

GENDER STEREOTYPING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

by

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ABSTRACT

The problem under investigation in this study is whether gender stereotyping exists in elementary school textbooks, and if it does, is there any change in the sex-typed images of males and females between the 1960's and the 1980's?

Research on sexism in textbooks was more prevalent during the 1960's and 1970's. Since then, there has been a declining interest in the topic as researchers have turned their attention to other problem areas. One of the reasons for this declining interest is the belief that curriculum content has become more diverse and less stereotyped.

This study involves an empirical investigation of differences in the portrayal of male and female characters in grade one elementary school textbooks using the method of content analysis. Twenty two textbooks were selected from the Prescribed, Authorized and Recommended material produced by the B.C. Ministry of Education. All human and human-like characters were coded and analyzed.

The results indicate the presence of gender stereotyping in all three decades and support the findings of previous studies. The results of this study also show gender stereotyping of adult characters to be much more prevalent than it is for child characters. The portrayal of

child characters is less stereotyped in the 1980's than in the 1960's and 1970's. However, gender stereotyping of adult characters is, in some cases, more prevalent in the 1980's than in the 1960's and 1970's. Overall, the results show us that children in the 1980's are still reading textbooks that show significant gender stereotyping.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The most basic organizing principle of our society is gender. At birth babies are labelled male or female based on their reproductive organs. However, throughout the course of their lives the labels male and female will take on new meanings. Children will learn very early on in life that males and females look different, dress differently, behave differently, and do different types of work and activities. Over time boys and girls will 'learn' to be like the men and women around them. This study investigates one of the ways children learn to become women and men. Children learn this knowledge through the process of gender socialization carried out by various social agencies. The focus of this research is on an important component of gender socialization, gender stereotyping in the school curriculum.

The problem under investigation in this study is whether gender stereotyping exists in elementary school readers, and if it does, is there any change in the sex-typed images of males and females between the 1960's and the 1980's? Gender stereotyping in elementary school textbooks

was a popular topic in the late 1960's and early 1970's when the feminist movement was gaining momentum and more attention was being given to women's concerns. In the early 1970's the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970) published a report which documented the unequal position of women in Canadian society. A section of this report echoed the concerns of feminists and other researchers studying the blatant sexism in educational and other reading materials. The commission concluded that the images in textbooks ignore or underplay female potential and that these textbooks do not provide challenging role models for young girls. The same conclusions were found in study after study (Batcher et al., 1987; Britton, 1973; Graebner, 1972; Lorimer et al., 1978; Saario et al., 1973). In the later part of the 1970's governments and publishers attempted to deal with the problem of sexism in textbooks. Guidelines were published advising authors of what to include and what to eliminate and changes were made in both the language of the text and the illustrations.

Much of this earlier research focused on sexism¹ in textbooks. Researchers were concerned that there was an unequal balance of male and female roles, females were not

¹ Previous research used other terms such as sexism, sex-role stereotyping and sex stereotyping.

represented in equal numbers, and they were portrayed in limited roles and occupations. The conclusion drawn was that more roles were needed for female characters. Many of these researchers approached the problem of gender stereotyping in textbooks from a liberal feminist tradition. They argued that there were no differences between men and women and that gender inequality stemmed from socialization processes in schools and other social agencies. This approach maintains that women's equal opportunity should not be impeded by gender (Saunders, 1988).

The major criticism of this approach is that it does not explain why girls and boys are socialized into traditional values. It does not explain, or even attempt to explain, who benefits from this socialization process. It assumes that there is nothing wrong with the social system and that we only need to alter the socialization process so that gender will not impede equality of opportunity. This limited view of the world makes it difficult to understand the whole process of gender inequality (Acker, 1987; Glazer, 1987; Walby, 1990). In order to bring about effective change we need to understand the process of how things come to be as they are, who benefits, how they benefit, and how the system is maintained. The socialist feminist approach taken in this study allows us to examine how gender

inequality works in an industrial capitalist society. Although industrialization did not cause gender inequality, gender relations were transformed under this system, making gender inequality a fundamental feature of industrial capitalist societies.

Gender inequality refers to the unequal position of males and females in society. Relations between males and females take on different forms in different societies, but in Canada, as in most other societies, gender relations are defined by relations of male domination and female subordination. The prevalence of gender inequality is often hidden in liberal assumptions of equality of opportunity. It is assumed that every individual in Canada has the same opportunities to advance and become successful. It is often argued that women can do whatever they choose, and that, especially now with legislation protecting women and other minority groups from discrimination, there is nothing preventing women from achieving the same life style and success as men. However, when one looks at what it is that women are doing, certain patterns emerge that are difficult to explain using a liberal individualist argument. For instance, an examination of female labour force participation shows that women are segregated into female concentrated jobs and that women's jobs are paid lower

wages, offer fewer benefits, and lack job security relative to men's jobs. An analysis of the division of labour in the home will also show that women and men are not participating on equal terms. Women still carry the burden of doing most of the domestic tasks, including child care. The question that arises is how can women perform their domestic tasks if they are working in the labour force, and how can women work in the labour force if they are responsible for maintaining a household and raising children? The answer is that most women do both. However, the conditions in one sphere reinforce and perpetuate their subordinate position in the other sphere and vice versa.

Many women are aware of the contradictions in their lives that arise from their position in society, however, they are bombarded with an ideology that justifies the system by making the differences between males and females appear natural. The ideas and beliefs reinforcing this ideology are reinforced and legitimated through various agencies. The education system is one such agency used to indoctrinate children with specific sets of gender definitions and relations (Arnot, 1982). The images in school textbooks are one of the ways of communicating to children how males and females are supposed to behave.

This study examines how male dominance and female subordination are maintained and legitimated through the education system. One of the primary roles of the school is the socialization of children (Saario et al., 1973). The classification system of schools maintains different activities, interests and expectations for boys and girls. Specific sets of gender definitions and relations are transmitted in schools (Arnot, 1982) which are significant to the process of gender socialization. Textbooks play a significant role in the gender socialization of young children because they are a vehicle for presenting the social values and beliefs (Weitzman et al., 1976) about males and females that prepare children for their adult roles.

This study involves an empirical investigation of differences in the portrayal of male and female characters in grade one elementary school textbooks over three decades. A quantitative analysis of gender stereotypes in textbooks used in B.C. schools during the 1960's, 1970's and the 1980's was undertaken. These three decades were selected because they represent the decade prior to the resurgence of the feminist movement, the decade of concern with gender stereotyping in textbooks in the 1970's and the decade that brings us up to the present, enabling us to examine any

changes that may have resulted since the issue first emerged.

The method of content analysis was used on a sample of 22 textbooks selected from the list of Prescribed, Authorized and Recommended material produced by the B.C. Ministry of Education. Each page was examined and all individual human and human-like adult and child characters were coded for the following categories: numerical representation, environment, behaviour, emotion, physical participation, occupation, activity, playthings, level of physical activity, interactions, family relationship, and marital status.

The information is presented in contingency tables and the following comparisons were made for all appropriate variables: adult males and females in all three decades; child males and females in all three decades; adult characters over all three decades; and child characters over all three decades. The comparisons were made to determine the presence of gender stereotyping and to determine if there was any change in the presentation of characters from the 1960's to the 1980's.

The findings indicate the presence of gender stereotyping in all three decades. The results show gender stereotyping of adult characters to be much more prevalent

than it is for child characters, and furthermore, adult characters do not improve from the 1960's to the 1980's as do representations of child characters. The illustrations of the activities, physical activity and playthings for children become more diverse and less gender based from the 1960's to the 1980's. The pattern for the adult characters is somewhat different. The portrayal of female adult characters becomes more diverse from the 1960's to the 1970's but gender stereotypes in the 1980's textbooks are more prevalent than the 1970's-- with the exception of labour force participation and range of occupations.

Overall, the results support the findings of other studies of gender stereotyping in textbooks and other literary material. Children in the 1980's are still reading textbooks that show significant gender stereotyping. These stereotypes do not provide positive role models for female children, and further, they reinforce the gender divisions in society by reinforcing traditional notions of masculinity and femininity.

This thesis is organized in the following manner. Chapter two will provide a general overview of relevant theories of education. The focus will be on socialist feminist theories of reproduction for its critical approach to education and the role of education in gender

socialization. A socialist feminist approach shows how schools construct and transmit definitions of gender that legitimate the present social system of male domination. Chapter three will review previous research dealing with gender differences and gender stereotyping in textbooks. Chapter four will outline the questions guiding the research and the methodological procedures used to collect the data. Chapter five provides a detailed discussion of the changes in gender stereotyping over the past three decades. Chapter six concludes with a discussion of the significance of these findings for gender socialization and women's roles in Canadian society.

CHAPTER TWO

The Social Construction of Gender

The different portrayal of males and females in textbooks is a reflection of an unequal social system which is organized on the basis of gender¹. This portrayal contributes to the production of different and unequal worlds for men and women. Traditionally the field of the sociology of education has examined class inequalities and only recently begun to explore the relationship of class, race, gender and education. The first section of this chapter will briefly outline relevant aspects from the sociology of education. The focus will be on the socialist feminist approach to education, which looks at how schools construct and transmit definitions of gender. The second section will add to the importance of this by looking at how gender is a structuring process, rather than as simply two categories of male and female. Gender is a pattern of power relations (Hall, 1985; Houston, 1985) which are organized in a way that accords more power to men than to women. The third section will discuss the societal division of labour

¹ Society is also divided along race and class lines.

which is one of the most fundamental structuring processes tied to male dominance and female subordination. The fourth section will provide a brief discussion of the socialization process in order to explore how it is that individuals learn their positions within this structure. The fifth section explains the importance of education in the process of gender socialization, focusing specifically on the role of school textbooks.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

The most popular approaches to the study of education, knowledge and curriculum are interpretative and neo-marxist. The interpretative approach combines aspects of social phenomenology and symbolic interactionism and is frequently referred to as the 'new' sociology of education (Burgess, 1986). Micro-theories of phenomenology and macro-theories of neo-marxism provide a valuable contribution to our understanding of inequality. Phenomenological studies demonstrate how reality is sustained at a micro-level, while the neo-marxist and other macro-theories make the connection between education and the wider social structure (Whitty, 1985). Phenomenology or the 'new' sociology of education

was the popular theory of the early 1970's. The focus of analysis was on the social construction of knowledge and reality. Education theorists focused on small scale social structures, studying what went on in schools and classrooms, as well as the content of the curriculum (Burgess, 1986). However, several theorists are critical of this approach. For instance, Geoff Whitty (1985:22) claims that:

The overemphasis on the notion that reality was socially constructed had led to the neglect of any consideration of how and why reality came to be constructed in particular ways and how and why particular constructions of reality seemed to have the power to resist subversion.

Weiler is also critical of the interpretative approach for ignoring the material and ideological forces of production and for assuming that "once the socially constructed nature of knowledge was recognized, material reality and power relations would be transformed" (1988:12).

Criticisms of the phenomenological approach to the study of education developed out of the neo-marxist approaches that emerged during the mid to late 1970's. This perspective, known as critical education theory, focused on macro-structures as well as the micro (Burgess, 1986).

Critical education theorists were concerned with issues regarding the relationship between education and social structure (Burgess, 1986 and Whitty, 1985)².

Reproduction theory is one version of the neo-marxist approach which has been particularly influential in the field of education³. Reproduction theory is concerned with the ways the education system reproduces the system of capitalism. Social reproduction and cultural reproduction are two types of reproduction theory. Social reproduction theories focus on the "way in which the economic base reproduces and is reproduced by the ideological superstructure" (Burgess, 1986:205). Social reproduction theories have been criticized for ignoring the cultural reproduction of class relations and for the ways it recreates the 'cultural capital' (Burgess, 1986).

Cultural reproduction theory developed out of these concerns. Emphasis of this approach is on the ways the class structure is legitimated and reproduced "through variable access to knowledge and use of language" (Weiler,

² For a more detailed discussion of neo-marxist approaches to education see Whitty (1985) and Burgess (1986).

³ See Weiler (1988) for a critique of reproduction theory and a description of production theory which developed out of the criticisms.

1988:9)⁴. This culturalist approach to the study of the reproductive role of education is referred to as the sociology of school knowledge or sociology of curriculum. According to Apple and Weis (1985), the focus of this research is on the "dialectical inter-connections among relations of domination and exploitation, cultural form and content, and dominant modes of production" (p.52).

This approach links the actual knowledge found in schools to the structural relations of domination and subordination. The information transmitted in the school is not regarded as neutral. Rather, it is seen in an ideological context which functions to recreate the relations of domination and subordination (Apple and Weis, 1985).

Apple and Weis believe it is important to study not just how a student can acquire more knowledge but also how and why particular social and cultural aspects of the culture, and not others, are presented in the schools as objective knowledge. This type of inquiry makes educational knowledge itself problematic and requires that greater attention be paid to the curriculum, where the knowledge comes from and whose interests it supports. As Apple and

⁴ The work of Bourdieu and Bernstein are example of this approach.

Weis (1986:27) state, "there is a strong relationship between ideology and the knowledge and practices of education. Ideology does have power, through both what it includes and what it excludes. It does position people within wider relations of domination and exploitation." School curriculum, therefore, operates as a set of ideological practices.

The contribution of the 'new' sociology of education and critical education theory to our understanding of inequality is valuable and should not be underestimated. However, while they are valuable in their own right, they are nonetheless gender blind⁵. For instance, reproduction theories tend to ignore gender as a set of power relations (Porter, 1986) because of their strict focus on social class relations. Recently sociology has begun to recognize the importance of race and gender as contributing to patterns of inequality (Burgess, 1986).

⁵ One contribution from neo-marxist theories of education to the understanding of gender inequality is that these theories show how the causes of school failure are attributed to the processes and objectives of social institutions rather than to the motivations and abilities of individuals (Stromquist, 1990).

FEMINIST THEORIES OF EDUCATION

While critical education theorists are concerned with the production and reproduction of class through schooling under capitalism, feminist theorists are concerned with the production and reproduction of gender under a system of patriarchy; very little work has been done to examine the production and reproduction of gender through schooling (Weiler, 1988). Weiler argues for the need to integrate critical education theory with feminist theory in order to address relations of gender and schooling. Feminist theories focus on women's inequality and subordinate status. Socialist feminist theories of education have integrated these two theoretical approaches.

Socialist feminism⁶, a synthesis of both Marxist feminism and Radical feminism, places a strong emphasis on the ways in which capitalism and patriarchy reinforce each other and on the need to struggle to abolish both systems (Jagger and Struhl, 1978). Where socialist feminists differ from marxist and radical feminists is in their belief that both patriarchy and capitalism are important to an understanding of women's oppression. Socialist feminists

⁶ Also referred to as "dual systems theory"

incorporate from radical feminism the understanding that cultural institutions play a significant role in oppressing women, but they insist that these institutions be analyzed within the context of a class society (Jagger and Struhl, 1978).

Much of the research done in the area of gender and education over the past three decades, especially the literature from the 1960's and 1970's, came out of the liberal feminist tradition (Acker, 1987; Weiler, 1988). The major concerns for liberal feminists are equality of opportunity, socialization, sex-stereotyping and sex discrimination (Acker, 1987). Liberal feminism, dominated by the sex-role socialization paradigm (Stromquist, 1990), has contributed to the analysis of schools by outlining and exposing the sex bias in curriculum and in school practices (Weiler, 1988). Gender inequality was attributed to the socialization processes of the school, the media or the family (Glazer, 1987; Stromquist, 1990). Acker (1987:423-24) summarizes the position of liberal feminists on the role of socialization and gender inequality:

Girls (and boys) are thought to be socialized (by the family, the school, the media) into traditional attitudes and orientations which limit their futures unnecessarily to sex stereotyped occupational and family roles. At the same time, socialization encourages patterns of interpersonal relationships between the sexes which disadvantage females, who are placed in a position of dependency and deference, and also males, who are forced to suppress their emotional and caring potential.

Critics of the liberal feminist approach (Acker, 1987; Glazer, 1987; Stromquist, 1990; Walby, 1990; Weiler, 1988) argue that this approach is too narrow and does not treat the underlying causes of gender inequality. For instance, it does not explain why males and females are given different messages in schools. Glazer (1987) believes that liberal feminism overlooks capitalism as a source and sustainer of women's oppression. This criticism is derived from the rationale of liberalism itself. Liberalism emphasizes equality of opportunity in a fair and just social system. Liberal feminists claim that not all individuals can attain the same levels of achievement. However, they argue that gender should not be a criterion for determining one's opportunity to achieve (Jagger and Struhl, 1978). The liberal approach has also been criticized for its focus on individual attitudes which tend to psychological reductionism, blaming the victim for her lack of perception

or confidence (Connell, 1985 in Acker, 1987:425). The strength of the liberal feminist approach to education is, however, in its documentation of gender discrimination and its analysis of sexist books and practices (Weiler, 1988).

