Artificial insemination			X
Babysitting		X	
Brideprice			X
Bulimia		X	X
Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms			X
Caregiving (Caregivers, role of)		X	X
Child abuse (Abuse, child)	X	X	X
Child custody	X		
Children, day-care centres			X
Children, sex-role development			X
Communications	X		
Communication and relationships		X	
Competition in marriage	X		
Conflict, resolution of			X
Conflicts		X	
Cooperation in marriage	X		
Dating, adolescent, (Courtship and dating) (Relationships, loving)	X	X	X
Delinquency	X		
Discrimination			X
Divorce	X		

Topic	Textbook		
	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Divorce, and father			X
Divorce, and mother			X
Dowry			X
Dual-earner family	X		
Erikson, Erik	X		X
Equality in Relationships	X		
Expectations in relationships	X		
Families, single parent	X		X
Families, reconstituted or blended			X
Family violence	X		
Family problems		X	
Families, types of		X	
Fathering	X		
Flexibility in relationships	X		
Freud, Sigmund			X
Home maintenance		X	
Homemaker (Homemakers, status of)		X	X
Income		X	
Joint custody	X		
Life expectancy	X		X
Marital violence	X		
Marriage		X	
Marriage, conflicts in	X		X
Marriage, changing role of			X

Topic	Textbook		
	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Marriage contract			X
Marriage, roles and tasks in	X		
Maslow, Abraham	X		X
Men			X
Money, in the dual-earner family	X		
Mothering	X		
Nurturing	X		
Parenthood			X
Parenting, shared	X		
Parenting		X	
Paternity leave			X
Piaget, Jean	X		X
Prejudice		X	X
Relationships		X	
Relationships, roles and	X		
Role making	X		
Roles, expectations	X		
Roles, marital	X		
Roles, and relationships	X		
Senior citizens, abuse			X
Senior citizens and poverty			X
Sex differences	X		
Sex role development			X
Sex role stereotyping			X

Topic	Textbook		
	<u>Family Living</u>	<u>Creative Living</u>	<u>People in Society</u>
Sex roles	x		
Sharing	x		
Socialization	x		x
Space, sharing		x	
Spouse abuse (Abuse, spousal)	x		x
Stepfathering	x		
Stepparent (Stepparenting)		x	x
Stereotypes		x	
Stereotyping, sex role			x
Suicide			x
Women			x
Work			x
Total number of topics in each book	38	19	41

Appendix A

Table 2
Number of Females and Males in Photographs in Family Living

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Front Cover	4	9	13	5	4	9	
1st Title Page	3	2	5	1	4	5	
2nd Title Page	1	4	5	2	3	5	1
Unit 1 Yourself and Others		8	8		5	5	
Ch. 1 Defining Yourself	3	5	8	3	2	5	
Ch. 2 Understanding Others	3	7	10	3	6	9	
Ch. 3 Being in Love	5		5	5		5	
Unit 2 Family Life	7	5	12	8	4	12	1
Ch. 4 Getting Married	6		6	5		5	
Ch. 5 Making Adjustments	6		6	4		4	
Ch. 6 Becoming a Family	7	5	12	6	4	10	1
Unit 3 Parenting	4	2	6	3	4	7	
Ch. 7 Having a Baby	3		3	8		8	3
Ch. 8 Growing and Learning		1	1	6	2	8	6
Ch. 9 Understanding Children	3	2	5		2	2	
Unit 4 Family Management	3	2	5	4	2	6	1
Ch. 10 Balancing Needs & Resources	1	3	4	2	3	5	2
Ch. 11 Keeping Healthy	5	2	7	8	1	9	
Ch. 12 Enjoying Good Nutrition	5	5	10	5	7	12	
Ch. 13 Managing Your Environments	8	3	11	8	1	9	
Unit 5 Families in Transition	2	2	4	3	2	5	
Ch. 14 Facing Family Changes	3	3	6	3	1	4	
Ch. 15 Resolving Family Crises	1	3	4	1	1	2	
Ch. 16 Managing Independent Living	3		3	4		4	

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Back Cover	5	8	13	6	5	11	2
Totals	91	81	172	103	63	166	17

Appendix A

Table 3
Number of Females and Males in Photographs in Creative Living

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Introduction - Focus on You					2	2	
Ch. 1 You as an Individual		2	2		4	4	
Ch. 2 Growing and Changing		4	4		2	2	
Ch. 3 What You Communicate about Yourself		3	3		1	1	
Ch. 4 What's Important to you		5	5		2	2	1
Ch. 5 Making Decisions for Now and for Your Future	1	3	4	1	2	3	
Unit 1 Your Family and Your Friends	1	1	2	1	1	2	
Ch. 6 Relationships and You	1	5	6		2	2	
Ch. 7 Families: Sharing and Caring		3	3	2	3	5	
Ch. 8 Understanding Your Family	5	2	7	6	4	10	1
Ch. 9 Sharing Problems	1	5	6		2	2	
Ch. 10 Changes in the Family		1	1	1	2	3	2
Ch. 11 Being a Friend	1	3	4		5	5	
Ch. 12 Stereotypes and Prejudice				2		2	1
Ch. 13 Making new Friends		3	3	1	5	6	5
Ch. 14 Dating and Love		4	4		3	3	
Ch. 15 Looking at Your Future	3		3	2		2	
Ch. 16 Careers that Help with Relationships	1	1	2	3	2	5	1
Unit 2 Child Care and Child Development	1		1				2
Ch. 17 Children and You	1		1	1		1	3
Ch. 18 Ages and Stages							3
Ch. 19 The Importance of Play	1		1				4
Ch. 20 Care and Safety				3	2	5	2

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Ch. 21 Babysitting: Earning and Learning				1	2	3	2
Ch. 22 Ready for Parenthood	3		3	2		2	2
Ch. 23 Careers Helping Children		7	7	3	5	8	
Unit 3 Managing and Buying		1	1	1	1	2	
Ch. 24 Management and You		10	10	1	8	9	
Ch. 25 Your Resources	3	1	4	1	4	5	
Ch. 26 Managing Your Time	1	2	3		2	2	
Ch. 27 Managing Your Money		1	1	1		1	1
Ch. 28 Saving and Borrowing	2		2				
Ch. 29 You in the Marketplace		1	1		2	2	
Ch. 30 Shopping for Price and Quality	1	2	3	1	2	3	
Ch. 31 Voicing Your Own Opinion	1		1		1	1	
Ch. 32 Being a Responsible Consumer	1	5	6				
Ch. 33 Management and Consumer-Related Careers	4	4	8				
Unit 4 Foods and Nutrition		1	1		1	1	
Ch. 34 Food and You	1		1	2	1	3	1
Ch. 35 Eating and Nutrition		1	1				
Ch. 36 Which Foods Have Which Nutrients	1		1	1	1	2	
Ch. 37 Developing Healthy Eating Habits					2	2	
Ch. 38 Fact, Fad, or Falacy	1		1	1	1	2	
Ch. 39 Planning Meals for the Home					1	1	
Ch. 40 Shopping for Food	2	1	3	1	3	4	
Ch. 41 Selecting and Storing Food:I	1		1	1	1	2	1
Ch. 42 Selecting and Storing Food:II					1	1	