Socialist feminism takes a critical approach to address the shortcomings of liberal feminist theory. Socialist feminist theory focuses on women's oppression and on the nature of women's work in both the public sphere (economy) and the private domestic sphere (home). A socialist feminist analysis of education focuses on the ways in which the education system reproduces the gender divisions within a capitalist society (Acker, 1987). According to Stromquist (1990:146) a socialist feminist analysis of education would view:

...schools as a site for the reproduction of women's oppression as workers and women. As workers, they are needed for the maintenance of an inexpensive labour force; as women, they are indoctrinated to accept the sexual division of labour that assigns women motherhood and domestic roles (p. 146).

Fundamental to any socialist feminist analysis of women and schooling is the relationship between gender as an ideology and as women's role in production. According to Weiler

(1988: 32), it is important to study the way "schools work ideologically to prepare girls to accept their role as low paid or unpaid workers in capitalism" . One of the ways in which schools prepare children to accept their position in society is tied to sexist texts and discriminatory practices in the schools; these are examined for the overt and hidden assumptions about women and their role in the economy (Weiler, 1988).

Arnot (1982)⁷ has developed a socialist feminist theory of education which is critical of social and cultural reproduction theories for failing to incorporate gender into their analysis of the reproduction of social relations. Her research points to the ways these existing theories of education need to recognize the way schools construct, modify and transmit definitions of gender and gender relations. While she herself is critical of reproduction theorists, her own socialist feminist theory follows primarily from this tradition (Weiler, 1988).

Arnot refers to the work of Althusser as well as Bowles and Gintis for their contribution to the understanding of the role of education in the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production. She pays particular attention to

⁷ Arnot (1982) and Macdonald (1980) are the same person.

Althusser's distinction between the reproduction of the labour force and reproduction of the social relations of production. However, Arnot points to some weakness in their work when it comes to the reproduction of gender relations. She is critical of the work of Bowles and Gintis for glossing over the sex-segregated nature of the labour force. Bowles and Gintis (1976) focus on labour market segregation as a division between primary and secondary labour markets and, further, they classify women as just another minority group within the secondary sector (in MacDonald, 1980: 15). In doing this they fail to acknowledge the significance of the sexual division of labour as an organizing principle in the work process. According to MacDonald (1980:15), labour market segmentation "is one of the most significant features of the integration of the sexual division of labour and in particular of the patriarchal power structures within the very nature of the capitalist formation." Therefore, it is important to recognize that the pattern of employment for women is different from that of men.

There are certain advantages for capital in hiring women within certain sectors of the labour force; these advantages stem from the dual location of women in the home and the labour force. For example, women are often drawn into the labour force to fill demands for labour, such as during

World War Two. When there is no need for female labour, they are encouraged or forced to leave the labour force through such measures as government legislation. In this sense women act as a reserve army of labour. Women are able to move in and out of the labour force because of the role they have in the household as wife and mother. However, according to MacDonald (1980:16) this also creates a dilemma for capital since the hiring of married women threatens their performance as domestic labourers within the family unit:

The separation of waged from domestic labour, of production from consumption, of the economy from family life is not merely a facet of the development of capitalism but also constitutes one of the elements of the process of reproduction of that system. Women's services within the family as wife, mother, servant, therapist, etc. are critical aspects of the reproduction of the labour force.

Hence, MacDonald concludes that the central feature of women's position under capitalism is their dual and contradictory role as domestic and wage labourers.

MacDonald is critical of Althusser for failing to mention the ways that patriarchal ideology is transmitted in schools; Althusser focuses primarily on how the class structure and class power relations are reproduced by the

transmission of the ideology of the ruling class. Similarly, she also criticizes Bowles and Gintis for not recognizing "the correspondence between the patriarchal authority structures and the hierarchy of male over female within the social relations of the school and of the work processes" (1980:20).

In her later work, Arnot uses the concept of male hegemony to understand female oppression. Male hegemony should be looked at "as a whole series of separate 'moments' through which women have come to accept a male-dominated culture, its legality, and their subordination to it and in it" (Arnot, 1982:64). Arnot tries to move beyond the deterministic nature of social and cultural reproduction theories and does so by focusing on the concept of hegemony⁸ rather than reproduction in her analysis. She argues:

By putting the concept of hegemony rather than 'reproduction' at the fore of analysis of class and gender, it is less easy in doing research to forget the active nature of the learning process, the existence of dialectic relations, of power struggles, and points of conflict, the range of alternative practices which may exist inside, or exist outside and be brought into, the school (1982:66).

⁸ Arnot (1982) refers to hegemony as a range of structures and activities as well as values, attitudes and beliefs, all of which support the established order and the class and male interests which dominated it (p. 66).

The power of dominant interests is never totally secure; the cultural hegemony must be continually struggled for and won.

In order to understand the ways in which women come to "accept" their place within capitalism (i.e., within the family and the labour force), Arnot says we need to investigate the processes of gender construction. She uses Bernstein's theory of cultural reproduction to accomplish this. While she is critical of Bernstein's work for not addressing gender differentiation in schooling, she believes his theory provides the tools for such an analysis.

Arnot uses the concept of gender code to illustrate the role of schools in the reproduction of the sexual division of labour. She argues that the concept of gender code relates well to the concept of hegemony because both concepts "refer to the social organization of family and school where attempts to 'win over' each new generation to particular definitions of masculinity and femininity" are made (Arnot, 1982:80).

The dominance of males over females is legitimated by an ideology of gender differences which are manifested in the structural divisions of men's and women's lives. This gender ideology is founded on a theory of natural divisions and it hides the fact that gender is socially constructed

within the context of class and gender power relations (Arnot, 1982). Porter (1986) also claims that the idea of biology as destiny for women is one of the most important parts of the hegemonic ideology that is perpetuated by the dominant group.

One of the means by which the dominant class and sex get 'consent' and thereby power is through the education system. The bourgeoisie (the dominant form of male hegemony) have appropriated the education system for themselves (Arnot, 1982). Male hegemony is maintained through schools where it is easy to transmit a specific set of gender definitions, relations and differences while appearing neutral. The classification system of the school maintains different activities, interests and expectations for the two sexes and it also determines the relations and hierarchies between them.

In order to show how the separation of home and work relates to the production of gender differences, Arnot argues that the bourgeois family form that developed during the 19th century was a social construction, out of which emerged the segregation of men and women. The bourgeois family form consisted of a male "breadwinner" and his dependent housekeeping wife and children. This division was made equivalent to and imposed on the division between the

public world of production and the private world of consumption. Arnot (1982:83) claims that:

The structural imposition of the gender classification upon this other division unites the hierarchy of class relations with that of gender relations since it allows for the exploitation of women by both men and capital. Hence the productive world becomes "masculine" even though so many women work within it, and the family world becomes "feminine" even though men partner women in building a home.

This ideological division between work and family is part of bourgeois hegemony. Boys and girls must learn the different relations of this bourgeois classification of male and female spheres and of the public and private spheres and one of the means by which this is accomplished is through the education system. Arnot argues for the need to look at how schools construct these particular relationships and how they prepare boys and girls in different ways for their destinations within these spheres.

Feminist reproduction theory⁹ has been criticized for the same reasons as reproduction theory. It fails to

⁹ The decision to use feminist reproduction theory as opposed to resistance theory is due to the nature of the study. The focus is on the relationship of gender as an

address humans as active agents with a consciousness and a capacity to resist the hegemonic ideology¹⁰. Arnot addresses these concerns by arguing that the reproduction of sex divisions is not unproblematic:

The setting up and transmission of sex stereotypes as a form of social control does not necessarily imply that individuals become what the stereotype demands (MacDonald, 1980:23).

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

The previous section dealt with the relationship between gender, class and education, connecting gender inequality to the large scale social structures, and exploring one of the ways male hegemony is maintained by schools which transmit a gender code which, in fact, reproduces gender relations. This section will briefly examine the connection between the sociology of knowledge

ideology and women's oppression and the role of schooling in this process.

¹⁰ See Weiler (1988) for an interesting and insightful criticism of feminist social reproduction theory from a feminist resistance and cultural production theory perspective.

and the construction of gender. The sociology of knowledge deals with the creation of ideas and knowledge. According to Berger and Luckman (1966:1) "sociology of knowledge analyzes the processes by which reality is socially constructed" (as cited in Mackie, 1987:66).

It is worth mentioning again the criticism of the overemphasis on the social construction of reality within the field of educational studies for neglecting to explain how and why particular versions of reality and not others are disseminated. The work of Mackie (1987) dealing with the construction of men and women, provides valuable insight into this problem.

Mackie (1987) argues that the sociology of knowledge helps us to understand gender as a structural process by focusing gender relations on large scale social structures. Further, it allows us to explore who benefits from these beliefs and values, rather than to view gender relations as a psychological process which has been the tradition in much of the sex role/socialization literature. Similarly, Eichler (1985:621) believes that male dominance cannot be adequately addressed under the heading sex roles "since the important issue is not one of behaviour expectations, but of systemic variables which keep women in subordinate positions".

Mackie refers to three principles from the sociology of knowledge to show how gender is a social construction with roots in large-scale social structures. The first is the principle that all ideas are socially located. The relevance of this to the study of gender relations is that men and women occupy different social worlds in society. Smith argues that occupation of these different locations in the social structure is associated with "particularized boundaries of experience and thought patterns" (as cited in Mackie, 1987:43). The result of this is that men and women have differing and contrasting views of the world.

The second principle is that of the ruling-ideas proposition in which the dominant group has the power to produce and distribute ideas. Males primarily hold the positions of authority and power in the societal institutions involved in the distribution of knowledge and thus have control over that knowledge.

The third principle of the sociology of education involves the concept of ideology, which is particularly important here because of the role it plays in shaping our view of the world. The concept of ideology is widely used in sociology but unfortunately it is also problematic because definitions of ideology are often unclear and too

limited¹¹. Abraham (1989) proposes that writers define clearly what they mean by ideology in the context of their research.

Mackie (1987:59) vaguely defines ideology as "those ruling ideas that distort reality in order to justify current power arrangements". Marchak (1988:5) defines ideology as "shared ideas, perceptions, values and beliefs through which members of a society interpret history and contemporary social events and which shape their expectations and wishes for the future".

Two additional components of ideology are needed to complete the definition of ideology. Abraham's (1989) definition of ideology contains the concept that ideologies are contradictory. He argues that an ideology can contain true and false beliefs that are systematically related and contradictory. The contradictions will remain unresolved until there is a change in material conditions which will result in a change in social relations. The second component is the "ongoing dialectical relationship" between theoretical ideologies and practical ideologies (Abraham, 1989: 35). Abraham refers to Althusser's claim that ideologies have a material existence or, in other words,

¹¹ See Apple (1979) and Abraham (1989) for further discussion regarding the problematic nature of ideology.

they consist of social practices. Abraham believes this is very important to the study of sexist ideology because "many everyday practices are framed within particular beliefs about gender relations yet these practices can, in turn, provide cornerstones for sexist beliefs" (Abraham, 1989:35). For the purpose of this research, ideology will be defined as contradictory beliefs and practices through which individuals interpret the events of the social world and which shape their actions in and perceptions of that world.

The relevance of the discussion on the social construction of knowledge and ideology is that it helps to define gender. Male domination and female subordination are not based on biological distinctions (Mackie, 1987). Gender is not merely the existence of two categories of people, male and female; rather, gender should be regarded as a pattern of power relations (Hall, 1985; Houston, 1985) whereby men have more power than women. These power relations are characterized by male dominance in both an economic and a sexual sense and, since they are socially constructed, they are subject to change (Hall, 1985).

Both Mackie (1987) and Houston (1985) regard gender as a structuring process whereby social relations are organized in the interests of some groups rather than others. The

societal division of labour is one such process which is tied to male dominance.

Gender is a powerful ideological device (West and Zimmerman, 1987) which positions people within this structure and which legitimates and produces, and at the same time is produced by, choices and limits based on sex. Ideology assists in the construction of gender by rationalizing differences between males and females by making them appear natural.

The next section will discuss the structuring process of the societal division of labour with a specific focus on women's dual role as domestic and wage labourers.

THE SOCIETAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

The societal division of labour is characterized by the division between the public world of work and the private world of the home, which came about with the transformation from a family-based economy to a family-wage economy (Anderson, 1988). Prior to industrial capitalism, the family was the basic economic unit and all the essential components required for survival were found within the household; both women and men depended on each other for survival. According to Hamilton (1988:7), "the labour of

each was interrelated and embedded within the network of relations between them and their children" and as a result, it was meaningless to distinguish between 'real' work and 'household' work. However, the structure of the household economy was transformed under capitalism (Muszynski, 1991). The change in structure is characterized by the dependence on wages for economic survival. As more and more workers began to engage in wage-work outside the home, families became dependent on wages to purchase the commodities in the market place, commodities that were once produced in the household.

Society became organized into public and private spheres with corresponding divisions between producing commodities and buying them, and between wage labour and housework (Hamilton, 1988). These changes greatly influenced the character of both women's and men's work. According to Muszynski (1991) the labour performed in the home, which used to be valued for its contribution to the family economic unit, is still performed by women under capitalism but it is no longer valued because it has no monetary value. Wage labour, on the other hand, has attached to it monetary value and is performed primarily by men. Further, Anderson (1988:106) claims that "as the focus

of work moved beyond the home, the worth of all persons became measured in terms of their earned wage."

The second major influence of capitalist transformation on women's work is the development of the dual role for women as both housewife and wage labourer (Anderson, 1988). Women worked for wages in the early stages of industrialization but were not encouraged to do so because wage work was not seen as compatible with their household tasks. Women were consequently viewed as cheap labour (Basow, 1986) while men were expected to be the main providers of the family's economic needs (Mackie, 1991).

As it became more expected that women would take on the responsibilities of running the household, motherhood began to assume a greater social and personal significance (Wilson, 1991). It was believed that women were more naturally suited for their role as wives and mothers.

Under capitalism, the home was considered a place where workers could return after a day at work and relax and prepare themselves to return to work the next day. The home was also the site of the reproduction of the next generation of labourers (Luxton, 1980). Under these conditions women were encouraged to take their responsibilities seriously (Wilson, 1991). Femininity became identified with

domesticity (Wilson, 1991); masculinity with labour market success, or as the breadwinner (Mackie, 1991; Wilson, 1991).

The contradictions this ideology created for women, especially working class women, were numerous. On the one hand, housewifery and motherhood were seen as the height of women's aspirations (Lindsey, 1990) but, on the other hand, many women were forced to work for wages, thus threatening their responsibilities in the home.

The previous section briefly discussed the societal division of labour; the next section will discuss the division of domestic labour. Coverman (1989) defines domestic labour as consisting of four components: housework; child care; support work; and, status production. The following discussion will focus on the first two components, housework and child care.

Housework

The myths about housework reveal the contradictions in our images of women's domestic work. On one hand, housework is viewed as the desirable and proper goal for women but, on the other hand, it is also viewed as menial and boring (Anderson, 1988) and relegated to a low status (Lindsey, 1990). Lindsey (1990) claims that the most important

contributing factor to the feeling that housework is devalued is that housework is not given a wage, and this contributes to the dependency experienced by many housewives. Housework can be satisfying and creative although many women feel the work is boring and dull and makes them feel very isolated (Anderson, 1988).

One of the most significant characteristics of women's work today is their dual role as domestic workers and wage workers. Even though most women now work for wages, they are still responsible for child care and household work. Stebbins (1988) claims that recent research in the United States indicates that husbands are starting to share more of the responsibilities of running the home. Coverman (1989) also found this to be the case. However, she found that even when women are employed they spend from two to four times as much time doing domestic work as their husbands and they also perform three to four times as many tasks. Men with employed wives, however, were more involved in domestic tasks than those men whose wives are not employed. This last finding contradicts Anderson's (1988:143) conclusion that recent time-budget studies "show that the husbands of wives who work for wages do not spend more time on housework than the husbands whose wives are full-time housewives". In any case, what all of these studies do show is that married

men spend less time doing child care and housework than do married women.

Douthitt (1989) wanted to determine if men's increased domestic work is attributed to an increase in traditional male chores, such as repairs and outside work, or whether it is attributed to a change in the division of domestic labour. Douthitt (1989:703) found that:

Over time, the sharp lines that have traditionally demarcated women and men's work activities in the home are becoming less distinct. Specifically, fathers of preschool-aged children spend more time and a larger portion of total home work time in meal preparation and child care activities, although they focus their contributions primarily on the weekend rather than during the work week.

These findings are contrary to those of Coverman (1989). Coverman found that husbands and wives still divide tasks along traditional lines and that women do female-typed tasks, such as cleaning, cooking, and child care, while men do male-typed tasks such as repairs and outside work. The conclusion reached by Coverman (1989:362) is:

... neither increased technology nor wives' increased labor-force participation has brought any real change to the division of domestic labor. Men are doing at most one or two more hours of domestic work per week than previously, and they spend this time playing with their children...There is little evidence that men are increasing their performance of female-typed household tasks. Wives still do the great majority of housework and child care.