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Ch. 43 Safety and Sanitation				1		1	
Ch. 44 Kitchen Utensils				1		1	
Ch. 45 Kitchen Appliances		1	1		2	2	
Ch. 46 Following Recipes				1	2	3	
Ch. 49 Serving Meals at Home and Eating Out	2		2		3	3	
Ch. 50 Careers in Food and Nutrition	2		2	1		1	
Unit 5 Clothing and Textiles				1	1	2	
Ch. 51 Clothing and You		1	1		7	7	
Ch. 52 Design and Your Appearance	1	1	2		2	2	
Ch. 53 Clothes and Fashion	1		1	2	1	3	
Ch. 55 Planning Your Wardrobe					2	2	
Ch. 56 Shopping for Clothes					2	2	
Ch. 58 Sewing Equipment				1		1	
Ch. 59 Layout, Cut, Mark	1		1				
Ch. 60 Basic Construction				1		1	
Ch. 62 Clothes Care	1	2	3	1	1	2	
Ch. 63 Redesigning and Recycling					3	3	
Ch. 64 Careers in Clothing and Textiles	1		1	9	1	10	
Unit 6 Housing and Living Space	1		1		1	1	
Ch. 65 Living Space and You					1	1	
Ch. 66 Organizing Space	1		1		2	2	
Ch. 67 Getting the Look You Want					3	3	
Ch. 68 Sharing Space		2	2		3	3	
Ch. 69 Caring for Living Space		1	1		1	1	
Ch. 70 Safety in the Home	1		1	1		1	

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Ch. 71 Energy Conservation in the Home	1	2	3		1	1	
Ch. 72 Careers in Housing	6		6	2	2	4	
Totals	58	92	150	62	124	186	34

Appendix A

Table 4
Number of Females and Males in Photographs in People in Society

Section of Book	Adult Males	Male Children	Total Males	Adult Female	Female Children	Total Females	Other
Part 1							
Ch. 1 Studying Human Behavior	5	2	7	10	0	10	1
Ch. 2 Heredity, Environment and the Individual	9	16	25	14	6	20	1
Ch. 3 Personality and the Individual	9	1	10	6	3	9	2
Part 2							
Ch. 4 Growing Up: Childhood	4	3	7	6	3	9	5
Ch. 5 Growing Up: Adolescence	13	1	14	1	4	5	
Ch. 6 Marriage	18	6	24	16	5	21	8
Ch. 7 The Family	4	5	9	5	4	9	1
Ch. 8 Aging	9	3	12	15	2	17	0
Ch. 9 Death and Dying	14	2	15	7	0	7	5
Totals	73	52	125	80	27	107	23

Appendix A

Table 5
Number of Female and Male Adolescents and Young Children in
Family Living

Section of Book	Total Children	Adolescent Males	Adolescent Females	Young Male Children	Young Female Children	Other
Front Cover	13	4	2	5	2	
1st Title Page	6	1	1	1	3	
2nd Title Page	8	3	2	1	1	1
Unit 1 Yourself & Others	13	8	5			
Ch. 1 Defining Yourself	7	5	1		1	
Ch. 2 Understanding Others	13	6	5	1	1	
Unit 2 Family Life	10	1	1	4	3	1
Ch. 6 Becoming a Family	10			5	4	1
Unit 3 Parenting	6			2	4	
Ch. 7 Having a Baby	3					3
Ch. 8 Growing & Learning	9		1	2	6	
Ch. 9 Understanding Children	4		2	2		
Unit 4 Family Management	5	1		1	2	1
Ch. 10 Balancing Needs & Resources	8	2	3	1	2	
Ch. 11 Keeping Healthy	3	1		1	1	
Ch. 12 Enjoying Good Nutrition	12	3	4	2	3	
Ch. 13 Managing Your Environments	4	2		1	1	
Unit 5 Families in Transition	4		1	2	1	
Ch. 14 Facing Family Changes	4			3	1	
Ch. 15 Resolving Family Crises	4	2		1	1	
Back Cover	15	1	1	7	4	2
Totals	161	38	25	43	38	17

Appendix A

Table 6

Number of Female and Male Adolescents and Young Children in Creative Living

Section	Total Children	Adolescent Males	Adolescent Females	Young Male Children	Young Female Children	Other
Introduction Focus on You	2		2			
Ch.1 You as an Individual	6	2	4			
Ch.2 Growing and Changing	6	4	2			
Ch.3 What You Communicate About Yourself	4	3	1			
Ch.4 What's Important to You	8	5	2			1
Ch.5 Making Decisions for Now and for Your Future	5	3	2			
Unit 1 Your Family and Your Friends	2		1	1		
Ch.6 Relationships and You	7	5	2			
Ch.7 Families: Sharing and Caring	6	2	1	1	2	
Ch.8 Understanding Your Family	7		1	2	3	1
Ch.9 Sharing Problems	7	5	2			
Ch.10 Changes in the Family	5		1	1	1	2
Ch.11 Being a Friend	8	3	5			
Ch.12 Stereotypes and Prejudice	1					1
Ch.13 Making New Friends	8	3	5			
Ch.14 Dating and Love	7	4	3			
Ch.16 Careers that Help with Relationships	4	1	1		1	1
Unit 2 Child Care and Child Development	2					2
Ch.17 Children and You	3					3
Ch.18 Ages and Stages	3					3

Section	Total Children	Adolescent Males	Adolescent Females	Young Male Children	Young Female Children	Other
Ch.19 The Importance of Play	4					4
Ch.20 Care and Safety	4				2	2
Ch.21 Babysitting: Earning and Learning	4		2			2
Ch.22 Ready for Parenthood	2				2	
Ch.23 Careers Helping Children	12	6	1	1	4	
Unit 3 Managing and Buying	2	1	1			
Ch.24 Management and You	18	2	8	8		
Ch.25 Your Resources	5	1	4			
Ch.26 Managing Your Time	4	2	2			
Ch.27 Managing Your Money	2	1				1
Ch.29 You in the Marketplace	3	1	2			
Ch.30 Shopping for Price and Quality	4	1	2	1		
Ch.31 Voicing Your Own Opinion	1		1			
Ch.32 Being a Responsible Consumer	5	5				
Ch.33 Management and Consumer-Related Careers	4	4				
Unit 4 Foods and Nutrition	2			1	1	
Ch.34 Food and You	2				1	1
Ch.35 Eating and Nutrition	1	1				
Ch.36 Which Foods Have Which Nutrients	1		1			
Ch.37 Developing Healthy Eating Habits	2		2			
Ch.38 Fact, Fad, or Fallacy	1		1			
Ch.39 Planning Meals for the Home	1		1			
Ch.40 Shopping for Food	4	1	2		1	

Section	Total Children	Adolescent Males	Adolescent Females	Young Male Children	Young Female	Other
Ch.41 Selecting and Storing Food: I	2		1			1
Ch.42 Selecting and Storing Food: II	1		1			
Ch.45 Kitchen Appliances	3	1	2			
Ch.46 Following Recipes	2		1		1	
Ch.49 Serving Meals at Home and Eating Out	3		1		2	
Unit 5 Clothing and Textiles	1		1			
Ch.51 Clothing and You	8	1	7			
Ch.52 Design and Your Appearance	3	1	2			
Ch.53 Clothes and Fashion	1		1			
Ch.55 Planning Your Wardrobe	2		2			
Ch.56 Shopping for Clothes	2		2			
Ch.62 Clothes Care	3	2	1			
Ch.63 Redesigning and Recycling	3		3			
Ch.64 Careers in Clothing and Textiles	1		1			
Unit 6 Housing and Living Space	1		1			
Ch.65 Living Space and You	1		1			
Ch.66 Organizing Space	2		2			
Ch.67 Getting the Look You Want	3		3			
Ch.68 Sharing Space	5	1	3	1		
Ch.69 Caring for Living Space	2	1	1			
Ch.71 Energy Conservation in the Home	3	2	1			
Ch.72 Careers in Housing	2		2			
Totals	243	75	105	17	19	27