Motherhood

The second major component of domestic labour is child care. According to Hoffnung (1989), the power of ideology is demonstrated in the concept of motherhood. The role of mothers is idealized; mothers are supposed to be loving, kind, gentle and selfless (Anderson, 1988). However, the reality is that motherhood is filled with conflicts and contradictions, as well as pleasures. Anderson (1988:165) defines motherhood "as a social institution-- one that is controlled by the systems of patriarchy and the economic relations in which it is embedded."

Gender differences are evident in parental behaviour and interactions. Fathers are more likely to be found playing with children (Lips, 1988) and, more recently, they are found disciplining them and helping them solve problems (Stebbins, 1988). Mothers, on the other hand, are more

likely to be found changing, feeding and cleaning children (Lips, 1988). According to Anderson (1988), these gender differences are a reflection of learned social roles and social expectations. For instance, gender stereotypes label child care as women's work (Anderson, 1988) and strengthen women's and minimize men's attachment to children (Lips, 1988). Also, social arrangements support these masculine and feminine roles in that men still feel pressure to put their own jobs first. Furthermore, workers (male and female) still perceive that choices have to be made between family and career (Anderson, 1988).

The same factors that make men feel they have to choose between career and family also operate for women. The participation of women as wage labourers is often affected by their role as mothers and housewives. Hoffnung (1989:161) summarizes it quite succinctly:

The conflict between individual achievement and feminine responsibility, therefore, is not just internal. It places constraints on women's commitment to employment. It pushes women to limit the careers they consider possible to less lucrative female occupations, to give up what they have accomplished for mother-work, or to spread themselves very thin. The resulting part-time or intermittent employment patterns contribute to the larger wage differential between women and men. Motherhood, as we know it, has substantial material costs for women.

Labour Force Participation

Even though women are primarily responsible for the household and child care, they are increasing their involvement in wage labour. Approximately 60 to 75 percent of all women between the ages of 20 and 54 are in the labour force (Duffy, Mandel, and Pupo, 1989:18). What is most striking about this phenomenon is that mothers and married women account for a large portion of this increase in labour force work. "In 1989, 59.1 percent of mothers (married and unmarried) of young children were in the labour force. (Women in Canada, 1990:79-80)" (as cited in Wilson, 1991:54).

The steady increase of wage-working women, however, has not meant that women have achieved an equal status in society. The two major factors inhibiting this goal are the dual role (as wage and domestic labourers) and the working conditions of women's labour force participation. One major factor is women's dual role in society. As discussed previously, women are primarily responsible for child care and household work. Unfortunately, this responsibility does not change as women enter the work force; many working wives and mothers continue to bear the responsibility for these tasks.

The second major factor inhibiting gender equality concerns the conditions of women's labour force participation. It is true, as argued by Armstrong and Armstrong (1989), that the movement of women into the labour force in large numbers has actually strengthened their position both in the home and in the labour force because it has meant that women are no longer the docile, flexible labour force they used to be. This change has allowed women greater access to more and better jobs resulting in increasing numbers of women working as doctors and managers (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1989). Other factors contributing to their changing labour force participation include increases in employment opportunities, increasing levels of education, changes in family composition, and changes in attitudes toward working women (Mackie, 1991).

These changes were, to some degree, positive steps toward equality for women (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1989; Mackie, 1991). However, for most women these changes did little to alter their dual role, nor did they ensure equality in the labour force. Most women continue to do the same types of jobs as women previous to them. That is, women enter the labour force into sex segregated jobs that are characterized by their low status and low pay (Anderson, 1988). Furthermore, these jobs often require very few

skills and offer little job security and few opportunities for advancement (Mackie, 1991). Anderson (1988:117) describes the segregation of women's work:

Most women work in sex-segregated jobs. That is to say, women work in jobs where most of the other workers are women, and women constitute a minority of workers in jobs that have been traditionally identified as men's work. Women also work in fewer different occupations than men and, within occupational categories, women tend to be concentrated in sex-typed jobs.

The unequal distribution of males and females into different occupations is often referred to as sex-typing of occupations (Lindsey, 1990). Wilson (1991) argues that this segregation has implications for the instability characteristic of women's work and for the income difference between males and females.

The occupations into which women are segregated are known as "women's work" and are often defined as feminine (Lindsey, 1990). The two major occupation groupings where women are concentrated are in female-dominate professions (sometimes called semi-professions) such as nursing, teaching, and social work; and clerical jobs such as secretarial positions (Lips, 1990). Wilson (1991:90) claims that the most striking example of sex segregation is

clerical work; "in 1986, 78.5 percent of all clerical workers were women."

However, women have also made progress in male-dominated professions such as pharmacy, accounting, university teaching and management jobs (Wilson, 1991) but have not made similar gains in blue-collar jobs (Lips, 1988). One reason for this, according to Lips (1988), is that women have benefited from the stereotype of women as good students, and this helps them in professional jobs. Also, women have higher levels of education which provide proof of their competence. "On the other hand, the characteristics deemed necessary for male-dominated blue-collar work (particularly the trades), such as mechanical and other technical skills, spatial reasoning ability, and physical strength, are characteristics that women are seen to be lacking" (Colwill & Colwill, 1985 in Lips, 1988:294-95). Women are more likely to go into male-dominated fields than men are to enter female-dominated fields. However, when men do enter female dominated fields they are often found in the higher status and higher paid jobs (Lips, 1988), for example, principals in the female dominated teaching field.

Another important characteristic of women's work, other than segregation and low pay, is the extent to which women

participate in part-time work. Women are increasing their participation in the labour force because of economic need. However, the prevailing belief is that women work for pin money and that their participation in wage work is voluntary. This belief is based on several assumptions. First, it is assumed that women have a choice between wage labour or domestic labour. Secondly, it is assumed that women choose part-time work or intermittent work because of their maternal ideology and commitment to domestic responsibilities (Duffy, et al., 1989). Thirdly, it is assumed that women's wages merely supplement the family income (Duffy, et al., 1989).

The stereotype of women as domestic workers and therefore secondary wage earners, and of males as breadwinners are often used to justify women's low wages and lack of job security (Duffy et al., 1989). In this context, employers can justify their treatment of women because they view part-time work as a favour to women, as permitting women to earn a little money and maintain their skills until they can re-enter the labour force full-time when their child care responsibilities are diminished (Duffy, et al., 1989). The reality is, however, quite different. According to Armstrong and Armstrong (1989:164):

For most of this century, employers have used female workers as a means of intensifying labour, employing them to fill sudden rises in demand or to do labour which was so burdensome it could be done for only short periods of time. As many full time female workers have become a less flexible reserve, employers increasingly have turned to part-time females to perform a similar function...Employers have been hiring increasing numbers of part-time workers primarily because they are cheaper-- and getting even cheaper as new microelectronic technology makes payment, scheduling, supervision and training easier.

Furthermore, women do not enter the work force for pin money, and they do not necessarily take on part-time work "voluntarily". Many women take on part-time work because they have few alternatives for employment (Wilson, 1991) and, more importantly, women, especially single mothers, lack child care alternatives.

The characteristics of women's labour force work (segregation, part-time work and low wages) both reflect and reinforce their domestic and child care responsibilities. These responsibilities, combined with their labour force conditions, encourage women to leave the labour force. Armstrong and Armstrong (1989:165) write:

These withdrawals then serve as a justification for limiting the employment opportunities of all women. The longer hours women work in the home, combined with their smaller direct contribution to family income, also serve as a justification for their domestic responsibilities. And this sexual division of labour is further reinforced by an ideology that defines these tasks as requiring skills unique to women.

The next section will focus on how ideology is transmitted and how it shapes our expectations and perceptions of the world as well as ourselves as gendered subjects. This will involve a brief description of the process of gender socialization and a discussion of gender and schooling.

GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is the process through which individuals learn the knowledge and skills that are required to become active members of society. Through this process individuals learn the ideas, values and beliefs of the dominant group (Ayim, 1979-1980; Mackie, 1987). Socialization establishes boundaries of behavior. Gender socialization then is the process through which individuals learn to become masculine

and feminine¹². According to Mackie (1987:83) the content of this gender socialization involves:

...shared meaning of femininity and masculinity. Children learn the culturally appropriate ways of identifying and classifying males and females, as well as the prevailing ideas about the relative prestige, qualities and behavior of the sexes.

Similarly, Lambert (1971:1) writes:

In acquiring images of the sexes, children are learning what is appropriate to the sexes. They develop ideas of what is right or proper for them as boys or girls to do, to believe, to aspire to, and ways to relate to others. They are learning about the social order, which in time will appear to them to be a natural social order in the sense that they will come to take it for granted as the framework within which they come to think and act. As such, it is also an important source of their motivation.

The social structure accounts for the content of stereotypes in that stereotypes reflect the traits "associated with the

¹² The terms masculine and feminine are used here rather than using male and female in order to make the distinction between gender as a social construction as opposed to a biological division.

traditional division of labour between the domestic and public spheres" (Mackie, 1987:91).

Gender stereotypes and sex-typing play an integral role in the process of gender socialization (Mackie, 1987). Gender stereotypes are beliefs about the traits or characteristics relating mainly to psychological aspects which are assigned to males and females. Stereotypes are powerful: they not only influence how people see other individuals as belonging to a particular social category, but they are also powerful at influencing the way individuals perceive themselves. As such they play a significant role in the development of one's self concept. Gender stereotypes contribute to the development of the gender identity of an individual (Boudreau, 1986).

Sex-typing is closely related to gender-stereotyping but it is distinguished by the idea that certain traits 'should' characterize males and females. Williams (1983:171) defines sex-typing as "the prescription of different qualities, activities, and behaviors to females and males in the interest of socializing them for adult roles" (as cited in Mackie, 1987:95). This is particularly relevant to the wage labour force where occupational sex-typing occurs. For instance, the belief that women make

better nurses than men is supported by the stereotype that women are more nurturant.

EDUCATION AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Earlier it was argued that male hegemony is maintained through the education system. Schools are one of the institutions which play an active role in the socialization of children, although the family, church and media are also important socializing institutions. Of these institutions the school is the only one which has socialization as its primary function (Saario et al., 1973).

As previously mentioned, males and females have different destinies in our society. It has been argued that our education system is one of the institutions responsible for preparing females and males for their different and unequal positions within society. This is accomplished in part by the gender socialization processes of the schools.

One of the ways in which schools socialize is through textbooks. Textbooks are a very important part of the official school curriculum and, as assigned reading, they are an image of authority (Saario et al., 1975: Wright, 1976-77: Mackie, 1983). This is particularly true for the early grades when children spend most of their time learning

how to read and textbooks are the primary reading material. Students can spend up to 90 percent of their time using educational materials, including textbooks, library books and other literary materials (Hulme, 1988; Nilsen, 1977).

Textbooks play a significant role in the gender socialization of young children because they are a vehicle for presenting social values (Weitzman, et al., 1976) and beliefs. Michel (1986) argues that literature written for children is one of the most effective ways of communicating social standards and values and that sexist indoctrination begins with books designed for young children who cannot yet read and write. Similarly, Meyer and Rosenblatt (1987) claim that textbooks are important educational tools which reflect and maintain societal values. Madsen (1979:207) also points out that as children are put "in a position of accepting the printed word and accompanying illustrations as 'truths,' the presence of sexist elements in these materials becomes highly significant in the process of education". It is for these reasons that a study of the ideological content of textbooks is important.

A considerable amount of research has been done on the content of children's books, most of which has been on sexism, gender-roles and stereotypes. This topic was much

more prevalent during the 1960's and 1970's, although there have been a few studies done in the 1980's. One of the reasons for the declining interest is the belief that the curriculum content has become more diverse and less stereotyped as a result of previous research indicating the sexist nature of the curriculum and political lobbying (Gaskell, 1988).

The literature put forth in this chapter illuminates the importance of gender stereotyping to the construction of gender which, it has been argued, is a powerful ideological device that positions people within the social structure (Zimmerman, 1987). The position which women occupy within this structure is one of subordination. The societal division of labour is characterized by the division of the public world of work and the private world of the home. It was argued that capital benefitted from women's dual role as both domestic workers and wage workers. It was further argued that the dominant group must continually struggle for and win their power and position within the social structure. One of the means by which their interests are secured is through the process of gender socialization in the schools. Schools transmit specific sets of gender definitions, relations and differences (Arnot, 1982).

Textbooks play a significant role in this transmission process.

A comparative analysis of textbooks over the last three decades will enable us to explore this process and shed light on what types of images of males and females are being portrayed and whether these images do in fact reinforce and perpetuate the gender division of labour.

CHAPTER THREE

A Review of Empirical Studies on Gender Stereotypes and Textbooks

This chapter will review previous research which dealt with gender differences and gender stereotyping in textbooks. A literature review of psychological studies which look at differences between males and females in terms of behaviour and emotions indicates that research in this area is inconclusive and ambiguous. This ambiguity makes any conclusion about (biological) differences between males and females in emotions and behavioural characteristics problematic. A review of the literature on male and female differences in activities and leisure indicates clear gender differences, which the literature attributes to gender stereotyping and gender socialization.

There is a large body of literature indicating strong sex-role stereotypes about emotions attributed to females and males (Brody, 1985; Eagly and Steffen, 1984; Spence, Deaux and Helmreich, 1985). For instance, females are believed to be more emotionally expressive than males, and they are said to express more happiness, sadness, fear and shame; whereas, males are believed to express more anger.

However, much of the research showing gender differences in emotions is inconsistent. For example, studies using observation methods are less likely to show gender differences in emotions than those using self reports. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found that sex differences are not usually found in observational studies of fearful behaviour. However, when self-report measures are used, girls report greater self-attribution of fears and anxiety. Lombardo et al. (1983) studied self-reported crying behaviour of male and female university students and found that women reported greater intensity and frequency of crying than did males. They concluded that "the stereotype of greater female than male emotionality-- at least as regards crying behavior-- is strongly held in this sample" (Lombardo et al., 1983:993).

Kopper and Epperson (1991:8) also conducted a self-report study to "determine whether women have more difficulty than men in recognizing and expressing their anger." They found that when "viewed unidimensionally, sex did not appear to be the determining factor in anger expression or the tendency to suppress anger" (1991:11). However, they did find an association between sex-role identity and recognition and expression of anger. Results revealed that "relative to others, masculine sex-role types

were more prone to anger, more likely to express anger outwardly, and less likely to modulate the expression of anger" (Kopper and Epperson, 1991:11). Conversely, feminine sex-role types were less likely to outwardly express anger and most likely to control the expression of anger.

Finally, in a review of the literature on sex differences in empathy Eisenberg and Lennon (1983:124) concluded that:

...the data regarding sex differences in empathy are inconsistent, and that this inconsistency is a function of the method used to measure empathy. Sex differences in empathy favoring females are most evident when individuals have been asked to rate themselves on behaviors or affective responses related to the concept of empathy and/or sympathy.

In a discussion of the problems with research on gender differences in emotions, Brody (1985) claims that the research design of observational studies is limited because the observers or judges who are asked to rate and compare the subjects on the various measures of emotionality are not blind to the sex of the subjects. This may bias the observer's perceptions about sex differences because the stereotypes may influence the way an observer views the subjects. Similarly, Eagley and Steffen (1984) argue that

gender stereotypes reflect observations of what people do in daily life and that "if perceivers often observe a particular group of people engaging in a particular activity, they are likely to believe that the abilities and personality attributes required to carry out that activity are typical of that group of people" (Eagly and Steffen (1984:735)).

Overall, greater gender differences appear in self-report studies which indicate the degree to which gender identity contributes to these gender differences. Under these circumstances then, it may be wise to heed the advice of Kopper and Epperson (1991:13):

Because sex-role identity is heavily influenced by differential patterns of socialization, an attempt should be made to identify aspects of socialization responsible for the observed relationship between sex-role identity and anger expression.

We should, however, extend this to include those aspects of socialization which are responsible for creating a masculine and feminine identity, not just the relationship between sex-role identity and anger expression.

Research on gender differences in personality traits is also somewhat complicated; except studies of aggressive

behaviour, most of the literature on gender differences is inconclusive. However, it is a commonly held belief that men possess 'instrumental' qualities whereas women possess 'expressive' qualities. According to Spence, Deaux, and Helmreich (1985:154-55):

Men are said to possess in greater abundance than women self-directing, goal-oriented characteristics such as independence, assertiveness, and decisiveness, qualities that allow them to discharge effectively their roles in both familial and extrafamilial settings. Women, on the other hand, are said to possess in greater abundance than men interpersonally oriented, emotive qualities such as kindness, sensitivity to others, emotional responsiveness, and need for affiliation.

Psychological studies of gender differences of behaviour traits, especially those employing a meta-analysis¹, seem to indicate only slight differences between males and females. The one exception appears to be aggression. Most of the studies of aggression lend support to the stereotype of males being more violent and aggressive than females. For instance, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) concluded from their extensive review of the literature that

¹ Meta-analysis is a quantitative summary of the results of studies testing the same hypothesis. See Eagly (1987:36) for a complete discussion.

males are more aggressive than females. However, they claim that, "Although the aggressiveness of both sexes declines with age, boys and men remain more aggressive through college years. Little information is available for older adults" (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974:352).