Appendix A

Table 7

Number of Female and Male Adolescents and Young Children in People in Society

Section of Book	Total Children	Adolescent Males	Adolescent Females	Young Male Children	Young Female Children	Other
Part 1						
Ch.1 Studying Human Behavior	3	2				1
Ch.2 Heredity, Environment, and the Individual	20	13	3	3	3	1
Ch.3 Personality and the Individual	5	1	1		2	1
Part 2						
Ch.4 Growing Up: Childhood	9			3	3	3
Ch.5 Growing Up: Adolescence	18	9	3	5	1	
Ch. 6 Marriage	19			6	5	8
Ch. 7 The Family	10	2	1	3	3	1
Ch. 8 Aging	5		1	3	1	
Ch. 9 Death and Dying	2			2		
Totals	91	27	9	25	18	15

Appendix A

Table 8

Number of Adolescents in Family Living by "Colour" and Sex

Section of Book	Adolescent Males			Adolescent Females		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Front Cover	4	3	1	2	2	
1st Title Page	1	1		1	1	
2nd Title Page	3	2	1	2	2	
Unit 1 Yourself & Others	8	6	2	5	5	
Ch.1 Defining Yourself	5	3	2	1	1	
Ch.2 Understanding Others	6	5	1	5	5	
Unit 2 Family Life	1		1	1		1
Unit 4 Family Management	1		1			
Ch.10 Balancing Needs and Resources				2		2
Ch.11 Keeping Healthy	1	1				
Ch.12 Enjoying Good Nutrition	3	3		4	4	
Ch.13 Managing Your Environments	2	2				
Unit 5 Families in Transition				1	1	
Ch.15 Resolving Family Crises	2	2				
Back Cover	1			1	1	1
Totals	38	28	10	25	21	4

Appendix A

Table 9
Number of Adolescents in Creative Living by "Colour" and Sex

Section of Book	Adolescent Males			Adolescent Females		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Introduction Focus on You				2	2	
Ch.1 You as an Individual	2	2		4	4	
Ch.2 Growing and Changing	4	4		2	2	
Ch.3 What You Communicate About Yourself	3	3		1	1	
Ch.4 What's Important to You	5	5		2	2	
Ch.5 Making Decisions for Now and for Your Future	3	3		2	2	
Unit 1 Your Family and Your Friends				1	1	
Ch.6 Relationships and You	5	3	2	2	1	1
Ch.7 Families: Sharing and Caring	2	2		1		1
Ch.8 Understanding Your Family				1	1	
Ch.9 Sharing Problems	5	2	3	2	2	
Ch.10 Changes in the Family				1	1	
Ch.11 Being a Friend	3	3		5	5	
Ch.13 Making New Friends	3	2	1	5	5	
Ch.14 Dating and Love	4	4		3	3	
Ch.16 Careers that Help with Relationships	1	1		1	1	
Unit 2						
Ch.21 Babysitting:Earning and Learning				2	2	
Ch.23 Careers Helping Children	6	6		1		1
Unit 3 Managing and Buying	1	1		1	1	
Ch.24 Management and You	2	2		8	6	2
Ch.25 Your Resources	1	1		4	4	
Ch 26 Managing Your Time	2	2		2	2	

Section of Book	Adolescent Males			Adolescent Females		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Ch.27 Managing Your Money	1	1				
Ch.29 You in the Marketplace	1	1		2	2	
Ch.30 Shopping for Price and Quality	1	1		2	2	
Ch.31 Voicing Your Own Opinion				1		1
Ch.32 Being a Responsible Consumer	5	4	1			
Ch.33 Management and Consumer-Related Careers	4	4				
Unit 4						
Ch.35 Eating and Nutrition	1	1				
Ch.36 Which Foods Have Which Nutrients				1	1	
Ch.37 Developing Healthy Eating Habits				2	2	
Ch.38 Fact, Fad, of Fallacy				1	1	
Ch.39 Planning Meals for the Home				1	1	
Ch.40 Shopping for Food	1	1		2	2	
Ch.41 Selecting and Storing Food: I				1		1
Ch.42 Selecting and Storing Food: II				1	1	
Ch.45 Kitchen Appliances	1	1		2	2	
Ch.46 Following Recipes				1	1	
Ch.49 Serving Meals at Home and Eating Out				1	1	
Unit 5 Clothing and Textiles				1	1	
Ch.51 Clothing and You	1		1	7	4	3
Ch.52 Design and Your Appearance	1	1		2	1	1
Ch.53 Clothes and Fashion				1	1	
Ch.55 Planning Your Wardrobe				2	1	1
Ch.56 Shopping for Clothes				2	1	1
Ch.62 Clothes Care	2	2		1	1	

Section of Book	Adolescent Males			Adolescent Females		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Ch.63 Redesigning and Recycling				3	3	
Ch.64 Careers in Clothing and Textiles				1	1	
Unit 6 Housing and Living Space				1	1	
Ch.65 Living Space and You				1	1	
Ch.66 Organizing Space				2	1	1
Ch.67 Getting the Look You Want				3	3	
Ch.68 Sharing Space	1	1		3	3	
Ch.69 Caring for Living Space	1	1		1	1	
Ch.71 Energy Conservation in the Home	2	2		1	1	
Ch.72 Careers in Housing				2	2	
Totals	75	67	8	105	91	14

Appendix A

Table 10

Number of Adolescents in People in Society by "Colour" and Sex

Section of Book	Adolescent Males			Adolescent Females		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Part 1						
Ch.1 Studying Human Behavior	2	1	1			
Ch.2 Heredity, Environment, and the Individual	13	12	1	3	3	
Ch.3 Personality and the Individual	1	1		1	1	
Part 2						
Ch.5 Growing Up: Adolescence	9	8	1	3	3	
Ch.7 The Family	2	2		1	1	
Ch.8 Aging				1	1	
Totals	27	24	3	9	9	0

Appendix B

Classification of Photographs of Solitary Individuals in Family Living by Sex, Age Group, and Size of PhotographPhotographs of Females (7)Full Page Photographs - NoneSmaller than Full Page Photographs (7)

Adults (3)

- p.366 adult female working as weather forecaster
- p.366 adult female working as TV reporter
- p.370 adult female working at hobby of painting

Adolescents (2)

- p.30 adolescent female doing intelligence test
- p.314 adolescent female looking sadly contemplative

Children (2)

- p.182 female child pulling herself to her feet
- p.204 female child playing dressup

Photographs of Males (11)Full Page Photographs (4)

Adults (1)

- p.222 adult male working at computer

Adolescents (3)

- p.14 adolescent male gazing over harbour in thoughtful contemplation
- p.342 adolescent male looking unhappily or angrily contemplative
- p.360 adult male working with blender

Children - none

Smaller than Full Page Photographs (6)

Adults (5)

- p.34 male psychologist (Maslow)
- p.34 male psychologist (Piaget)
- p.34 male psychologist (Erikson)
- p.296 older adult male installing storm windows
- p.365 adult male hiking

Adolescents (1)

- p.12 adolescent male leaning on fence in thoughtful contemplation

Children - None

Not classified by Sex (1)Smaller than Full Page Photograph (1)

- p.186 child eating

Appendix C

Classification of Photographs of Solitary Individuals in Creative Living by Sex, Age Group, and Size of PhotographPhotographs of Females (48)Full Page Photographs (3)

Adults - None

Adolescents

Introduction title page - adolescent female smiling

p.470 adolescent plays grand piano

Children

p.244 girl eats

Smaller than Full Page Photographs (45)