Archer and Lloyd (1982) present a strong case for environmental explanations for gender differences in aggression. Archer and Lloyd (1982) claim that, during childhood, aggression is not approved of in girls and they are not expected to respond aggressively, even if attacked. Girls receive more approval if they cry and attract the attention of an adult than if they hit back. Boys, on the other hand, are expected to defend themselves.

This is not usually meant as an open encouragement to be violent, but more of a message that violence is all right if not taken to extremes, that it is an appropriate way of 'looking after yourself' and can in many circumstances be a way of improving social status with other boys. Perhaps the most important message that boys learn is that they must at all costs avoid being thought to be afraid to fight (Archer and Lloyd, 1982:118).

There are also more aggressive male models than female models, as in sports and popular media (Lips, 1988).

Another personality trait often attributed to women is nurturance, although there is no evidence to support the claim that females are more nurturant than males (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Mackie, 1991). In a review of the literature, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found that there is not enough evidence regarding the tendencies of boys and girls to be nurturant and that the information on the responses of men to infants and children is also lacking. Mackie (1991) also says that the greater occurrence of girls playing with dolls has often been declared as an indication that females are instinctively nurturant. However, this does not take into consideration the fact that girls, not boys, are given dolls to play with. These findings point to the difficulty of concluding that "women are more disposed to behave maternally than men are to behave paternally" (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974:354). Furthermore, Lips (1988:90) argues that increased participation of females in nurturant activities, such as nursing, social work and child care workers, cannot by itself be taken as an indication that women are naturally nurturant because these participation rates may more accurately reflect social pressures and the type of choices available to women.

The results of psychological studies that indicate little or no sex differences in personality traits of men

and women are contrary to the commonly held beliefs about males and females. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) claim that the perpetuation of these myths, which created a division between the experiences of males and females in the home and in the labour force, is an indication of the powerful nature of stereotypes.

The literature on gender differences in leisure and activities show that the play and activities of children are the precursor to the gender division of labour in the home and the work place (Chafetz, 1978, Mackie, 1991 and Richer, 1988). Studies of sex differences in children's toy choices indicate that toys prepare children for their adult roles as men and women. The toys provided to children by adults create different interests and activities (Mackie, 1991). For example, Wallum (1977) found that toys reinforce the stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. In a study of toy catalog illustrations, Wallum found that the toys which prepared children for spousehood and parenthood were overwhelmingly pictured for girls only, while toys preparing children for occupational roles were more often pictured for boys than for girls (as cited in Chafetz, 1978:82).

Similarly, in a literature review of sex differences in toy and activity choices, Smith (1986) found that, despite some variation, there is some consistency in the finding

that boys prefer transportation toys and blocks while girls prefer dolls and domestic play. Fagot (1977) also found significant sex preferences in toys and activities for nursery school children. Boys preferred transportation toys, building blocks, carpentry/hammer/saw, and outdoor sand box/mud play. Girls preferred art, play in kitchen, play with dolls, and dress-up. Giddings and Halverson (1981) also found that, for children aged 2 to 7, boys played more with vehicles and girls played primarily with dolls and domestic roles.

According to Ambert (1976:71), the toys provided for boys "encourage rougher play, activity, creativity, mastery, and curiosity; girls' toys, on the other hand, encourage passivity, observation, simple behavior and solitary play."

Further gender differences are found in the complexity of children's play (Chafetz, 1978; Lever, 1978; Richer, 1988). Boys' play is found to be more complex than girls' play (Chafetz, 1978; Lever, 1978) and more physical and competitive (Chafetz, 1978; Lever, 1978; Richer, 1988). In a study of sex differences in the complexity of children's play, Lever (1978) also found that boys' play is more complex than girls' play. In addition she observed girls playing cooperatively and boys playing more competitively.

She concluded that boys but not girls are learning the skills required for business and professional careers.

Chafetz (1978) found that boys engage in more competitive team games with elaborate rules than do girls. The games which girls play are usually uncomplex, minimally competitive, and have few rules. Sports that are considered appropriate for girls include swimming, skating, and horseback riding; sports for boys include baseball, football, soccer and basketball.

Recent research on children's play supports the findings of this earlier research. Richer (1988) compared the drawings of elementary school children before and after a seven-year consciousness raising program. He found similar results for 1979 and 1986; boys were more likely to place themselves in competitive, outdoor activities such as soccer, baseball and football; girls were more likely to place themselves in non-competitive, non-physical, indoor activities. Richer says that both boys and girls were depicted in sex segregated activities and that "there is virtually no cross-over by either sex into the spheres traditionally dominated by the other" (1988:104).

Richer (1988) argues for the need to encourage cross-sexed play among children, claiming that the association between sex and play activity is very rigid and, most

importantly, it is the precursor to both domestic and labour market inequality.

Gender differences are also apparent in adult leisure and sport. Colley (1984) looks at two approaches to the study of gender differences in leisure behaviour. The first approach examines the constraints imposed on the individual through access and availability, and the second approach focuses on the psychological needs of the individual, and how these needs might be fulfilled by performance of certain activities. She argues that sex-role and sex-appropriate behaviour are relevant to both of these approaches.

Colley (1984) asked college students to determine what they believed were leisure activities and which of these they thought were more suitable for women and for men. Colley (1984:336) found: 1) visiting friends, golf, painting, and photography were not sex-typed; 2) more women than men regarded visiting relatives, knitting, needlework, shopping, jogging, and keep-fit as leisure activities; and, 3) knitting, needlework and shopping were rated by a large number of respondents as suitable for women only, while carpentry, mending cars, darts, fishing, and football were suitable for men only. She concluded that sex-stereotyping of leisure activities is still very prevalent and persuasive.

These stereotypes, as part of gender socialization, limit leisure opportunities for women. Research on leisure differences indicates that women do not often participate in leisure activities outside the home, and when they do they are often family related (Colley, 1984). Family commitments also have a significant effect on women's leisure because women have traditionally been more responsible for running the home and for child care (Colley, 1986). As a result, women, especially working wives and mothers, do not often have much time or energy for leisure pursuits.

Relevant Research on Gender Stereotyping in Textbooks

Previous research dealing with gender and reading materials has used numerous terms such as sexism, sex-stereotyping, sex-roles and sex-role stereotypes to describe the different portrayal of females and males. Although these studies used different terms, they are nonetheless aspects of the same thing and are considered to be components of gender socialization.

Previous studies examining the content of gender socialization include analyses of picture books (Reinstein, 1984; Pyke, 1975), math books (Jay and Schminke, 1975),

social studies textbooks (Frisof, 1969), and readers (Batcher et al., 1987; Britton, 1973; Graebner, 1972; Lorimer et al., 1978; Lorimer and Long 1980; Marten and Matlin, 1976; Saario et al., 1973; Schnell and Sweeney, 1975). These studies have shown the overwhelming problem of gender differentiation in reading materials.

Frisof (1969) examined the roles of females and males in social studies textbooks for grades one to three, looking at both picture and the written text. Frisof found that most of the characters in the books were males and that boys were able to do more than girls. Interesting and competent female characters were missing; whereas, males had glamorous jobs such as policemen, astronauts and scientists.

Stefflre (1969) examined primers and basic textbooks for grades one to six for the occupational status of males and females. She found a real discrepancy between the composition of women's real labour force participation and that of the labour force illustrated in the readers. Stefflre found that only 7 percent of the workers in these textbooks were women and, further, only 5.5 percent of married women were identified as workers. In the real labour force at this time, 37 percent of the workers were women and the percentage of married women working ranged

from 31 percent to 44 percent. Eighty-seven percent of the men were shown in the wage labour force.

The findings of Frasher and Walker's (1972) analysis of readiness books and first and second grade readers corroborates the findings of Stefflre (1969). They found that more males than females worked outside the home and the list of occupations for males is longer and more varied; all of the female occupations were traditional female ones. They also found that fathers performed traditional male-related tasks such as mowing the lawn, painting, car and house repair, and driving the car. Mothers, on the other hand, were indoors most of the time and, in addition to housekeeping activities, they performed traditional nurturing roles.

In an attempt to determine if school textbooks reflected the changing female role, Graebner (1972) compared readers from two time periods (1961-63 and 1969-71) to see if there would be a difference between the old and newer editions. Graebner found that the readers changed only slightly, but they had not kept pace with societal changes. Men and boys dominated in both the text and illustrations in the old and new editions; boys were represented in 58.1 percent of illustrations in the old editions and 67.5 percent in the new editions. Girls were shown slightly less

often as active and independent in the new editions. The major difference Graebner found between the two editions was an increase in occupations for women in the new editions, although these were still traditional female occupations.

In a study of prize winning picture books, Weitzman (1972:1128) argues that the distribution of males and females in books is "probably the single best indicator of the importance of men and women in these books. Because women comprise 51 percent of our populations, if there were no bias in these books they should be presented in roughly half the pictures." In her study she found a ratio of 11 males to one female. She also found boys were more active and girls passive. Girls were also found to be shown indoors more often, a setting that places a limitation on their activities.

Women on Words and Images (1972) obtained results similar to Stefflre, regarding the unrealistic portrayal of women in the occupational sector. They found only 3 working mothers in a study of 134 elementary school readers. They also found that women who work in the labour force perform traditional 'womanly' occupations such as teacher and nurse.

In an extensive investigation of sexism in education, Saario et al. (1973) documented the extent and kind of sex role stereotyping in kindergarten to grade three textbooks.

The categories analyzed included behavior and environment. Their findings were as follows: boys demonstrated significantly greater amounts of aggression, physical exertion and problem-solving; adult males showed greater frequency of constructive-productive behaviour, physically exertive and problem-solving behaviour; adult females showed a greater frequency of conformity behaviour; there was no significant difference in the environment category for the children; there was a significant difference for every environment category for adults with males found significantly more outdoors or in business and females found significantly more at home or in school.

Hillman (1974) compared the results of two time periods (1930's and mid-1960's to mid-1970's). The results showed greater numbers of males in both time periods and a greater range of occupations for males in both time periods. There were more occupations for females in the recent period, but the change was not significant. Hillman (1974) did, however, find significant changes in the behaviours and emotions of males and females over these three decades. In the early period, males were found to be more physically aggressive, verbally aggressive, competent and angry while females expressed more physical affection, nurturance, affiliation/dependence, and sadness. In the later period,

males continued to be physically aggressive and competent, and females continued to express affiliation/dependence, fantasy and sadness. However, in the later period, nurturance and fantasy were no longer found to be female traits.

In a study of 12 mathematics books for grades 2,4 and 6, Jay and Schminke (1975) found evidence of sex stereotyping. For instance, in math problems boys were represented in activities such as baseball and football; whereas, girls jumped rope, practiced playing the piano and helped mother. Men were shown fishing and hunting and earning money; whereas, women were shown cooking, baking and sewing.

Pyke (1975) was concerned with the influence of male and female textbook characters on a child's understanding of appropriate sex-role behaviour. This study of Canadian pre-school books supported previous research on children's books. Sewing and cleaning were shown to be exclusively female activities while car-driving, fighting, reading and water sports were exclusively male activities; males were shown performing cooking and child care activities 30% of the time. Interestingly, more males than females were found expressing emotions of fear, helplessness and crying. As found in previous studies, more males than

females worked, and males were represented in more diverse occupations. Males were astronauts, bus/taxi drivers, businessmen, construction workers, police officers and fire fighters; whereas, females were dancers, dental assistants, maids and nurses. Differences were also found for children's playthings: girls played with dolls, flowers and skipping ropes, while boys played ball games and with guns and toy vehicles.

Concerned with the previous findings of Graebner (1972) and Stefflre (1969), Schnell and Sweeney (1975) examined and compared 1966 and 1971 editions of Houghton Mifflin reading books to determine whether or not newer series reflected the change in roles and activities for male and female characters. This study corroborates the findings of previous studies, especially regarding those occupational roles. Schnell and Sweeney (1975) found that the long list of occupations for males increased from 1966 to 1977 while the small list of mostly traditional occupations for females stayed the same, with the addition of a few non-traditional occupations. They also found that the boys in the 1971 edition were very active and the girls were noticeably passive.

Stewig and Knipfel (1975) analyzed one hundred picture books published between 1972 and 1974 to see how they dealt

with women's roles. They discovered that only sixty-eight books included women in some role. Of these sixty-eight books, 68 percent showed women in homemaking roles, while only 32 percent showed women in professional roles. The most prevalent occupation for women was that of teacher. Men were portrayed more frequently and in a more diverse array of professional roles.

Marten and Matlin (1976) replicated the study of Graebner (1972) by comparing textbooks published before 1971 with those published after 1971 (for grades 1 and 6). They tabulated the sex of the main character, the number of males and females as main characters and the active roles of the characters. The results showed that, while females were shown slightly more often in illustrations and as main characters, they are still underrepresented. They found: 23 percent of the females were main characters compared to 14 percent previously; 55 percent of female activities were active in 1976 compared to 67 percent previously. While the active roles for females decreased, they increased for males from 74 percent to 82 percent. Marten and Matlin also tabulated the active/passive ratio of activities. They found that males were active 528 times compared to passive 108 times; hence males were active approximately 5 times more often than they were passive; females were active 106

times compared to passive 87 times, indicating little difference between the two.

Duquin (1977), compared the physical activity of the role models to which boys and girls are exposed in 24 elementary school textbooks for grades 1-6. She found that 70 percent of the characters were male and that males were more 'vigorously' and 'relatively' active than females. Men and boys were also more likely to prevail in sports and athletic activities.

The YWCA (1977) examined 38 grade one readers used in the Protestant school board in Quebec to see how sex-role stereotypes were expressed in school readers. They found that females were numerically underrepresented. Women appeared self-confident, but this was in their capacity as mothers. Men were more often active, physically competent and brave. Boys more often than girls were portrayed as physically competent, competitive, self-confident and brave. Girls were passive more often and took part in quiet play activities.

The results for occupations corroborate the findings of Stefflre (1969) and Women on Words and Images (1972). Most of the women in these readers were homemakers. There were only 18 occupations held by women in these readers and these were considered traditional women's occupations.

Lorimer, Hill, Long and Maclellan (1978) examined the content of two "Canadian" primary language arts reading series for grades 1-3². They found the portrayal of characters shows a strong male bias (77 percent of human characters were male). Males and females were also found to differ in character traits and role opportunities, favouring males. A striking finding from this study is that only 4 out of 138 women were in non-domestic roles. Lorimer et al. (1978:67) argue that these male and female traits are stereotyped and, further, that these stereotypes are "position descriptions of dominance and sub-dominance respectively". The male traits portrayed in these textbooks represent authority and power.

In a study of two reading series for grades 4 to 6, Lorimer and Long (1980) found that both women and girls were seriously underrepresented in textbooks, especially women. They argue that this constitutes a bias against women since the stories take place mostly outside the home and action-oriented girls are more likely to be pictured in these

² The Canadian Reading Development Series (Copp Clark Ltd) and the Language Pattern Series (Holt, Rinehart and Winston Canada Ltd) are the two series used in this study representing the 1970's. However, the Holt, Rinehart and Winston revised the Language Pattern Series in 1976 and is the one used in this study. The series analyzed in the Lorimer et al. (1978) study was published in 1968.

roles. By emphasizing these types of activities, the message given to the readers is that these are the important activities and women only participate in these important activities to a limited extent. "The inference ready for children to draw is: Home activities and the activities most women generally participate in (not necessarily the same), for instance mundane jobs which add to a family income, are not important enough to be included in your Reader" (Lorimer and Long 1980:38). The results also indicate a more full portrayal of males who display larger number of traits than females do, the result being that the portrayal of males is much more attractive than the portrayal of females.

Research on this topic in the 1980's is limited, the reason being that, perhaps, the overwhelming documentation of the sexist content in books has led to an increase in pressure on governments and publishers to address this issue. Gaskell (1988) claims that the material used in the schools now is more diverse and less stereotyped, although the problem has not disappeared. Indeed, a study of approved textbooks for Ontario schools found little change in the prevalence of stereotyping in textbooks. Batchner et al. (1987) found this to be particularly true for occupations which reflected the sex-segregated labour market.

Williams et al. (1987) also conducted an updated study of the way gender is presented in children's picture books. They examined 53 books for the period 1972 to 1985 and found that boys are significantly less likely than girls to be depicted indoors. They argue that this finding is consistent with the traditional notion that girls should be passive and immobile and that their place is in the home with mother. Adult females also have higher percentages for appearances in the home but are gradually being shown outside more often. The findings of Williams et al. (1987) suggest that, while women are becoming more visible, male/female differences still exist; females are more often shown as dependent, submissive, nurturant and passive, but males are more likely to be independent, competitive, creative and active.

All of these studies indicate that the problem of sexism in textbooks is still significant and the conclusion of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) is as applicable today as it was twenty years ago. The commission concluded :

This analysis of sex role imagery in a representative selection of elementary school textbooks clearly indicates that a woman's creative and intellectual potential is either underplayed or ignored in the education of children from their earliest years. Although such influence may seem insignificant to an adult reader, it is important to remember that the readers are children and that they learn through models whom to imitate. 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 (1971:175).

The implication of this is profound. It suggests a reluctance to change the gendered content of textbooks, which contributes to the socialization of children. This reluctance is built into the very structure of our society, as gender is one of the most basic organizing principles. The ideological construction of gender is integral to the perpetuation and maintenance of male and bourgeois domination. The comparative analysis of textbooks used in British Columbia schools over three decades will show just how far society has come in its challenge of a social structure based on male domination and female subordination.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to investigate the extent of different and unequal treatment of females and males in elementary school textbooks over three time periods, the 1960's, 1970's and the 1980's. These three time periods were selected because they represent the decade prior to the resurgence of the feminist movement in the early 1970's and bring us up to the present, almost 20 years after the latest rise of feminism. Also, prior to the advent of feminism in the 1960's the assumption was that sex-typing was essential to the smooth functioning of society (Mackie, 1987). Given the importance of the feminist movement for raising questions about sexual equality in Canada, we might expect considerable change in the representation of males and females in school textbooks over the last three decades.

Research Questions:

The investigation of this problem is guided by the following research questions:

- 1 Does gender stereotyping exist in grade one elementary school textbooks?
 - i) Is there a difference in the textbook portrayal of males and females at work, home or at school?
 - ii) Are males portrayed as being more active or passive than females?
 - iii) Is there a difference in the behaviors and emotions displayed by males and females?
 - iv) Do males and females do different types of labour market work?
 - v) Do males and females do different kinds of activities?
 - vi) Is there a difference in the types of interactions exchanged by males and females?
- 2 Are there any changes in the sex-typed images of males and females over the past 3 decades?

METHOD

The method of content analysis was used in this study because it is useful for describing trends in communication.

This method is important because it generates cultural indicators that identify the beliefs, values and ideologies of different groups in society (Weber, 1985). Holsti (1969) claims that cultural indicator research is important for determining how the concerns of groups and institutions within society differ.

Content analysis is defined by Weber (1985:9) as a "research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text." It allows for the investigation of a problem where inferences are made on the basis of the content of communication (Holsti, 1969). Using this method valuable information can be obtained and analyzed from historical records such as letters, diaries and books.

Content analysis enables the researcher to ask questions about the communications that people produce. Inferences can be made about the characteristics of the message, about the sender of the message, or about the effects of the communication¹. For the purpose of this research the method of content analysis will be utilized to obtain information about the illustrations in textbooks in order to describe the characteristics of the message.

¹ See Nachmias and Nachmias (1976) and Weber (1985) for more detail.

Content analysis requires that careful procedures are taken to ensure that the study is replicable. This requires a detailed explanation of the procedures used in the study, including the sampling and coding procedures.

A major criticism of many previous studies that used content analysis to study sexism in textbooks is that they often failed to meet the criteria for a valid and reliable study which was due primarily to faulty methodological procedures. For instance, the study by Lorimer et al. (1977-78) on the roles of males and females in elementary school textbooks does not include definitions of the categories used in the study. The researchers refer to character traits and role opportunities, but they never actually define for the reader what these categories mean or what they include and exclude. This example is typical of the methodological problems I encountered in many of the other studies. Such problems make replication of the study very difficult. The present study will deal with some of these problems by clearly specifying the procedures used in the content analysis.

SAMPLE

Textbooks which are part of the official school curriculum are the focus of analysis in this study. They were used for several reasons. First, all students are required to read these books, unlike other reading material such as library books, which are individually selected by the children or their parents. Second, textbooks are valuable historical records and thus are an excellent means of studying the images of males and females over an extended period of time.

There are two reasons for selecting grade one readers. First, children in their early years of schooling are very vulnerable to the messages presented to them by the school (Michel, 1986). Second, children in the early stages of learning to read and are more likely to rely on the images in the book to help them understand the text. For these reasons I felt that grade one readers are particularly important to study.

In order to study the extent and type of gender stereotyping in grade one readers I chose to analyze five reading series spanning three decades. An attempt was made to identify readers that have had widespread use in B.C. schools. To this end I consulted the list of Prescribed,

Authorized and Recommended materials for use in the province of British Columbia published by the B.C. Ministry of Education. The readers selected for analysis were chosen from this ministry list because these readers were more likely to be used for economic reasons since they are provided free of charge. The final decision of which readers to use is, however, left up to the local school boards.

The reading series used in the 1960's contains 5 books published by Gage publishers. Two reading series were used in the 1970's: one series published by Copp Clark containing 3 books and the other published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, containing 4 books. Two series were also used during the period of the 1980's: 6 books in the series published by Ginn and 5 books published by Nelson. The total sample of textbooks analyzed is therefore 22.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The unit for analysis in this study was individual character images. For each individual image, coding details were developed to capture a variety of analytic dimensions or categories, including environment, behaviour, emotion, participation type, occupation, activity, interaction,

playthings, physical activity, family relationship and marital status. Some stories were excluded from the analysis since they did not meet the criteria for gender stereotyping. These stories were usually animal stories or fairy tales. An effort was made to code all human and human-like characters which fit the coding criteria.

One of the most important aspects of doing a content analysis involves selecting and defining the categories and variables for examination. The categories for this study were selected with consideration to previous studies in this area. The criteria were chosen from several of these studies. The codes for the environment and behavior variables were adopted from Saario et al. (1973); the codes for "activities" and "playthings" were adopted from Pyke (1975); the active and passive codes were adopted from Graebner (1972); and the physical activity category was adopted from Duquin (1977). The occupation category was used in numerous studies (Pyke, 1975; Stefflre, 1969; YWCA, 1977). The two categories of interactions and family relationship were not used in other studies and were designed specifically for this study.

The study involved looking at the images of male and female adults and children. These variables were chosen for this study because they all contribute, in some way, to the

construction of gender. The previous chapter discussed the power of stereotypes to create gender differences by reinforcing the different traits and characteristics to males and females. The variables selected, which were relevant to both adults and children are sex, environment, behaviour, physical participation, emotion and activity. The variables selected for children-only are level of physical activity and playthings. The variables for adults-only include occupation, interactions, marital status, and family relationship. The variable for emotion, behaviour, activity, playthings and interaction are not mutually exclusive; many characters exhibited two or more codes at the same time and were coded as such.

Definition of Categories

- 1) Environment: defined as the location or setting of the characters. This variable was measured in two different ways, the first of which involved the placement of the character into one of four categories: home, work, school or other. A second measure involved the placement of the character in one of two

categories: inside or outside a building. Characters who were shown in vehicles, as well as those who were illustrated with no background, were coded as not differentiated.

2) Behaviour: defined in terms of the character portraying or exhibiting a specific action or posture. Sixteen codes were utilized to measure this variable, as follows:

- 2.1) Aggressive: a character portrayed in a negative or destructive manner, such as pushing, kicking, punching, fighting or yelling.
- 2.2) Avoidance: a character not wanting to try something or stops trying (gives up) something, or walking away from something.
- 2.3) Assertive: a character showing personality, attracting attention to self, demanding recognition or enforcing a claim to one's rights.

- 2.4) Decisive: a character shown as making a decision.
- 2.5) Directive: a character directing the attention of others or showing something, or demonstrating.
- 2.6) Inventive: a character making or creating something or experimenting with things.
- 2.7) Initiative: a character taking charge, coming up with an idea.
- 2.8) Mischievous: a character being mildly troublesome, playfully sneaky.
- 2.9) Nasty: a character being unpleasant or unkind.
- 2.10) Needing help: a character being helpless or requiring assistance.
- 2.11) Nurturant: a character portrayed in a sensitive, supportive, caring, praising or helpful manner toward others.

2.12) Persevering: a character not giving up on something.

2.13) Playful: character portrayed in a jovial or fun manner.

2.14) Rescuing/Helping: a character helping others who need help.

2.15) Self-care: any character being concerned for their own appearance (e.g., brushing hair, fixing clothes).

2.16) Other: all characters which do not fit into any of the above categories.

3) Physical Participation: defined as the level of physical participation of the character.
This variable was measured using two codes:

3.1) Active: a character doing or engaging in physical activity (including walking).

3.2) Passive: a character standing by, watching or looking on at something (non-physical).

4) Emotion: defined in terms of the expression of feeling by the characters. This variable was measured using 11 categories: Anger, cheerful/happy, crying, content, fear, panic, sad, serious, surprised, none and other.

5) Occupation: defined as labour market work. The codes for this variable include: baker/cook, bus/taxi driver, business person, cashier, construction worker, dentist, doctor, firefighter, farmer, garbage collector, helicopter pilot, judge, king, nurse, police, sales person and teacher².

² For a complete listing of occupation codes see Appendix A.

6) Activity: defined in terms of what the characters were actually doing. Some of the activity codes for adults include: building, child care, cleaning, cooking, driving, hunting, reading, sewing, boating, laundry, shoveling, dancing, and shopping. Some of the activities for children include: biking, baseball, climbing, dancing, dolls, gymnastics, hide and seek, painting, playing house, skipping, skating, and tobogganing³.

7) Physical Activity: defined as the level of aerobic activity. The activity codes of the child characters were re-coded into one of the following categories:

7.1) Vigorously Physical: vigorous activities that require much physical or aerobic effort (e.g., running, ice hockey, and skipping).

³ For a complete listing of activity codes see Appendix B (Adults) and Appendix C (Children).

7.2) Moderately Physical: moderately vigorous activities that requires some physical or aerobic effort (e.g., house cleaning, climbing, and sliding).

7.3) Light to Non-Physical: non-vigorous activities that require very little to no physical effort (e.g., baking, dress-up, reading, sleeping, and collecting).

8) Interaction: defined as the type of actions exchanged between characters. Six measures were developed to tap this variable as follows:

8.1) Caring for Children: a character directly involved in helping, comforting, or dressing a child.

8.2) Playing with Children: a character engaged in fun activities with a child, such as picnics and boating.

- 8.3) Talking with Children: a character engaged in conversation with a child.
 - 8.4) Teaching Children: a character teaching children or showing them how to do something.
 - 8.5) Other-Children: any adult character engaged in any other type of interaction with children.
 - 8.6) Interaction with Adults: an adult character engaged in any type of exchange with another adult, such as talking or playing.
- 9) Playthings: defined as toys or objects the characters were playing with or using in their activities. Some of the codes for playthings include: bike, car, doll, hoola hoop, horse stick, skates, swing, stuffed animal, wagon, train set, blocks and computer⁴.

⁴ For a complete listing of codes for playthings see Appendix D.

- 10) Marital Status: defined in terms of an adult being married, single, divorced or widowed.
- 11) Family Relationship: defined by the presence of an adult with children or grandchildren. The codes for family relationship include: mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather.

The data were collected using a coding checklist developed specifically for this study. It was designed with the intent of allowing the categories (except environment and activity level) to expand to include new categories which could not be foreseen; this was particularly relevant for the occupation and activity codes. There was some difficulty coding the behaviour and emotion variables which resulted in adhering to the original codes.

The reliability of the coding was determined from the results of a pre-test. Several stories were selected from a grade one reader taken from a series not used in the study. The stories were coded by two members of the department faculty. The faculty members were briefed on the definitions of the categories and were asked to code several

stories; each member coded the same stories. Upon completion of the task, the researcher went through each category with them to determine if there was any disagreement between them. A final reliability test was performed that involved comparing the results of several stories which were coded by the researcher and the faculty members. A reliability score of .83 (83%) was obtained by calculating the sum of all coder agreements and dividing it by the sum of all category assignments of all the coders. The differences were discussed and resolved, resulting in some minor changes and a new code sheet.

All of the images were coded by the researcher using the categories and codes outlined above. The text itself was not analyzed but it was read by the researcher and used to interpret the pictures in order to code the family relationship and marital status variables, without which these variables would have been difficult to code.

The data was then entered into the computer for statistical analysis. Computer runs were carried out in the form of percentages and frequency distributions. The information is presented in contingency tables to allow for ease of comparison. Nine comparisons were made for all the appropriate variables: (1) adult males and females in the 1960's; (2) adult males and females in the 1970's; (3) adult

males and females in the 1980's; (4) girls and boys in the 1960's; (5) girls and boys in the 1970's; (6) girls and boys in the 1980's; (7) adult males over all three decades; (8) adult females over all three decades (8) girls over all three decades; (9) boys over all three decades. These comparisons were made to determine the presence or absence of gender stereotyping and to determine if there was any change in the presentation of the characters over the three time periods.

The images of males and females, especially females is then examined to see how gender is constructed in the textbook illustrations. Finally, the information gathered on the portrayal of females in these textbooks will be compared with some empirical evidence of the position of women in Canadian society.

CHAPTER FIVE

Changing Gender Stereotypes in School Textbooks

This study was undertaken as a challenge to those who claim that the materials used in our schools today are less stereotyped than the materials used in previous years. For instance, Gaskell (1988) claims that the increased awareness of the sexist content of textbooks has put pressure on governments and publishers to address the issue. According to Hulme (1988), McGraw-Hill publishers produced a set of guidelines to eliminate gender bias in 1974 and other publishers followed this lead, resulting in what Hulme (1988:190) refers to as "a tremendous amount of activity towards eliminating bias in textbook publishing during the late 1970's". Also, in an effort to correct the problem of gender bias in textbooks the Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers revised the Language Pattern Series, in 1976. However, the results of this study indicate that efforts such as these have, so far, been unsuccessful in correcting this problem. There have been some positive changes in the presentation of activities and playthings of child characters, but there has not been much improvement for adult characters.

One of the more obvious means of determining gender bias in textbooks is the unequal numerical representation of males and females (Giele, 1988; Weitzman, 1972). Weitzman (1972) argues that if there was no bias in books, females would be presented in roughly half of the pictures given that they comprise 51 percent of the population. Evidence of this type of gender bias is evident in this study. There is only one decade where there is an equal representation of males and females. Interestingly, it is in the 1960's that adult males roughly equal adult females. However, between the 1960's and the 1980's the percentage of adult male characters increased steadily from 52 percent to 61 percent (table 1). Meanwhile, the percentage of female children, dominant in the 1960's at 60 percent declined to 46.5 percent in the 1980's (table 2).

One possible explanation for the greater numerical representation of female children in the 1960's is that the textbook series representing the 1960's contained stories pertaining primarily to one nuclear family, consisting of a mother, father, son and two daughters. The stories revolved around the lives and activities of these primary characters. Therefore, it makes sense that a greater percentage of the children portrayed in this decade are female. However, it would also be expected that girls should be represented 66

percent of the time and boys 33 percent which is not the case.

These results are consistent with the findings of previous studies showing male characters as dominant in textbook illustrations (Frisof, 1969; Hillman, 1974; Lorimer et al., 1979; Taylor, 1973; Weitzman, 1972; YWCA, 1977). Marten and Matlin (1976) found females were under-represented in both time periods of their study. However, they did find an increase in the percentage of women in illustrations. This did not occur in the present study. In fact, the percentage of female characters (both adult and children) in illustrations actually decreased over the three decades. This under-representation of females in textbooks may seem insignificant but it is an important indication of women's subordinate position in society (Michel, 1986) because it implies that females are not important enough to be included in the textbooks.

Environment

Previous studies reveal a pattern of females being shown indoors and males outdoors. The activities of characters shown outside are usually much more action-oriented than those inside. Showing female characters

inside places a limitation of their activities and opportunities. Further, the activities performed inside are usually of a domestic nature, such as cooking, cleaning and child care.

The findings of this study show women and girls inside more often than men and boys in all three decades while men and boys are located outside more often than women and girls (tables 3 and 4). The percentage of adult females shown inside remains fairly constant at 40 percent over the three decades whereas the percentage of adult males shown inside decreases from 31 percent in the 1960's to 21 percent in the 1980's. The percentage of adult females shown outside decreases from 44 percent in the 1960's to 39 percent in the 1980's while the percentage of adult males increases from 52 percent to 62 percent over the same period.

The results for the children show smaller differences between males and females than those found for the adults. Even though girls are more likely than boys to be shown inside for all three decades, the difference between them is fairly small. For example, in the 1980's 26 percent of girls are shown inside compared to 24 percent for boys. Also, the percentages for both boys and girls shown inside slightly decreases from the 1960's to the 1980's. The

percentage of girls inside decreases from 34 percent in the 1960's to 26 percent in the 1980's.

These results are congruent with the findings of Saario et al. (1973) and Williams et al. (1987). Saario et al. (1973) found no significant differences in the percentages of children shown outdoors but significant differences were found for adults with males being shown outdoors much more often than females. In an updated study of picture books for the period of 1972 to 1985, Williams et al. (1987) found that boys are significantly less likely than girls to be shown indoors. This, they argue, follows the traditional notion that a girl's place should be in the home with mother. They also found women were shown inside more than men but that both men and women were gradually being shown outside more often, with women making the greater change. The results from the present study do not show an increase in women shown outside. In fact, there is a decrease in the percentage of women shown outside over the three decades.