Adults (14)

p.78 adult female flagperson

p.178 adult female welds

p.260 adult female shops for food

p.305 adult female cooks in restaurant

p.311 adult female cooks at home

p.351 adult female works as pastry chef

p.365 adult female (white) wears sari

p.381 adult female poses

p.411 adult females at industrial sewing machine

p.423 adult female at sewing machine

p.439 adult female hands care for clothing

p.452 adult female at computer in clothing or textile factory

p.457 adult female in textile mill

p.500 adult female installs smoke alarm

Adolescents (31)

p.1 adolescent female plays bagpipes

p.14 adolescent female dries hair

p.23 adolescent female does school work

p.87 adolescent female talks on telephone

p.170 adolescent female on bicycle

p.202 adolescent female shops for clothes

p.204 adolescent female shops in record store

p.209 adolescent female shops for ghetto blaster

p.261 adolescent female shops for fruit

p.280 adolescent female cooks

p.290 adolescent female shops for food

p.299 adolescent female shops for food

p.319 adolescent female cooks

p.321 adolescent female cooks over campfire

p.326 adolescent female cooks

p.344 adolescent female walks past restaurants

p.364 adolescent female looks at self in mirror

p.367 adolescent female leans on locker

p.368 adolescent female skis

p.374 adolescent female shops for clothes

p.378 adolescent female smiles (head only)

- p.382 adolescent female reads fashion catalogue
- p.391 adolescent female checks her wardrobe
- p.395 adolescent female poses in dress
- p.444 adolescent female prepares to iron
- p.446 adolescent female goes to recycled clothing store
- p.473 adolescent female reads
- p.478 adolescent female stores clothes
- p.480 adolescent female at study desk
- p.487 adolescent female hangs picture on bulletin board
- p.494 adolescent female waters plants

Photographs of Males (36)

Full Page Photographs - None

Smaller than Full Page Photographs (36)

Adults (21)

- p.57 adult male runs
- p.93 adult male poses in front of airplane
- p.151 adult male warms bottle
- p.183 adult male at drafting board
- p.194 adult male at ATM
- p.196 adult male enters bank
- p.263 adult male works in grocery store
- p.274 adult male walks past store
- p.286 adult male works in deli
- p.347 adult male serves "gourmet" food in restaurant
- p.349 adult male cooks in restaurant
- p.350 adult male wipes table in restaurant
- p.373 adult male poses (in chapter on clothing design)
- p.419 adult male cuts fabric with pattern
- p.440 adult male checks clothing care symbols
- p.457 adult male in clothing manufacturing
- p.471 adult male works on roof
- p.481 adult male hangs picture
- p.504 adult male checks heating appliance
- p.508 adult male installs insulation
- p.512 adult male repairs refrigerator

Adolescents (14)

- p.2 adolescent male smiles
- p.10 adolescent male shaves
- p.16 adolescent male wears ski clothes
- p.29 adolescent male lifts weights
- p.205 adolescent male shops in auto supply store
- p.222 adolescent male shops for clothes
- p.230 adolescent male works in clothing store
- p.192 adolescent male looks in store window
- p.253 adolescent male skis
- p.317 adolescent male cooks
- p.378 adolescent male (head only - serious)
- p.366 adolescent male puts on tie
- p.482 adolescent male puts garbage in public garbage receptacle
- p.495 adolescent male vacuums bedroom

Children (1)

p.245 boy eating

Not Classified by Sex (7)

p.18 adolescent at archery

p.117 child walking

p.123 child in walker

p.130 child with wagon

p.132 child riding on wheeled duck

p.132 child sawing

p.293 child with basket of fruit

Appendix D

Classification of Photographs of Solitary Individuals in
People in Society by Sex, Age Group and Size of PhotographPhotographs of Females (16)Full Page Photographs (1)

Adults (1)

p.226 elderly female walking

Adolescents - None

Children - None

Smaller than Full Page Photographs (15)

Adults (13)

p.41 female psychologist - posed - head only (Scarr)

p.52 tattooed Japanese female

p.53 female with anorexia nervosa

p.55 Doukhobor female participates in arson and nude protest

p.56 Inuit female - posed - head only (Freeman)

p.100 pregnant female plays music for unborn baby

p.220 former lieutenant-governor (McGibbon)

p.224 female university graduate at 75 (Morrison)

p.232 Meir - Prime Minister of Israel at 70

p.232 Katherine Hepburn - making movies after 65

p.237 impoverished elderly female in wheelchair

p.258 female actress dramatizes hara-kiri in opera

p.269 Karen Ann Quinlan

Adolescents - None

Children (0)

p.134 girl with doll

p.188 frightened girl standing in corner

Photographs of Males (16)Full Page Photographs (1)

Adults - None

Adolescents (1)

p.121 - adolescent male with spiked hair asserts individuality

Children - None

Smaller than Full Page Photographs (15)

Adults (13)

p.11 male anthropologist examines dinosaur bones

p.13 male anthropologist - posed - head only (Trigger)

p.14 male sociologist - posed - head only (Schlesenger)

p.26 male university researcher - posed - head only (Zimbardo)

p.35 male evolutionist - Posed - head only (Darwin)

p.69 male child psychiatrist - posed - head only (Erikson)

p.103 male scientist - posed - head only (Pavlov)

p.104 male psychologist - posed - head only (Skinner)

p.105 male psychologist - posed - head only (Bandura)

p.210 former governor general with tennis racquet (Michener)

p.211 older male, sitting

p.232 Reagan re-elected at 73
p.272 scientist, David Suzuki
Adolescents (2)
p.91 troubled male adolescent
Children (1)
p.125 boy imitates violent movie character

Not Classifiable by Sex (1)
p.39 hemophiliac child

Appendix E

Classification of Photographs in Family Living According to Location of Female and Male Activity

<u>Home: Indoors</u>		
<u>page</u>	Males	Females
13	3 adolescents discuss school project	2 adolescents discuss school project
36		3 adults pose for picture with baby girl
65	adolescent at table in awkward communication with parents	adult at table in awkward communication with adolescent male
	adult at table in awkward communication with adolescent male	
90	adult discusses household paper work with with adult female	adult discusses household paper work with adult male
112	adult showing female something about finances on home computer	adult looks at home computer while male shows her something
91	adult plays guitar for family gathering 7 adults sing or listen to guitarist	6 adults at family gathering sing or listen while male plays
139	older adult at family gathering plays with child on knee	girl watches older adult male
	adult at family gathering reads to girl on his knee	girl listens to male read
	one adult sitting at family gathering	3 adults sitting at family gathering
	1 boy sitting at family gathering	
126	adult plays piano at party 3 males listen to male play piano	2 adults lean on male as he plays piano
146	adult plays triangle	adult plays piano girl sings
100	adult in discussion of conflict with female	adult points finger in discussion of conflict
116	adult looks at stamp collection	adult reads book and pets cat
137	adult pours milk for girl at breakfast table	adult at breakfast table reaches out to boy
	one boy looks at other boy who looks at mother	girl watches male as he pours milk for her
149	adult holds toy for baby to look at	adult watches baby as male holds toy

Home: Indoors (con'td)

page	Males	Females
196	adult vacuums	girl dusts
182		baby girl pulls into standing position
204		small girl plays dress-up
199	adult holds boy and cat boy sits in man's lap while holding cat	
220	boy cooks with adult female	adult cooks with boy
228		adult talks to girls
		2 adolescents listen to adult female
		1 girl listens to adult female
222	adult works at home computer	
233	2 boys put jackets on for school small boy watches boys put on jackets	adult holds child as 2 boys get ready for school
262	adult eats boy eats	adult looks at girls 2 girls at table
265	boy serves food to man at table 1 adult is served food by boy 1 adult male at table	2 adults watch boy serve food 1 girl at table
283	1 adult carves at head of table 1 adult and 3 adolescents sit at table	2 adults and 4 adolescents wait while male carves
315	adult at table holds knife and boy looks at it boy at table looks at knife which male holds	adult looks at girl as she gives her salad
286	boy sands construction project	adult paints construction project as boy sands and girl measures
323	older adult places hand on woman's hand to console her	seated older adult smiles as man touches her hand
337	"single" father decorates gingerbread house with daughter	girl works on gingerbread house with father