Not only are women shown inside more often than men, they are also shown at home more often than men. The home is the most common place for children and women. In all three decades women are more often shown at home whereas men are more often shown at work. However, these percentages change over the decades with women gradually moving out of

the home and into the workplace. Table 5 shows the percentage of women in the home decreasing from 43 percent in the 1960's to 17 percent in the 1980's. The percentage of women shown at work increases from 4 percent to 22 percent over the same period. Similar changes occur for men; the percentage of men at home decreases from 35 percent in the 1960's to 7 percent in the 1980's while the percentage of men shown at work increases from 17 percent in the 1960's to 47 percent in the 1980's. Even though women in the 1980's are more likely to be shown at work than at home, they are still more likely than men to be at home. Also, men in the 1980's are still more than twice as likely to be shown at work than women are. The results for the children are, once again, not as distinctive. Although there are more girls than boys shown at home in the 1960's and 1970's, by the 1980's there is no difference (table 6). The percentages for both boys and girls shown at home decrease from the 1960's to the 1980's. The results for adults support the findings of earlier studies. Saario et al. (1973) and Williams et al. (1987) found a greater occurrence of women at home than men.

Physical Participation

The data in this study also confirm the results of previous research showing active males and passive females. Tables 7 and 8 show male adults and male children as active and female adults and female children as passive. Once again, the differences are greater between the adults than between the children. The results for children show us that from the 1960's to the 1980's there is a slight increase in the percentage of active children. The percentage of active females increases just slightly, relative to active males, from 39 percent in the 1960's to 48 percent in the 1980's. The results for the adults are much more bleak and discouraging. The percentage of active males increases from 51 percent in the 1960's to 57 percent in the 1980's but, the percentage of active females remains constant at 32 percent during the same period. Also discouraging is the finding that the percentage of passive males decreases from 48 percent in the 1960's to 44 percent in the 1980's while the percentages for females remain fairly constant at 67 percent over the three decades.

Previous research has also found this similar pattern of stereotyping. Duquin (1977), Schnell and Sweeney (1975) and the YWCA (1977) all found male characters to be more

active and female characters to be passive. In a comparative study, Schnell and Sweeney (1975) found that little change had occurred between the 1966 and 1971 textbooks: all boys in both periods were active and girls were noticeably passive. However, the present study not only found males in all decades more active and females more passive, the percentage of active adult females decreases and the percentage of passive adult females increases, over the same period.

What is also interesting and peculiar about the findings so far, is that the bias against females is much greater and more obvious for female adults than for female children. Lorimer and Long (1980) also found this stronger bias against women in their study. They argue that the reason so few adult females appear in textbooks is that most of the textbook stories are action-oriented and take place outside the home. Girls, in their study and in this present study, are shown participating, at least to some extent, in these outside, action-oriented activities.

Emotions

The literature suggests that the origins of gender differences in emotions is partially linked to the

socialization process. The most consistent findings regarding gender differences in emotionality come from studies about sex-role stereotypes (Brody, 1985). Gender stereotyping of emotions is an important part of the socialization process by which children acquire gendered identity. Also, assumptions about gender differences in emotionality have been used to support the argument that men and women should perform different roles (Brody, 1985). For example, women's purported greater emotional expressiveness is used to explain and justify their suitability to domestic tasks (Mackie, 1991).

Kopper and Epperson (1991) argue for the need to identify aspects of socialization responsible for the relationship between sex-role identity and emotional expression. The stereotyped images of emotional expression of textbook characters is part of this process. The findings of this study indicate that the most common emotion expressed by textbook characters is cheerfulness. A greater percentage of male and female characters also express no emotion. However, of the emotions that are expressed, men and boys are consistently portrayed as serious whereas women and girls are consistently portrayed as happy and cheerful, over all three decades (tables 9 and 10).

There is some stereotyping of emotions for characters in the 1960's. Of the emotions listed for the adults, men are portrayed as serious and women are portrayed as cheerful. The results for children show boys being angry and girls being cheerful and afraid. Interestingly, the 1970's reveal a reversed sex-typing of some emotions. For instance, the emotions (emotionless and serious) which are depicted for men fit the common stereotypes, but men are also more sad, relative to women. Women, on the other hand, are more often than men shown being angry, which is a male stereotype, but they are also shown as cheerful more often than men. The results for boys are also mixed. Boys are portrayed as being serious and emotionless but they are also portrayed as being sad and afraid which are female stereotypes. The only sex-typed emotion for girls in the 1970's is cheerfulness. The sex-typed emotions consistent with the common conceptions reappear in the 1980's textbooks. Men are angry and serious while women are cheerful; boys are serious while girls are cheerful.

These findings indicate no change in the portrayal of the emotional expressions of the characters. The percentage of angry male adults remains fairly constant over the three decades at 2 percent. The percentage of angry female adults remains the same in the 1960's and the 1980's at 0.9

percent. The percentage of cheerful male adults decreases from 46 percent in the 1960's to 39 percent in the 1980's while the percentage of cheerful adult females increases from 48 percent to 54 percent over the same period.

Meanwhile the percentages for boys and girls portrayed as angry remains fairly constant over the three decades. The percentage of angry boys remains at 1.5 percent and the percentage of angry girls remains at 0.5 percent. The percentages of cheerful children increase from the 1960's to the 1980's. The percentages of boys and girls crying also decrease from 0.5 and 0.3 percent respectively in the 1960's to 0 percent for both in the 1980's. The percentage of sad boys remains equal and constant from the 1960's to the 1980's at approximately 1.5 percent.

The findings of the emotional expression of the characters in these textbooks fit, to some degree, the traditional stereotypical emotions for males and females. However, previous studies have shown conflicting results. For example, Pyke (1975) found that males more than females express fear and crying. The only support for this finding in this study comes from the results of the 1970's which show boys more often than girls expressing sadness and fear. Hillman (1974) found that males were angry and females were sad. In this study, results for the children in the 1960's

and adult males in the 1980's confirm the findings of Hillman. However, unlike the findings in Hillman's (1974) study which show females frequently being sad, the present study shows females to be more often happy and cheerful. Likewise, males are more likely to be portrayed as serious rather than angry.

Behaviours

The discrepancy between the results of psychological studies concerning behavioural differences of males and females and the commonly held beliefs about males and females indicates the power of stereotypes. The traits attributed to males and females are often called on to justify their different social roles. Men's supposed 'instrumental' characteristics are believed to suit them for their roles in the public sphere where competition occurs (Brody, 1985; Mackie, 1991). These assertive, creative, goal-oriented characteristics that men are said to possess more than women are beneficial in this competitive sphere. Likewise, women's supposed 'expressive' characteristics, which make them more caring and nurturant, are believed to suit them for their role in the private sphere where a great deal of emotional work is done to keep the family together.

The perpetuation of these myths reinforce and maintain a society which is divided into public and private worlds of domestic and wage work. Given the importance of this issue in the past three decades, one would expect changes to have occurred in the presentation of behavioural characteristics of textbook characters.

A similar pattern to that which was found for the emotions category was found for the behaviour category. The results of this study reveal that the behaviours for adults are more clearly stereotyped than behaviours for the children (tables 11 and 12). In the 1960's adult males are assertive, helpful, playful and taking initiative. Females, on the other hand, are portrayed as needing help and nurturant. However, in the 1970's we see some reversed sex-typing as more women are assertive, directive, and inventive (male stereotypes) as well as the traditional female stereotype, nurturant. Men in the 1970's are still more likely than women to be shown taking initiative and being decisive and helpful. Similar to the results for the emotion category, the 1980's bring us back to the traditional sex-typed characteristics similar to the 1960's. Men are portrayed as direct, inventive and taking initiative and women are once again portrayed as needing help and nurturant.

The male and female adult characters in the 1960's and 1980's clearly fit the stereotypical behavioural characteristics commonly held by society. Although very little substantial change occurred between the 1960's and 1980's, some small changes are worthy of note. The percentage of assertive female adults increased from 1 percent in the 1960's to 3 percent in the 1980's whereas the percentage for assertive adult males decreased from 5 percent to 3 percent. The percentage of helpful male adults decreased from 11 percent in the 1960's to 4 percent in the 1980's whereas the percentage of helpful female adults remained the same at 2.6 percent. Similarly adult males taking initiative also decreased over this period but there were no initiative-taking females in either of these periods. Adult males being inventive increased from 3.3 percent in the 1960's to 8.6 percent in the 1980's whereas inventive adult females decreased from 3.6 to 2.6 percent. The percentage of nurturant males increased slightly from 0.8 percent in the 1960's to 2.8 percent in the 1980's. While these changes did take place, they did little to abolish the traditional stereotypes. For example, a decrease in the percentage of males taking initiative was not matched by an increase in the percentage of females

taking initiative. No balance was brought about by these changes.

The results for children are much more encouraging. The data indicate that the characters in the 1960's and 1970's fit the common stereotypes more closely than those in the 1980's. For instance, in the 1960's, boys are portrayed as taking initiative, being helpful and inventive whereas girls are portrayed as being helpless. This changes for girls in the 1970's where they are portrayed as assertive and direct (male stereotypes). Boys, however, are still portrayed as helpful, inventive and taking initiative. By the 1980's there is very little difference between the portrayal of boys and girls. Unlike the 1960's and 1970's, both boys and girls in the 1980's avoid things, are assertive, directive, helpful, inventive, nurturant and persevering.

The stereotyped behaviours of male and female characters found in this study are similar to those found in previous studies. For example, Saario et al (1973) found men and boys demonstrating greater frequency of physical exertion and problem-solving behaviours. Boys also demonstrated greater amounts of aggression. Hillman (1974) compared the results of two time periods and found that males displayed more physical aggressiveness and competence

and females displayed more affiliation/dependence. Hillman noted changes between 1966 and 1971 - females in the 1966 edition were more nurturant than males but in the 1971 edition there was no difference between males and females being nurturant. Changes did occur in the present study; the percentage of nurturant males slightly increased and the percentage of nurturant females decreased from the 1960's to the 1980's. However, in all three decades adult women are much more often portrayed as nurturant than men.

Activities

The literature on gender differences in adult and children's activities, discussed in a previous chapter, suggests that a clear pattern of differentiation starts early in life as parents, schools and other agents of socialization encourage different types of play for boys and girls, and extends into adulthood. The activities of adults are affected by their socialization, by the segregation of their childhood play, and by the division of labour.

The results of this study reveal that the portrayal of activities and leisure of adults is much more stereotyped than those of the children (tables 13 and 14). In the 1960's almost all female sex-typed activities are domestic

related. Women do the child care, cooking, domestic work, and shopping. Men, on the other hand, go to work in the labour force, drive the car and build things. Similar results are obtained for the 1970's; men are shown driving cars and buses, engaging in paid labour, and building things. Women are, once again, traditionally portrayed doing house-cleaning, cooking, child care and shopping. The 1980's portrayal of men is similar to the 1960's and 1970's (building, driving and working) but the portrayal of women changes; they are no longer shown in strictly domestic roles such as doing the cooking and cleaning. This is probably a result of the movement of female characters outside the home and into the work force. However, textbook women have not escaped their dual role. Although more women are shown working for wages, they are, in all three decades, still responsible for the shopping and child care.

These results show us that very little substantial change occurred between the 1960's and the 1980's. However, some interesting changes did take place. For example, the importance of child care seemed to diminish as the percentages for both adult males and females doing child care decreased over the three decades. The percentage of male adults doing child care decreased from 58 percent in the 1960's to 15 percent in the 1980's. The percentage for

women decreased from 76 percent to 35 percent. Meanwhile, wage work was becoming increasingly important as reflected in an increase of wage-working males from 22.5 percent in the 1960's to 59 percent in the 1980's. The percentage of wage-working females increased from 4 percent to 26 percent. Another interesting change is the decrease in the percentages of women shown cooking and doing domestic activities over the three decades. Not surprisingly, the percentage of women shown shopping increased over this same period.

These changes in the portrayal of women are important but they did not change the fact that in all three decades more women than men are shown doing the shopping and child care. These images still have the effect of reinforcing and perpetuating the stereotypical notions of females as nurturant and caring, which further reinforces their role as domestic workers. The decrease in images of women doing domestic tasks was not accompanied by an increase in men doing these tasks; men do virtually no domestic work at all in any decade. The consistent stereotypes of men building, driving and working over all three decades reinforce and perpetuate the stereotype of men as breadwinners and providers.

The activities for the children, while still somewhat stereotyped, are not nearly as pervasive as for the adults. There are stereotyped activities in all three decades but only one was consistent over all three time periods-- girls more often than boys are shown just watching. In the 1960's boys are shown building things, searching for things, and running-- all action oriented activities. Girls, on the other hand, are shown in activities such as playing with animals, watching and solitary play. A similar pattern occurs in the 1970's; boys are involved in activities such as competitive games and sight-seeing, whereas girls are stereotypically shown playing dress-up, playing house and just watching. The 1980's shows the characters in more varied activities and most of these activities are fairly gender neutral (e.g., acting, hide & seek, sleeping and snow activities).

One noticeable change from the previous decades is the increase, for both boys and girls, in activities that are more active such as biking, running and baseball. For example, the percentage of boys shown running increased from 4 percent in the 1960's to 7 percent in the 1980's, and for girls it increased from 3 percent to 6 percent. However, even though the 1980's present much more favourable images of boys and girls than the other decades, there are still

some noticeable gender differences: more boys than girls are shown running and playing football and more girls than boys are shown watching and playing dress-up.

These results corroborate the findings of previous studies. Previous studies indicate gender differences in the activities and leisure of males and females (Frasher and Walker, 1972; Graebner, 1972; Jay and Schminke, 1975; Pyke, 1975). Many of these studies found that men drove the car (Frasher and Walker, 1972; Pyke 1975), did house repair work, painting and reading (Frasher and Walker, 1972); women were found doing house cleaning activities including sewing, cleaning, cooking and baking (Frasher and Walker, 1972; Jay and Schminke, 1975; Pyke, 1975). Children's activities have also displayed evidence of gender stereotyping. Boys were found doing activities such as basketball and football whereas girls' activities include such things as jumping rope and helping mother (Jay and Schminke, 1975).

The results for the level of physical activity, in table 16, reflect the changes in the types of children's activities. The level of physical activity most often displayed by all children is light to non-physical. However, boy's activities are more vigorously physical than girl's activities in the 1960's and 1970's and only slightly more moderately physical in the 1980's. In the 1980's we

see an increase in children engaged in vigorously physical activities and a decrease in both moderate and light to non-physical activities. The findings for the 1960's and 1970's support the findings of Duquin (1977). Duquin (1977) found that males were more vigorously and relatively active than females and that boys were more likely to participate in sports and athletic activities.

Playthings

The results for children's playthings shows evidence of sex-typing but only in the 1960's and 1970's (Table 15). In the 1960's and 1970's girls are shown playing with stuffed toys and dolls and boys in the 1960's play with boats and wagons. The 1980's show a decrease not just in the sex-typing of toys, but also an overall decrease in children playing with toys. An interesting finding is the decrease in the percentage of boys (and girls) playing with vehicle toys such as boats and cars, and the decrease in the percentage of girls playing with dolls. For example, 4 percent of girls play with dolls in the 1960's compared with 0 percent in the 1980's.

The results for the 1960's and 1970's confirm the findings of Pyke (1975) who found that girls played with

dolls, flowers, and skipping ropes while boys played ball games and with guns and toy vehicles. However, the results for the 1980's textbooks suggest that changes are taking place.

Family Relationship

The ideology of motherhood is strengthened and reinforced by the stereotyped images in these textbooks. The gender stereotypes illustrated in these books tend to label child care as women's work. As previously mentioned, the findings of adult activities reveal more women than men doing child care related activities. In addition to this, the findings in tables 18 and 19 also support this claim. In table 18 we see that women in all three decades are shown with their children and grandchildren more often than are men. However, the percentage of adults pictured with their children and grandchildren decreases from the 1960's to the 1980's. For example, the percentage of fathers decreases from 32.5 percent to 7 percent while the percentage of mothers decreases from 38 percent in the 1960's to 22 percent in the 1980's. This decrease may be due, in part, to the increase in images of both females and males in the labour force.

Interactions

The images of male and female interactions in table 19 also perpetuate the ideology of motherhood by reinforcing the stereotype of women as the care taker of children. Gender differences in interactions are reflected in the finding that the male adults in these textbooks interact with other adults, more than do the females. Also, most of the male interactions with children consist of talking to or playing with children, especially in the 1960's and 1970's. Women, on the other hand, are consistently shown caring for children in all three decades.

The images of male and female interactions are least stereotyped in the 1980's. The percentage of adults (male and female) shown interacting with other adults increases from the 1960's to the 1980's. For example, the percentage of females interacting with other adults increases from 19.5 percent in the 1960's to 29 percent in the 1980's. Most of the male and female interactions with children decrease over the decades. The percentage of men and women shown caring for and playing with children decreases over the decades. The percentage of men caring for children decreases from 2.5 percent to 1 percent while the percentage of women caring for children decreases from 11 percent to 4 percent. These

results are also most likely a reflection of the movement of adult characters from home related to wage-work related settings.

Occupation

Women are increasing their participation in the labour force (Duffy et al., 1989) and married women and mothers make up a large portion of this increase (Women in Canada, 1990:79-80 as cited in Wilson, 1991:54). The results of this study reflect this trend in the labour force participation of women, but not nearly to the same degree. In textbooks the percentage of women shown engaged in wage labour increased from 4 percent in the 1960's to 26 percent in the 1980's (table 13).

The results of this study also clearly reflect the sex segregated labour force. The literature discussed in chapter two revealed the nature of women's labour force participation, claiming that women work at jobs that are dominated by women, jobs that are characterized by their low pay, low status, and low skill level (Anderson, 1988; Wilson, 1991).

In the 1960's textbooks, women are not often shown engaged in wage-work, but when they are, it is in

traditional female occupations in the service sector. Table 22 shows us that women worked at 2 (17 percent) of the 12 occupations listed for the 1960's compared to 10 (83 percent) for men. There are no women at all in the most common occupations listed in table 21, for the 1960's. Men are shown in a variety of male-dominated occupations including construction, police work, and bus/taxi drivers.

The situation for women in the 1970's textbooks is not much different from that of the 1960's. Out of a total of 18 occupations listed in table 22, women occupy only 4 (22 percent) compared with 16 (89 percent) for men. These results do not show the segregation of women into female dominated clerical or service work, but with one exception, the occupations listed for women in table 20 are not high-status, high-paying jobs. The exception to this, interestingly, is the finding that the one police officer depicted in this decade is female. It is worth noting that this female officer wore a skirt and was a traffic officer. The situation for men is different from that of women. Men worked at a range of occupations including bus/taxi drivers, fishers, farmers and zoo keepers.

The 1980's present the most varied and interesting occupations for both men and women. More characters are portrayed working in the labour force than either the 1960's

or the 1970's and this is reflected in the increase in the number and types of occupations for the 1980's. Table 21 shows an increase in the percentage of women working in occupations that were done by men in the 1960's textbooks. For example, 0 percent of females are construction workers in the 1960's compared with 2 percent in the 1980's. Women occupy 18 out of 48 occupations listed for the 1980's compared with 41 for men. In other words, women work at only 37.5 percent of the occupations compared with 85 percent for men. The results show that women are, albeit in small numbers, shown in occupational fields traditionally dominated by men. The literature discussed previously told of how women are more likely than men to move into male-dominated fields than men are to move into female-dominated fields and further, that women have made greater gains in male-dominated professions than in male-dominated blue collar work. While it is true that the results of this study reflect these trends (table 20), as women in the 1980's are more often depicted in professional occupations as doctors and helicopter pilots, than in male-dominated blue collar jobs such as construction, it is also the case that they are not shown doing the skilled, physical labour often associated with these jobs. Rather, they are shown

either assisting other workers or holding up road signs, as is the case with the female construction workers.

Overall, the findings on the occupations of men and women show a definite sex segregated labour force, similar to that found in the real world. Men do more interesting work that involves more skill and provides more opportunities for advancement (i.e., business, firefighters, mayor); women also do work that involves skill and provides opportunities for advancement (i.e., doctors), but they are more often found in jobs requiring few skills and which are low paid (i.e., sales clerks and circus attendants).

These findings corroborate the findings of previous studies. Without exception, all previous studies found the list of occupations for men was long and varied while the list for women was short and limited (Britton, 1973; Frasher and Walker, 1972; Graebner, 1972; Pyke, 1975; Schnell and Sweeney, 1975). Schnell and Sweeney (1975) did not find an increase in the number of female occupations from the 1966 to 1971 editions, although they did find that some non-traditional occupations such as astronaut and councilwoman were added to the 1971 series. However, both Graebner (1972) and Hillman (1974) did find an increase in the number of occupations for women, similar to this study.

Most of these studies found women worked at primarily traditional jobs such as nurses and librarians (Fraser and Walker, 1972; Schnell and Sweeney, 1975). Britton (1973) found that the quality as well as quantity of occupations favoured males, showing males working at a range of occupations from high-status jobs such as doctors and foreign ministers, to lowskilled jobs such as cab drivers. In this study males in the 1980's were represented in occupations that also ranged from high-status jobs such as mayor, to lowskilled jobs such as dock workers.

These findings suggest that the male and female domestic and wage labour illustrated in textbooks reflects the stereotyped images prevalent in society. The ideology of women as domestic workers, child care workers, and secondary wage earners, and of men as primary wage earners is constantly reinforced throughout the pages of these textbooks. The previous discussion of women's working conditions at home and in the labour force demonstrate the dialectical relationship between the two. The characteristics of women's labour force work (segregation, part-time work and low wages) both reflect and reinforce their domestic and child care responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

A brief overview of the results from this study shows two interesting patterns. The first noticeable pattern is that the stereotyping of adult characters is much more prevalent than it is for children and it does not improve from the 1960's to the 1980's as it does for children. The second noticeable pattern is that the textbooks improve from the 1960's to the 1970's, even showing some reverse sex-typing, but gender stereotypes in the 1980's textbooks are in some cases more prevalent than in the 1960's textbooks. These findings are interesting and unexpected. One possible explanation for this is that one of the series representing the 1970's was revised in 1976. The Holt, Rinehart and Winston publishing company revised the Language Pattern Series to eliminate its sexism and the revised edition was analyzed in this study. It may be that the publishers simply changed some female characters to male characters, although one cannot say for certain without doing a comparative analysis of the earlier edition. The findings for the 1970's might be different, in fact, had I used the first edition of the Language Pattern Series.

It is more difficult to explain the prevalence of gender stereotyping in the 1980's. The two textbook series

representing the 1980's were published in 1977 and 1978 by Ginn and Nelson. One would expect all of these series to exhibit changes in gender stereotyping since Gaskell (1988) and Hulme (1988) have stated that pressure was put on publishers to eliminate sexism from school textbooks. However, although the 1970's textbooks denote some changes among some categories, such as adult and child emotions and adult and child behaviours-- for example, adult females are shown as angry, assertive, and directive more often than adult males-- the one category which showed change in the 1980's but not in the 1970's was occupations. The 1980's textbooks had more illustrations of women with occupations¹. On the whole, however, the 1980's textbooks' portrayal of adult female characters was more stereotyped than it was in the 1960's. For example, there are actually fewer adult female characters in the 1980's compared to the 1960's. These results are quite baffling and require further examination beyond the scope of the present study. However, one explanation is that the Holt, Rinehart and Winston publishing company was a bit more progressive in its attitudes toward gender equality than were the other

¹ However, the addition of a few female characters in non-traditional occupations did little to change the stereotyped portrayal of male and female characters into traditional roles.

publishing companies whose textbooks were used in the 1980's. Whatever the reason, the result is that children are still reading grade one textbooks that show significant gender stereotyping.

The forcefulness of the sex-typed images in these textbooks should not be overlooked. All the categories combined (presentation, location, setting, physical participation, emotions, behaviours, activities, play things, occupations, interactions, family relationship, and marital status), indicate the belief that men and women are different, and that men and women do different things.

There are several reasons why we need to pay particular attention to the sex-typed images in these textbooks. For one reason, the images of males and females in these textbooks provide role models for children. Secondly, these images contribute to the construction of masculinity and femininity, which further transmit and perpetuate gender ideology. Role models, especially adult role models, are an important component of gender socialization (Weitzman et al., 1972). As children observe men and women they are learning what are appropriate behaviours and characteristics for men and women and what is expected of them when they get older. Children are most likely to identify with the same sex and desire to be like them. As such role models shape

their goals and aspirations (Weitzman et al., 1971) and they are an important source of their motivation (Ambert, 1971). In a study of occupational sex-role stereotyping among elementary school children, Hageman and Gladding (1983) discovered, unexpectedly, the importance of role models on career consideration. They claim that even though role models may not encourage children to consider certain occupations, they do, however, make such explorations possible.

The male and female role models presented in these textbooks do little to inspire female readers. Furthermore, the characteristics displayed by the characters convey very distinct images of masculinity and femininity. For instance women in these books are often portrayed as housewives and mothers. They spend much of their time inside the home doing domestic and child oriented tasks such as shopping and fixing up cuts and bruises. These women are often passive and helpless and require the assistance of father and children. These women do not assert themselves or take initiative (except in the 1970's); they are rarely angry or upset, they are almost always happy and cheerful as they go about their domestic tasks. The images portrayed by these female adult role models are stereotyped beliefs about what is appropriate for females to be and do. This type of role

model encourages girls to aspire to be wives and mothers above all else. The male role models, on the other hand, are much more active and adventurous. Men are often shown engaged in active, outside activities. They are always ready to rescue mother or children. Men are often shown doing wage labour but when they are shown at home with their children, they are often found playing with them. Men are hard working, serious characters. This type of role model provides encouragement to boys to strive to be hard working, competent individuals so they can get a job and support and look after their family. These images of masculinity also support the traditional beliefs about men's role in society as breadwinners.

The occupational role models presented to the children reinforce the traditional stereotypes of women as mothers and wives and men as supporters of the family. The occupational role models presented in the 1960's and 1970's textbooks are abysmal, especially for females. Women in the 1960's textbooks simply did not work, and for those few who did, they worked in the school cafeteria! Men who were shown engaged in wage work in the 1960's were shown in a variety of occupations such as construction, police officers, and mechanics. Women in the 1970's did not do much better than the women in the 1960's; they were shown as

contest judges, musicians, princesses and police (traffic) officers. Men worked at a wider range of occupations including king, farmers, zoo keepers, and horse-jockeys. These occupational role models do not do much to inspire female readers, and certainly the message is clear to girls that there is not much out there for them to do. The occupations of the male models do more to inspire the boys than the occupational role models for the girls.

The occupations portrayed in the 1980's show a marked improvement over those of the 1960's and 1970's; there is more variety for both male and female characters. Women in the 1980's textbooks were shown in a greater variety of occupations than their earlier counterparts. Women are represented in several non-traditional occupations such as helicopter pilot, film directors, doctors and garbage collectors. These are all traditionally male-dominated occupations. However, a greater majority of women are still shown in traditionally female occupations such as teaching and sales. So, while there are some interesting career options available to the female readers, most of the careers portrayed are in traditional female dominated occupations. And while more women are now shown in the work force, traditional domestic and nurturing roles continue to be linked to women but not men. Meanwhile, male characters are

shown in an even greater range of occupations than female characters. These male occupations ranged from businessmen and mayor to firefighters and rescue workers. With the exception of teaching and sales, there are no male characters shown doing traditional female occupations. These role models inspire boys to pursue male-dominated occupations, of which there are many to choose.

These textbooks have a significant influence on young children by presenting them with the images and information they need to make sense of and shape their view of the world. It is apparent from this analysis that the textbooks analyzed in this study provide evidence of gender typing by portraying different images of males and females. These images also transmit a particular set of gender relations in which males and females take on different roles in the social structure, and reinforce the subordinate position of women in Canadian society.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

In this study I investigated the extent of the different portrayal of males and females in grade one elementary school textbooks. Content analysis was used to collect data on the images of adult and child characters in 22 grade one textbooks selected from the B.C. Ministry of Education list of Prescribed, Authorized and Recommended materials for use in B.C. schools from the 1960's to the 1980's.

I expected to see an equal balance in the numbers of male and female characters in the following categories: numerical representation, environment, emotions, behaviours, physical participation, occupation, activities, level of physical activity, playthings, interactions, family relationships and marital status. During the early stages of this research I came upon numerous studies documenting the imbalance of male/female representation in textbook illustrations for many of these categories. Pressure was put on governments to remove sexist material from school curriculum and on publishers to produce eliminate sexism from their textbooks. Several suggestions were made,

including adding more female characters, changing the sexist language of the text to make it gender neutral, and portraying more female characters in a greater variety of roles. Given these demands and pressures, I expected to see a change in the portrayal of textbook characters, and to see more gender neutral textbooks. However, I found that the representation of characters in the textbooks included in this study does not reflect these demands.

The results of this study show that the efforts to eliminate sexism in education materials have been unsuccessful, especially with regard to adult characters. The findings show that gender stereotyping of adult characters is, in some cases, more prevalent in the 1980's than in the 1970's. The exceptions to this are the increase in the percentage of women working in the labour force, and the greater range of occupations for women in the 1980's. These findings are consistent with previous studies which also show an increase in occupations for women (Graebner, 1972; Hillman, 1974; Schnell and Sweeney, 1975). There are some positive changes from the 1960's to the 1980's for the child characters. In the 1980's there are no major differences between boys and girls in the activities, level of physical activity and playthings categories. However,

some differences are still apparent in the emotions, behaviours, and physical participation of child characters.

The conclusion reached from the findings in this study is that even though there are some changes in textbook illustrations over the past three decades, these changes have done little to alter or challenge the existing relations of male domination and female subordination prevalent in society. The stereotyped images of the characters in these textbooks reinforce the status quo, channel women into traditional roles, and perpetuate women's dual roles and inequality at home and work. The illustrations of adult females in all three decades transmits an image of passive females who spend much of their time happily going about their domestic tasks. The illustration of adult males transmits an image of active, serious, hard working men.

According to Anyon (1979), an examination of the knowledge transmitted in textbooks tells much about the society that produces them. The examination of these grade one textbooks contributes to our understanding of gender relations in Canadian society and gives us insight into the notions of femininity and masculinity being transmitted through educational materials. Referring back to Arnot's (1982) theory where she argued that male hegemony must be

viewed as a struggle and further, that male hegemony must be looked at as a series of separate moments through which women come to accept their position within the male dominated culture. Male hegemony is secured through social agencies such as schools. The socialization of children via their numerous encounters with school textbooks are some of these "moments".

The stereotyped images of males and females perpetuated in these textbooks construct very clearly defined sets of gender relations for the children reading them. Males and females are shown behaving differently and doing different things even though volumes of research show us that more often than not there are no major differences between males and females, and that very often gender differences reflect ones' gender identity. It was suggested that the prevailing beliefs of male and female differences reflect the power of stereotyped images.

The definitions of femininity and masculinity that are reinforced through the different portrayal of female and male characters reflect and reinforce the division between production and reproduction. The images in these textbooks contribute to the socialization of boys and girls by preparing them for their different destinies within these spheres. This is accomplished by establishing boundaries of

behaviour, helping children learn what is appropriate for females and males. Through this process children learn about the social order and most importantly, about their place in it.

The knowledge being transmitted in these textbooks of women and women's lives is that women spend much of their time inside the home looking after the needs of their family. Women do not often work in the labour force but when they do, it is different from the labour force work of men. The message to female readers is that the household is the domain of women and the labour force is the domain of men. Women do work in the labour force, but their first responsibility is to their family. This message is relayed to children through the countless images of women doing domestic tasks such as shopping and caring for children. The message that this is women's work and not men's work is shown by the fact that female characters but not male characters are doing these tasks. The message that labour force work is secondary to domestic work is reflected in the lack of women shown working in the labour force and by the lack of variety of occupations depicted for women.

The gender ideology transmitted in these textbook illustrations perpetuates and reinforces an industrial capitalist system which is characterized by male dominance

and female subordination. It positions women in subordinate roles within both the productive and reproductive spheres.

Previous literature examining women's unequal role in society has focused primarily on the ways women should change to be more like men (Borker, 1987). For example, it was argued that women should 'behave' more like men, women should 'dress' more like men and they should take more math and science courses. The assumption behind these suggestions is that women should identify with male qualities and characteristics in order to succeed (Borker, 1987). This was the approach taken by liberal feminists in the early 1970's. They focused on how men and women were alike and that they should, therefore, be treated alike.

Feminist thinking has moved beyond the idea that men and women are the same, since this way of thinking has often meant that women should aspire to be like men. The emphasis of feminism today is on the importance of women's life experiences, the importance of the work that women do, and recognizing that women can be both different and equal to men at the same time. Feminists now realize that previous analyses of gender inequality have tended to view women's experiences through the eyes of a male dominated culture and, as a result, women's life experiences were not given equal weight. According to Gaskell et al. (1989), the goal

of feminism is to revalue the areas where women do achieve and to increase the respect and material rewards associated with what women do. In order to do this, she argues, we must examine the underlying assumptions about education and its purpose. We must restructure our conceptions of worthwhile knowledge, for all students (Gaskell et al. 1989). In doing this we challenge the current social structure based on male domination.

Up to this point it has been argued that school curriculum contributes to the development of social attitudes. The illustrations in the textbooks used in this study contribute to the reproduction of a system of male dominance and female subordination by presenting and legitimating the social values and beliefs which shape the attitudes of society. One of the conclusions of this study is that schools and in particular textbooks can be used proactively. That is, schools can be utilized to present and legitimate social values that challenge the present system. Curriculum materials can be used to transmit different and less rigid beliefs about masculinity and femininity. Schools and curriculum materials can be used to redefine the roles men and women are expected to fulfill, and to make available new choices and new possibilities for children.