Home: Indoors (cont'd)

page	Males	Females
348	adolescent tries to distract angry little girl little boy watches angry little girl	girl cries angrily
354	adult with clenched fist speaks angrily to female	adult listens to angry male with clenched fist
360	adult prepares food in blender	
370		single adult works on her hobby of painting

Home: Outdoors

page	Males	Females
90	2 adults interacting with children	2 adults holding children interacting with males
221	adult raking leaves adolescent gathering leaves	adult hold garbage can for collecting leaves girl plays in leaves which have been raked up
297	older adult adds storm windows to the house	
314	older adult barbequing	older adult sits while male cooks
335	boy unhappy about going to visit father	divorced adult talks to son who is unhappy about visiting father

Workplace

page	Male	Female
106	member of clergy officiating at wedding	
34	3 adult psychologists (head and shoulders)	
180		adult exercise instructor in post partum class
155		adult instructor at prenatal class
158		obstetrician
169		health care worker
366		single weather forecaster
366		single TV reporter

Community:Outdoors

page	Males	Females
14	adolescent gazes over harbour	
14	adult stands behind female	adult on honeymoon
90	adult getting married	adult getting married adult wedding attendant
290	3 adults sitting 2 adults standing at country fair	3 adults sitting 2 adults standing
310	2 adults and 2 adolescents serve and prepare food at block party	2 adults standing in food service area

Community:Indoors

page	Males	Females
155	adult at prenatal class	adult at prenatal class
158		pregnant adult listens to obstetrician
167	adult poses for picture with baby after childbirth	adult poses for picture
169		adult with baby at clinic
220	adult looks at something while shopping	adult shows male something on label

School

page	Males	Females
19	4 adolescents graduating	
30		adolescent doing intelligence test
42	adolescent running	3 adolescents running, not dressed for serious running
45	2 young adults talking but holding books	2 young adults (1 in wheelchair)
59	3 adolescents working on library research project	adolescent working on project
192	boy works on puzzle at preschool	girl works on puzzle at preschool

Recreation

page	Males	Females
12	adolescent cycling	adolescent cycling
12	3 adolescents hiking	2 adolescents hiking
12	adolescent leaning on fence of playground	
48	boy watching girl at hopscotch	girl playing hopscotch
72	adult (riding motorcycle?)	adult behind male (on motorcycle?)
75	young adult playing guitar	young adult listening to male
79	young adult	young adult spraying male with water from hose
82	young adult	young adult helps male up from ice while skating
130	older adult preparing to throw ball to girl	girl preparing to catch ball
	adult cooking at picnic	adult watching males at picnic
	adult talks to boy at picnic	adult holds child at picnic
	boy talks to adult male at picnic	
146	adult and boy with snorkeling masks on	adult helps girl in water
146	adult with girl	girl flying kite
147	adult with girl boy holds part of kite	girl on male's shoulders female holds part of kite
180		3 adults exercise with babies at a class
220	adult skating with girl and child	adult skating with girl and child
238	adult jogging adolescent jogging	adult jogging
241	adult cycling boy cycling	adult cycling girl cycling
257		2 adults jogging
257	3 senior citizens at exercise class	4 senior citizens at exercise class
316	adult holding bicycle talking to woman	adult holding dog (out walking)
365	adult hiking	
371	adult dancing	adult dancing

Location Not Identifiable: Outdoors

page	Males	Females
92	adult gazes into female's eyes	adult gazes into male's eyes
95	adult watching female	adult smiling but with downcast eyes
54	adolescent being consoled	adolescent female consoles male
85	young adult breaking up	young adult breaking up
175		adult helping child walk
206	adult male scolding boy	
315		adolescent looking discouraged or unhappy
327	2 boys examine dead bird on beach	
342	adolescent looking sadly contemplative	

Location Not Identifiable: Indoors

page	Males	Females
176		adult holding sleeping child
314		adult reading to boy

Appendix F

Classification of Photographs in Creative Living According to Location of Female and Male Activity

<u>Home: Indoors</u>		
page	Males	Females
10	adolescent shaves	
14		adolescent dries hair
23		adolescent at desk writes goals
46		adult gives girl birthday cake
51	adolescent eats at table	adult and girl eat at table
54	twin boys play violins	
66		adolescent helps girl take boots off
87		adolescent on telephone
97		adult gets child ready to go outside in winter
121	male hands bathe child	
122	older adult holds baby	
138		adult holds small baby
142		adult holds baby bottle and adolescent baby sitter holds child
144		adolescent babysitter plays with child
149		baby cradled in woman's legs
151	adult checks temperature of baby's bottle	
280		adolescent cooks
296	adult bakes bread	adult bakes bread
311		adult cooks
317	adolescent cooks	
319		adolescent cooks
323		adult and girl cook
326		adolescent cooks

Home: Indoors (cont'd)

page	Males	Females
364		adolescent looks in full length mirror
366	adolescent puts on tie	
381		adult poses - 1914
382		adolescent reads fashion magazine in bedroom
391		adolescent checks wardrobe
395		adolescent poses for photo in "simple, but well-cut dress"
418	adult cuts fabric using commercial pattern	
439		adult hands care for clothing
440	adult hands hold clothing care labels	
442	2 adolescents do laundry	
444		adolescent does ironing
470		adolescent plays piano
473		adolescent reads book
478		adolescent arranges clothing on shelves
480		adolescent works at desk
481	adult hangs picture above stereo	
484		2 adolescents sit on bed talking
487		adolescent hangs picture on bulletin board
489	boy lounges on bed	adolescent lounges on bed
490		2 adolescents clean bedroom
494		adolescent waters plants
495	adolescent vacuums	
500		adult fixes smoke alarm
508	adult installs insulation	
516		2 adolescents make bed

Home:Outdoors

page	Males	Females
48	adolescent carries groceries into house	
48	boy on bicycle	adolescent helps boy on bicycle
59		adult and girl plant flowers
132	child on wheeled duck	
132	child with toy saw	
134	adult reads to child on outside steps	
152	adult feeds baby	
159		adolescent pours drink for girl
184		2 adolescents shovel gravel
506	adolescent works on house extension another adolescent watches	adolescent works on extension

Workplace

page	Males	Females
78		young adult female does traffic control in hard hat
79		older adult does traffic control helping child
81		adult female serves food in cafeteria adolescent serves food in cafeteria
93	adult poses with airplane	
98	adult and adolescent build boat	adult and adolescent build boat
155		adult with three girls in daycare center
157	6 adolescents from boys' private school	teacher from boys' private school
170	adolescent purchases theatre tickets	adult sells theatre tickets
178		adult welder
183	adult at drafting table	
210	male retail clerk assists adolescent who shops with boy	

Workplace (cont'd)

page	Males	Females
212		adult clerk in health food store helps adolescent female
216	clerk in photo dept	adolescent gets film developed
223	clerk in corner store serves adolescent	
227	clerk shows 2 adolescent males a camera	
228	manager and worker in resaurant	
230	adolescent works in clothing store	
233	clerk in corner grocery store assists adolescent	
246	adult male watches	"waitress" assists adult girl and child watch
263	adult works in food store	
286	adult works in deli	
305		adult works in restaurant kitchen
347	adult serves in gourmet restuarant	
349	adult cooks in restaurant	
350	adult cleans table in restaurant	
351		adult pastry chef
411		adult at power sewing machine
425		adult hands at power sewing machine
452		adult works at computer in textile industry
453		6 adults work in garment factory
454		adult and adolescent check designer's garment sketch
457	adult clothes buyer checks garment	
459		adult in textiles mill
471	adult roofer in hard hat	

Workplace (cont'd)

page	Males	Females
504	adult from gas co. checks heating appliance	
511	adult talks about house	real estate agent shows house to adult male and female
512	adult repairs refrigerator	
513	4 adults work on construction site	

Community:Outdoors

page	Males	Females
21	retarded adolescent crossing street	adolescent helping retarded male
153	boy at playground	adult with boy at playground
190		adult buys cotton candy for child
192	adolescent looks in store window	
194	adult at ATM	
196	adult enters bank	
225	3 adolescents talk in front of wall covered with graffiti	
251		adolescent buys fruit at stand
274	adult walks past store	
285	adult puts groceries in car	adult puts groceries in car girl watches
287	adolescent at produce market	2 adolescents at produce market
344		adolescent walks past restaurants
398		2 adolescents shop for make-up
446		adolescent goes to clothing recycling display
450		2 adolescents deposit used articles in recycling bin
492	adolescent deposits litter in receptacle	

Community: Indoors

page	Males	Females
60	black adolescent talking in restaurant	white adolescent talks to male
88	adolescent in shopping mall	adolescent in shopping mall
173		adult with adolescent shops for clothes
179		3 adolescents prepare for theatre production
202		adolescent shops for clothes
204		adolescent shops for records
205	adolescent shops in auto supply store	
209		adolescent shops for ghetto blaster
222	adolescent shops for clothing	
260		adult shops for food
276		adolescent shops for health food
291		adolescent shops for food
299		adolescent shops for food
342	adult eats in restaurant	two girls eat in restaurant
374		adolescent shops for clothes

School

page	Males	Females
24	adolescent graduates	
25	adolescent does school work	adolescent watches male do school work
40	4 adolescents in cafeteria	
63	adolescent is reassured by teacher	
174		7 adolescents sit in school hallway talking
186	2 adolescents work on school project	
367		adolescent leans on locker
370		5 adolescents in school uniforms talking

Recreation

page	Males	Females
11	3 adolescents snowshoe	
13	2 adolescents at campfire	
29	adolescent lifts weights	
30		adolescent gets girl ready for ice skating
57	adult male runs	
74	adult and 3 adolescents prepare for climbing	3 adolescents prepare to go rock climbing
89	2 adolescents skate	adolescent skates
171		adolescent poses on bicycle
172	2 adolescents and 8 boys at the beach	
177	2 adult males run and wheelchair in race	
180	adolescent and adult watch female climb	adolescent climbs on rope
253	adolescent skis	
272		2 adolescents run
321		adolescent cooks over campfire
368		adolescent skis

Location Not Identifiable: Outdoors

page	Males	Females
1		adolescent playing bagpipes
2	adolescent smiles	
3	1 adolescent talks	2 adolescents talk
5		2 adolescents talk
8		2 adolescents lounge on lawn with others
16	adolescent wearing ski clothes smiles	
26		adult and adolescent walk
39	older adult walks with small boy	

Location Not Identifiable: Outdoors

page	Males	Females
43		2 adolescents in sleeping bags
44	adult and adolescent talk on sidewalk	
52	4 adults pose for family photo	5 adults, a girl, a baby
62	older adolescent talking to younger adolescent	
67		adult walks with child
73		2 adolescents talk
92	adolescent on bench talks	adolescent on bench talks
95	2 adults pose for wedding photo	2 adults pose for wedding photo
103		adult and girl walk through long grass
117	child walks on grass	
118		adult with child and outdoors to play
123	child in walker	
130	child pulls wagon across grass	
136		Native adult sits with girl
139		adult talks to child and small girl
148	adult poses for photo	pregnant adult poses for photo
244		girl eats corn
245	boy eats hamburger	
294	child with apples	
365		white adult wears sari
378		adolescent smiles
378	adolescent looks serious	

Location not Identifiable: Indoors

page	Males	Females
38		adolescent hugs adult
61	adolescent smokes and talks	adolescent smokes
116	adult holds baby	
126	2 children look at story book	
373	adult poses	
380	adult poses (1940s)	adult poses (1940s)

Appendix G

Classification of Photographs in People in Society According to Location of Female and Male ActivitiesHome:Indoors

page	Males	Females
39	Down's syndrome boy	two females sit with Down's syndrome boy
134		girl sits with doll
145	African adult poses with wives	three wives, girl & 2 children
154	adult teases mate	adult being teased
169	adult feeds baby and watches child	

Home:Outdoors

page	Males	Females
46	adult and boy outside ruins of house	
106		older adult and girl sit on steps
125	boy imitates movie violence	
191	adult tickles girl	girl laughs
198	2 adolescents (sons) pose	single mother poses with adolescent daughter

Workplace

page	Males	Females
7	sociologist, Emile Durkheim	
11	anthropologist	
12		anthropologist, Margaret Mead
13	antropologist, Bruce Trigger	
14	social work prof, Benjamin Schlesinger	
16		therapist, Janice Gouse-Sheese
25		poll taker
26	university prof, Philip Zimbardo	
35	evolutionist, Charles Darwin	

Workplace (cont'd)

page	Males	Females
41		psychologist, Sandra Scarr
51	two RCMP read criminal code to Haida one Haida male protesting	two Haida females protesting
56		Inuit writer, Minnie Freeman
69	psychologist, Erik Erikson	
71		Queen presenting medal
78	2 police officers arresting suffragette	suffragette
103	scientist, Pavlov	
104	psychologist, B.F. Skinner	
105	psychologist, Albert Bandura	
107		Preschool worker
143	Buddhist monk performs wedding	
151	monk watches over Romeo and Juliet (actor) Romeo gazes at Juliet	Juliet gazes at Romeo
206	male police officer	surrogate mother, Mary Beth Whitehead
210	former governor general, Roland Michener	
220		former lieutenant-governor of Ontario, Pauline McGibbon
232	president of U.S., Ronald Reagan	
232		Prime Minister of Israel, Golda Meir
232		actress, Katherine Hepburn
233	Pope John Paul II	
233		missionary, Mother Teresa
258		actress in opera
272	scientist, David Suzuki	
274	surgeon	

Community:Outdoors

page	Males	Females
55		one Doukhobor, nude protest
58	two adolescent punks	three adolescent punks lounge on sidewalk
71	adult climbs hill	adult and two girls
78		suffragette arrested
91	adolescent contemplating	
100		pregnant adult plays music to her unborn child
123	5 skinheads in front of shop	
140	groom on church steps	bride on church steps
211	older adult sitting outside shop	
221		older adult in wheelchair holds female adolescent's hand
223	older adult walks	older adult and girl
230	three older adults, sit and drink	
249	6 adults with coffin	
250	4 adults at cremation	4 adults at cremation

Community:Indoors

page	Males	Females
50	2 teenage males shop for records	
99	father with mother & baby	mother with baby & father
136	adolescent gets ready for hockey	adolescent gets ready for hockey
143	Vietnamese groom 1 adult looks on	Vietnamese bride 3 adults look on
197		adult says grace with girl
222	older adult teaches mentally deficient boy to swim	
237		adult in wheelchair knits
253	adult plays tambourine	adult plays flute for woman in hospital bed

Community:Indoors

page	Males	Females
270	father holds son in hospital another son with them	mother watches

School

page	Males	Females
19	one adult shows adolescent something on the computer	
71		adolescent graduates
224		older adult graduates from university

Recreation

page	Males	Females
58	9 adolescents play team sport	
71	adult receives a sports medal	
214		five older adults lawn bowl

Location Not Identifiable: Outdoors

page	Males	Females
53		adult with anorexia nervosa
148	father and two sons	mother poses with family
226		older woman with cane

Location Not Identifiable: Indoors

page	Males	Females
37	4 adults and 1 boy pose for photo	5 adults and 3 girls
52		Japanese tattooed woman
64	older adult identical twins	
71		adult feeds baby a bottle
102		grandmother holds baby and mother stands by her
117	adolescent smiles	adolescent leans on male, biting knuckle and smiling

Location Not Identifiable: Indoors (cont'd)

page	Males	Females
121	adolescent with spiked hair with mouse on head	
122	4 boys pose with arms around each other	
126	adolescent kisses female	adolescent kisses male
130	Stevie Wonder on drinking and driving poster	
141	3 adults, 4 boys	4 adults, 5 girls pose for family photo
157	Aristotle Onassis and 4 adults	Jacqueline Kennedy and daughter
178	adult and child	adult and boy
188		girl in corner on child abuse poster
205	Peter Woodruff and test tube sons	Susan Woodruff
269		Karen Ann Quinlan in head and shoulders photo

Appendix H

Classification of Photographs in Family Living According to Nature of Female and Male Activity Located in the HomePersonal Care - noneSchool Work

p.13 3 adolescent males and 2 adolescent females discuss school project

Guiding, Disciplining, Nurturing Children

p.65 adolescent male at table in awkward communication with parents

p.149 adult male holds toy for baby while adult female watches

p.199 adult male holds boy and cat in lap

p.228 adult female talks to young females and child

p.233 adult female holds small child as 2 boys get ready for school. Small boy watches.

p.323 older male places hand on seated older female's hand to console her. She smiles.

p.335 divorced female talks to son who is unhappy about leaving to visit father

Home Management and Home Maintenance

p.90 adult male and adult female discuss household paperwork

p.112 adult male showing female something about finances on home computer

p.196 adult male vacuums while girl dusts

p.220 adult female cooks with boy

p.221 adult and adolescent male gather leaves with adult female and girl

p.222 adult male works at home computer

p.286 adult female paints on construction project as boy sands and girl measures

p.297 adult male adds storm window to house

Conflict

p.354 adult male with clenched fist speaks angrily to adult female

p.348 adolescent male tries to distract angry little girl while little boy watches

p.100 adult female points finger at adult male in discussion of conflict

Leisure

p.36 3 adult females pose for picture with baby girl [4 generations]

p.90 2 adult males interacting with children while 2 adult females hold the children

p.91 adult male plays guitar for family gathering while 7 males and 6 females sing or listen

p.116 adult male looks at stamp collection while adult female reads book and strokes cat

p.139 family gathering

p.126 adult male plays piano at party while 2 adult females lean on his shoulders and 3 adult males listen

p.146 adult male plays triangle, adult female plays piano, girl sings

p.337 single father decorates gingerbread house with daughter

p.370 single adult female works on her hobby of painting

Eating at an Indoor Table

p.137 adult male pours milk for girl at breakfast table while adult female reaches out to boy and another boy watches

p.262 adult male and boy eat while adult female looks at girls at table and two girls look at mother

p.265 boy serves food to adult male at table while 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a girl watch

p.283 1 adult male carves at head of table while 2 adult females, 4 adolescent females, 1 adult male and 3 adolescent males wait for home to carve

p.315 adult male at table holds knife and boy looks at it while adult female looks at girl at table

Nature of Activity Unclassified

p.182 baby girl pulls into standing position

p.204 small girl plays dress-up

Appendix I

Classification of Photographs in Creative Living According to Nature of Female and Male Activity in the HomePersonal Care

- p.10 adolescent male shaves
- p.14 adolescent female dries hair
- p.364 adolescent female looks in full length mirror
- p.366 adolescent male puts on tie

School Work

- p.23 adolescent female writes at desk
- p.46 adult female gives girl birthday cake
- p.480 adolescent female at desk

Guiding, Disciplining and Nurturing Children

- p.48 adolescent female helps boy on bicycle
- p.67 adolescent female helps girl take boots off
- p.97 adult female gets child ready to go outside (winter)
- p.121 child being bathed by male hands
- p.122 older adult male holds baby
- p.138 adult female holds small baby
- p.142 adult female holds baby bottle and adolescent baby sitter holds child
- p.144 adolescent female babysitter plays with child
- p.149 adult female with baby cradled in her legs
- p.151 adult male checks temperature of baby's bottle
- p.134 adult male reads to child on outside steps
- p.152 adult male feeds baby
- p.159 adolescent female pours drink for girl

Home Management and Home Maintenance

- p.48 adolescent male carries groceries into house
- p.59 adult female and girl plant flowers
- p.184 2 adolescent females shovel gravel
- p.280 adolescent female cooks
- p.296 adult female and male bake bread
- p.311 adult female cooks
- p.317 adolescent male cooks
- p.319 adolescent female cooks
- p.323 adult female and girl cooks
- p.326 adolescent female cooks
- p.391 adolescent female checks wardrobe
- p.418 adult male cuts fabric using commercial pattern
- p.439 adult female hands care for clothing
- p.440 adult male hands hold clothing care labels
- p.442 2 adolescent males do laundry
- p.444 adolescent female does ironing
- p.478 adolescent female arranges clothing on shelves
- p.481 adult male hangs picture above stereo
- p.487 adolescent female hangs picture on bulletin board
- p.490 2 adolescent females clean bedroom
- p.494 adolescent female waters plants

Home Management and Home Maintenance (cont'd)

- p.495 adolescent male vacuums
- p.500 adult male fixes smoke alarm
- p.506 adolescent male and female work on house extension while another adolescent male watches
- p.508 adult male installs insulation
- p.516 2 adolescent females make bed

Conflict - noneLeisure

- p.51 adult female, adolescent male and girl eat at table
- p.54 twin boys play violins
- p.87 adolescent female on telephone
- p.382 adolescent female reads fashion magazine in bedroom
- p.470 adolescent female plays piano
- p.473 adolescent female reads book in bedroom
- p.484 2 adolescent females sit on bed talking
- p.489 adolescent female lounges on bed with boy
- p.132 child on wheeled duck
- p.132 child with toy saw

Eating at Indoor Table

- p.51 adult female, adolescent male and girl eat at table

Nature of Activity Unclassified

- p.381 adult female poses (1914)
- p.395 adolescent female poses for photo

Appendix J

Classification of Photographs in People in Society According to Nature of Female and Male Activity in the Home

Personal Care - none

Location Not Identifiable: Indoors - none

Schoolwork - none

Guiding, Discipling, Nurturing Children

p.39 two adult females sitting with Down's syndrome boy

p.169 adult male feeding baby and watching child

p.191 adult male tickling laughing girl

Home Management and Home Maintenance - none

Conflict - none

Leisure - none

Eating at Indoor Table - none

Nature of Activity Unclassified

p.46 adult male and boy outside ruins of house

p.106 older female and girl sit on steps

p.125 boy imitating movie violence

p.134 girl with doll

p.145 African adult male poses with three wives, girl and 2 children

p.154 adult male teases adult female mate

p.198 adult female (single mother) poses with adolescent daughter and 2 adolescent sons

Appendix K

Classification of Photographs in Family Living According to Dominance of Females and Males in ActivitiesNO DOMINANCE APPARENTHome: Indoors

- p.13 3 adolescent boys and 2 adolescent girls discuss school project
- p.65 adolescent male at table in awkward communication with adult female and adult male
- p.90 adult male and adult female discuss household paperwork
- p.146 father plays triangle while mother plays piano and girl sings
- p.116 adult male looks at stamp collection and adult female reads book and strokes cat
- p.262 adult male and boy eat while adult female looks at two girls at table
- p.315 man at table holds knife and boy looks at it while adult woman looks at girl as she gives her salad

Home : Outdoors - noneWorkplace - noneCommunity: Outdoors

- p.14 male stands behind female on honeymoon
- p.290 3 males and 3 females sit and 2 males and 2 females stand at country fair

Community: Indoors

- p.155 adult male and female at prenatal class
- p.167 adult male poses for picture with adult female and baby after child birth

School

- p.42 1 adolescent male and 3 adolescent females running but not dressed for serious running
- p.45 2 young adults males and 2 young adults females talk, holding books (1 in wheelchair)
- p.59 3 adolescent males and 1 adolescent female work on library research project
- p.192 boy and girl work on puzzle at preschool

Recreation

- p.12 adolescent male and adolescent female cycling
- p.12 3 adolescent males and 2 adolescent females hiking
- p.147 adult male with girl on shoulders and adult female and boy who each hold part of kite
- p.220 adult male and adult female skate with girl and child
- p.238 adult male, adult female and adolescent male jogging
- p.241 adult male and adult female cycling with boy and girl
- p.257 3 male and 4 female senior citizens work out at exercise class
- p.371 adult female and adult male dance

Location Not Identifiable: Outdoors

- p.92 adult female and adult male gaze into each other's eyes
- p.85 young adult female and young adult male break up

Location Not Identifiable: Indoors - noneMALE DOMINANCEHome: Indoors

- p.91 adult male plays guitar for 6 females at family gathering and 7 males sing or listen
- p.112 adult male points at computer monitor while adult female watches
- p.139 older adult male at family gathering plays with girl on knee; adult male reads to girl on his knee; one adult male, 3 adult females and 1 boy sit at family gathering
- p.126 adult male plays piano at party while 2 adult females lean on his shoulders, 3 males listen
- p.137 adult male pours milk for girl at breakfast table while adult female at breakfast table reaches out to one of two boys
- p.149 adult male holds toy for baby as adult female watches
- p.265 boy serves food to adult male at table, 2 adult females, 1 adult male, 1 girl wait to be served
- p.283 1 adult male carves at head of table while 2 adult females, 4 adolescent females, 1 adult male and 3 adolescent males sit at table waiting for man to carve
- p.323 older male places hand on the hand of seated older female who smiles
- p.354 adult male with clenched fist speaks angrily to adult female

Home: outdoors

- p.90 2 adult males interacting with children while 2 adult females hold the children
- p.221 adult male rakes leaves while adolescent male gathers leaves and adult female hold garbage can for collecting leaves and girl plays in leaves which have been raked
- p.314 older male cooks at barbeque while older female sits

Workplace

- p.106 male member of clergy officiates at wedding ceremony

Community: Outdoors

- p.310 2 adult males and 2 adolescent males serve and prepare food at block barbeque party while 2 adult females stand in food service area

Community: Indoors - noneSchool - noneRecreation

- p.72 adult male riding motorcycle (?) with adult female riding behind
- p.75 young adult male plays guitar while young adult female listens
- p.130 older male prepares to throw ball as girl prepares to catch ball; male cooks at picnic while adult female watches; adult male talks to boy at picnic; adult female holds child at picnic
- p.146 adult male and boy with snorkeling masks on and adult female helps girl in water
- p.316 adult male holding bicycle talks to adult female who holds dog

Location Not Identifiable

- p.95 adult male watches female who smiles but with downcast eyes

FEMALE DOMINANCEHome: Indoors

p.100 adult female points finger at adult male in discussion of conflict

Home: Outdoors - noneWorkplace - noneCommunity: Outdoors - noneCommunity: Indoors

p.220 adult female shows adult male something on label while shopping

School - noneRecreation

p.79 young adult female sprays water on young adult male with hose

p.82 young adult female helps young adult male up from ice while skating

Location Not Identifiable

p.54 adolescent female consoles adolescent male

Appendix L

Classification of Photographs in Creative Living According to Dominance of Females and Males in ActivitiesNO DOMINANCE APPARENTHome: Indoors

- p.51 adolescent male eats at table with adult female and girl
- p.296 adult female and adult male bake bread
- p.489 adolescent female and boy lounge on bed

Home: Outdoors

- p.506 adolescent female and male work on house extension while another male adolescent watches

Workplace

- p.98 adult female and male and adolescent female and male build boat

Community: Outdoors

- p.285 adult female and male put groceries in car while girl watches

Community: Indoors

- p.60 black adolescent male and white adolescent female talk in restaurant
- p.88 adolescent female and male shop in mall

School - noneRecreation

- p.74 adult male, 3 adolescent males and 3 females adolescent prepare to go rock climbing
- p.89 2 adolescent males and adolescent female skate

Location Not Identifiable: Outdoors

- p.3 1 adolescent male and 2 adolescents females talk
- p.92 adolescent male and adolescent female on bench talking
- p.95 2 adult females and 2 adult males pose for wedding photo
- p.148 adult male and pregnant adult female pose for photo

Location Not Identifiable: Indoors

- p.61 adolescent female and adolescent male smoking and talking

MALE DOMINANCEHome: Indoors - noneHome: Outdoors - noneWorkplace - noneCommunity: Outdoors - noneCommunity: Indoors - noneSchool

p.25 adolescent male doing school while adolescent female watches

Recreation - noneLocation not Identifiable - noneFEMALE DOMINANCEHome: Indoors - noneHome: Outdoors - noneWorkplace

p.21 adolescent female helps retarded adolescent male cross street

p.157 female teacher discusses display with 6 adolescent males from private school

p.170 adult female sells theatre tickets to adolescent male

p.246 waitress assists adult female while adult male, girl and child watch

p.287 adolescent female points out produce to adolescent female and male at outdoor produce market

p.180 adolescent female climbs on rope while adult and adolescent male watch

Community: Outdoors - noneCommunity: Indoors - noneSchool - noneRecreation - noneLocation not Identifiable - none

Appendix M

Classification of Photographs in People in Society According to Dominance of Females and Males in ActivitiesNO DOMINANCE APPARENTHome: Indoors

p.145 African man poses with three wives

Home: Outdoors - noneWorkplace - noneCommunity: Outdoors

p.58 Punk teenages lounge on sidewalk
 p.71 Queen presents medal to athlete
 p.71 male and female with children climbing a hill
 p.99 father and mother pose with new baby
 p.140 bride and groom come down church steps
 p.223 older adult female and male walk with child
 p.250 four males and three females at cremation of I. Ghandi

Community: Indoors

p.136 adolescent female and male get ready to play hockey
 p.250 bride and groom at Vietnamese wedding
 p.253 female and male visit with sick female in hospital
 p.270 Dawsons visit with Stephen at Childrens' Hospital

School - noneRecreation - noneLocation Not Identifiable

p.37 4 males and 5 females pose for photo with many children
 p.141 3 males and 4 females pose for photo with many children
 p.148 female and male pose with two children
 p.151 Romeo and Juliet gaze into each others eyes
 p.157 Jacqueline Kennedy walks with Onassis and others
 p.178 mother and father hold two children
 p.198 single mother poses with 2 adolescent sons and daughter
 p.205 mother and father hold "test tube" twins

MALE DOMINANCE

Home: Indoors - none

Home: Outdoors - none

Community: Outdoors

- p.51 2 RCMP officers with to 2 females and one male
- p.71 adult male and adolescent female smile at one another at her graduation, adult female watches
- p.78 2 police officers (male) arrest suffragette
- p.17 female adolescent leans on male's shoulder (biting knuckle)
- p.54 adult male teases adult female
- p.206 male police officer escorts Mary Beth Whitehead
- p.270 Mr.Dawson holds Stephen at Childrens' Hospital, mother sits beside him

Community: Indoors - none

School - none

Recreation - none

Location not Identifiable - none

FEMALE DOMINANCE - none