In an effort to eliminate rigid gender stereotyping from school curriculum we must ensure that we keep in mind the feminist goal of restructuring our conceptions of worthwhile knowledge and of revaluing women's experiences. This means taking care not to simply add female characters into male roles. Slotting women into male roles may possibly eliminate gender stereotyping by creating a balance in the numbers of males and females doing a particular activity or occupation. However, to do this is to imply that male qualities and roles are more valuable and desirable. Movement toward a more equitable society for males and females requires that the attributes, characteristics and roles traditionally assigned to females be given equal status to those traditionally assigned to males. We must ensure that the boundaries of 'legitimate' behaviours and roles are stretched for females and males. One of the means by which this can be achieved is through the portrayal of males and females in a full range of roles, displaying a variety of behaviours and emotions, in order to redefine the social relations based on gender such that boys and girls learn a new vision of the social structure, one which challenges the present system of inequality.

The results of this study show that there has been no substantial improvement of gender stereotyping in grade one

elementary school textbooks despite the efforts of publishers and governments. As a result, I would recommend that efforts be taken to send a message back to governments and publishers with more concrete suggestions for dealing with the problem. We must make it clear that it is not enough to slot females into male roles and it is not enough to add a few more female characters into wage-working roles with a few in non-traditional occupations. We need to see men doing non-traditional occupations, occupations that are considered 'feminine' such as nursing, child care workers and secretarial work. It is also vital that we change the images that reinforce the ideology of motherhood and female domesticity. Children must see men taking on more responsibility for child care and domestic work. It is necessary that these images portray the value of and importance of this work, and indeed to portray it as work. Boys and girls must learn that both productive work and reproductive work can be done by both men and women, and that achievement in both areas is desirable and worthwhile. Women must be freed from their "gendered" role as mothers and housewives and men must be freed from their "gendered" role as primary wage earners. The barriers preventing escape from these rigidly defined roles are reinforced and legitimated through the stereotyped images in school

textbooks. Therefore, it is necessary to change these images in an effort to redefine and legitimate new ideas that will allow all individuals to make choices to achieve their full potential as human beings.

This research was limited to a quantitative analysis of the images of male and female characters for the selected categories. I would suggest our knowledge of gender relations can be further enhanced by future studies dealing with the intersection of class, race and gender. Although relations of class, race and gender act upon each other to create different experiences for individuals, an examination of these factors was beyond the scope of this study. This study focused on the illustrations; further research is needed to examine the text to see if changes have been made to the language. It would also be valuable to know if there is a discrepancy between the knowledge transmitted through the text and the knowledge transmitted through the illustrations. Our understanding of the relationship of gender and education would also be enhanced by studies of other curriculum materials such as videos, library materials, and computer programs.

I would also suggest that a valuable contribution to the literature could be made with a study that takes a more qualitative approach to the construction of gender,

concentrating on fewer categories but exploring them in more depth. The limitation of this present study is that it does not provide a more detailed analysis of what the characters are doing in the roles they are portrayed in. Valuable information can be gained from examining the images of males and females further, looking for possible differences in the ways they may be carrying out the same role. For example, we may be presented with an equal number of males and females as police officers which, given that police work has traditionally been a male occupation, is positive because it opens up new possibilities for girls. However, it is also important that we examine what the male and female police officers are doing. Are male police officers shown in dangerous situations and female police officers shown helping a lost child? We could have equal numbers of males and females being doctors, but are male doctors surgeons and female doctors pediatricians? A more detailed examination of the roles of the characters would contribute to our understanding of gender relations. These qualitative differences need to be uncovered. Differences like these also reinforce the stereotypes we are trying to eliminate. We still have a long way to go before males and females are shown in a full range of roles in elementary school textbooks.

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APPENDIX A**Adult Occupation Codes**

Actor/Actress	Land Surveyor
Airport Worker	Lumber Worker
Baker/Cook	Mail Carrier
Balloon Vendor	Maple Sugar Worker
Boneman	Mayor
Brick Layer	Mechanic
Bus/Taxi Driver	Milk Deliverer
Business Man/Woman	Mover
Cafeteria Worker	Musician
Camera Operator	Native Chief
Cashier	Painter
Chef	Police Officer
Circus Personelle	Porter
Clock Repair	Princess
Clown	Rancher
Construction Worker	Rescue Worker
Contest Judge	Sales Person
Custodian	Ship Captain
Delivery	Shoe Maker
Dock Worker	Shoe Maker Helper
Doctor	Sign Maker
Farmer	Storekeeper
Film Director	Street Cleaner
Firefighter	Teacher
Fishman	Totem Pole Carver
Garbage Collector	Tour Guide
Gardener	Truck Driver
Giant	Vendor
Grocery Delivery	Weather Person
Helicopter Pilot	Witch
Horse-Jockey	Woodman
King	Zookeeper

APPENDIX B

Activity Codes for Adult Characters

Bar-B-Q	Kite
Biking	Laundry
Boating	Music
Building	Other
Carving	Painting
Child care	Photography
Circus	Puppets
Cleaning	Reading
Computer	Running
Cooking	Sawing
Dancing	Sewing
Digging	Shopping
Dishes	Shovelling
Domestic Work	Sight-seeing
Driving	Skiing
Family Outing	Skipping Rope
Fishing	Sleeping
Fixing/repair	Snow
Games	Social Activity
Gardening	Sweeping
Getting Christmas Tree	Thinking
Hammering	Un/Loading
Hiking	Washing Car
Horse-riding	Working
Hot Air Balloon	Zoo
Ironing	

APPENDIX C

Activity Codes for Child Characters

Acting	Merry-go-round
Animals	Mowing Lawn
Baking	Music Band
Baseball	Painting
Basketball	Photography
Biking	Playing in Leaves
Boating	Playing in Mud/Water
Building	Playing Store/House
Camping	Rafting
Cartwheels	Reading
Carving	Rowing
Circus	Running
Climbing	Sand Box
Collecting	Sawing
Competitive Games	Schooter
Cow Boy/Girl	Searching
Dancing	Sewing
Darts	Shepard
Drawing	Shopping
Dress-up	Sight Seeing
Family Outing	Skating
Fishing	Skiing
Fixing/repair	Skipping
Flying Kite	Sleeping
Football	Sliding
Frizbee	Snow
Games	Soccer
Gardening	Social Activity
Go-cart	Solitary Activity
Gymnastics	Swimming
Hammering	Swinging
Helicopter Ride	Teeder Todder
Hide and Seek	Tobogganning
Hoola Hoop	Washing Car
Hop scotch	Watching
Horse Riding	Watching T.V.
House cleaning	Writing
Ice Hockey	Zoo
Laundry	

APPENDIX D**Codes for Playthings of Child Characters**

Airplane	Jack-in-Box
Ball	Marbles
Balloon	Paint Set
Baseball Glove	Piggy Bank
Basket	Puppet
Bike	Rocket
Blocks	Shovel
Boat	Skates
Broom	Spinning Top
Cars	Stuffed Animal
Computer	Swing
Dolls House	Toy Animals
Dolls	Toy Horse
Drum	Toy-other
Flag	Train
Flowers	Trucks
Go-Cart	Umbrella
Horse-stick	Wagon

APPENDIX E

Table 1. Changes in the Representation of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Males	51.9	120	58.8	170	60.8	359
Females	48.1	111	41.2	119	39.2	231
Total %	100	231	100	289	100	590

Table 2. Changes in the Representation of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Boys	40.3	409	44.6	351	53.5	934
Girls	59.7	606	55.4	436	46.5	813
Total %	100	1015	100	787	100	1747

Table 3. Changes in the Settings of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Inside	30.8	39.6	17.1	42.0	20.9	39.8
Outside	51.7	44.1	51.2	32.8	61.6	39.4
Other	17.5	16.3	31.7	25.2	17.5	20.8
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4. Changes in the Settings of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Inside	31.8	33.7	23.1	33.9	24.3	26.2
Outside	56.2	53.3	60.7	48.8	58.8	56.0
Other	12.0	13.0	16.2	17.3	16.9	17.8
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 5. Changes in the Location of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Home	35.0	43.2	18.8	42.9	7.2	17.3
Work	16.7	3.6	28.2	5.0	47.1	21.6
Other	48.3	53.2	53.0	52.1	45.7	61.1
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6. Changes in the Location of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Home	15.2	21.3	22.2	31.7	9.2	8.4
School	13.7	8.7	0.3	0.2	9.1	11.9
Other	71.1	70.0	77.5	68.1	81.7	79.7
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 7. Changes in the Physical Participation of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Active	50.8	33.3	55.9	26.9	56.6	31.6
Passive	48.3	66.7	44.1	68.9	44.0	67.5
Other	0.9	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8. Changes in the Physical Participation of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Active	45.0	38.8	55.6	50.5	53.0	48.1
Passive	53.8	60.9	44.4	49.5	46.0	51.2
Other	1.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.7
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 9. Changes in Emotions Expressed by Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Anger	1.7 ⁺	0.9	1.8	4.2	2.2	0.9
Cheerful	45.8	47.7	41.2	55.5	39.0	53.7
Fear	0.0	0.9	1.8	1.7	0.3	0.4
None	35.8	36.0	34.1	22.7	37.6	31.6
Sad	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.5	0.8	1.7
Serious	11.7	6.3	7.1	5.0	13.6	9.1
Surprise	0.8	2.7	4.7	0.8	1.4	1.3

* The variables are not mutually exclusive and percentages do not sum to 100 percent. These are the variables for which there are ten or more characters portrayed for all three decades.

⁺ Figures represent the percentage of all male or female characters in each category. For example, 1.7 percent of all male characters portrayed in the 1960's are shown being angry.

Table 10. Changes in the Emotions Expressed by Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Anger	1.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.5	0.6
Cheerful	34.2	35.1	49.9	61.9	47.1	51.4
Crying	0.5	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.0	0.0
Fearful	0.7	1.5	4.0	1.8	1.6	2.1
None	41.8	43.4	30.2	26.6	27.2	26.7
Panic	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.1
Sad	1.5	1.7	3.4	1.6	1.7	1.6
Serious	5.1	4.6	6.3	2.8	12.7	8.5
Surprise	6.1	6.3	2.8	2.1	2.5	1.8

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 11. Changes in Behaviours of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Assertive	5.0	0.9	2.9	4.2	3.1	2.6
Decisive	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.6	0.0
Directive	1.7	0.9	1.2	2.5	3.9	2.2
Helping	10.8	2.7	10.0	6.7	3.9	2.6
Initiative	2.5	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.9	0.0
Inventive	3.3	3.6	0.0	2.5	8.6	2.6
Need Help	0.0	6.3	1.8	1.7	0.6	2.6
Nurturant	0.8	15.3	4.1	24.4	2.8	11.7
Playful	9.2	5.4	19.4	4.2	3.3	7.4

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 12. Changes in Behaviours of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Assertive	6.8	6.3	6.3	8.0	5.9	5.9
Avoidance	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.0	1.1	1.8
Decisive	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	1.0
Directive	5.9	6.1	2.8	4.4	3.1	3.1
Helping	7.3	4.1	8.3	3.7	2.0	2.0
Initiative	3.4	1.3	3.4	0.5	1.7	0.9
Inventive	4.2	1.5	2.8	0.7	5.2	4.9
Mischivous	1.0	2.1	3.4	1.8	0.7	2.5
Needing help	1.2	4.3	6.0	5.0	1.2	0.6
Nurturant	0.0	0.8	1.4	1.8	0.2	0.7
Perservering	0.7	0.3	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.2
Playful	16.4	17.8	19.9	27.3	21.8	19.9

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 13. Changes in the Activities of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Female
Building	2.5	0.0	1.2	0.0	7.5	0.0
Child care	58.3	75.7	40.6	60.5	14.8	35.1
Cooking	0.0	4.5	0.0	5.0	0.3	0.0
Domestic	0.0	13.5	0.6	8.4	0.0	0.4
Driving	7.5	0.9	3.5	0.0	6.1	2.2
Family- outing	18.3	20.7	18.2	15.1	6.4	11.7
Games	2.5	5.4	1.2	1.7	0.0	4.8
Music	0.0	0.0	8.8	3.4	0.3	0.0
Painting	5.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.9
Reading	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.8	0.8	1.7
Shopping	0.0	8.1	2.4	7.6	0.6	7.8
Sight- seeing	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.7	2.2
Social- activity	14.2	23.4	5.9	6.7	5.0	7.8
Working	22.5	3.6	41.8	5.0	58.8	26.0
Zoo	0.0	0.0	4.1	2.5	8.4	9.1

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 14. Changes in the Activities of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Acting	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.9
Animals	22.2	24.1	29.1	28.0	24.7	22.5
Baking	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.5
Baseball	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.5	0.9	0.9
Biking	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.6	1.5
Boating	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4
Building	3.7	1.5	0.9	0.0	1.2	0.7
Circus	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	2.1	4.4
Climbing	1.2	0.0	0.9	0.5	2.2	1.1
Collecting	1.2	0.0	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Competitive games	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.7	1.5	1.7
Cowboy / cowgirl	0.0	0.0	2.6	1.4	0.0	0.0
Dancing	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Dress up	0.2	0.3	0.6	2.5	1.3	2.5
Family-outing	10.8	13.7	10.3	16.1	3.3	2.2
Football	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.2
Frisbee	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.5
Games	5.4	5.3	1.1	1.8	0.1	0.5
Gymnastics	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.6
Helicopter ride	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.6
Hide & seek	0.7	1.2	0.9	1.8	1.1	1.0
Horse-riding	1.0	1.2	1.4	2.3	0.0	0.0
House-cleaning	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.1
Ice hockey	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.7	0.3	0.0
Merry-go-round	1.7	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.1	0.0
Painting	1.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.7
Play sand	2.2	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
play water & mud	1.5	1.3	3.7	3.9	0.0	0.7

Table 14, Continued.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Playing-house	2.9	2.5	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0
Reading	0.5	0.7	0.6	1.6	0.9	0.9
Running	4.4	3.3	6.0	5.5	7.3	6.0
Searching	3.9	2.3	2.3	2.1	0.6	0.9
Shopping	1.7	2.5	2.3	3.0	1.1	1.2
Site seeing	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.2	0.9	0.2
Skating	0.0	0.5	0.6	1.4	0.0	2.0
Skipping	1.5	1.2	0.3	1.1	0.5	1.1
Sleeping	0.2	0.3	2.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
Sliding	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.5
Snow	0.0	0.0	4.0	5.5	0.9	0.7
Social-activity	21.8	18.6	3.7	5.0	6.1	7.4
Solitary-activity	4.9	7.3	17.7	10.3	5.9	5.7
Swinging	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.6	1.1
Tobaganning	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.5	0.0	0.0
Watching	29.3	32.8	11.4	16.1	17.8	21.0
Zoo	2.7	2.1	3.1	0.2	3.1	4.1

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 15. Changes in the Playthings of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Airplanes	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Balloons	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.1
Balls	1.0	1.0	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.6
Bike	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.4
Blocks	1.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Boat	4.2	1.2	2.0	1.1	0.1	0.6
Cars	0.5	1.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dolls	0.5	4.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
Puppets	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.9
Stuffed- toys	0.5	7.9	0.6	2.3	0.0	0.0
Trains	0.2	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wagons	4.2	2.6	1.1	0.7	1.5	0.6

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 16. Changes in the Physical Activity of Child Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Vigorously Physical	6.1	5.0	13.1	9.2	14.2	13.7
Moderately Physical	12.2	7.4	15.1	15.6	7.4	6.4
Light/non-Physical	60.4	63.2	53.0	52.5	47.4	48.0

* See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 17. Changes in Marital Status of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Married	71.7	87.4	43.5	71.4	12.5	19.0
Single	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	3.0
Other	28.3	12.6	56.5	26.1	87.5	78.0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 18. Changes in Family Relationship of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960		1970		1980	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parent	32.5	37.8	22.9	31.9	6.7	21.6
Grand-Parent	10.8	14.4	0.0	1.7	2.8	9.5
Other	56.7	47.8	77.1	66.4	90.5	68.9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 19. Changes in Interactions of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.*

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Adult	22.9	19.5	20.6	13.4	36.8	28.6
Child-Caring	2.5	10.6	1.8	21.0	1.1	4.3
Child-Other	21.2	38.1	11.8	17.6	10.6	15.6
Child-Playing	18.6	10.6	17.1	5.9	1.9	6.5
Child-Talking	44.1	38.1	28.2	45.4	23.7	43.3
Child-Teaching	1.7	0.9	2.4	2.5	6.4	6.9

* See footnotes in Table 9.

Table 20. Changes in Occupations of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.

1960	1970	1980
Bus/Taxi driver (M)	Boneman (M)	Actor/Actress (*)
Cafeteria worker (F)	Bus/Taxi driver (M)	Airport worker (M)
Cashier (F)	Clown (M)	Baker/Cook (M)
Construction (M)	Farmer (M)	Balloon person (M)
Farmer (M)	Fishman (M)	Brick layer (M)
Grocery Del (M)	Giant (M)	Business (M)
Mechanic (M)	Horse-jockey (M)	Camera person (M)
Milk Del (M)	Judge (*)	Chef (M)
Mover (M)	King (M)	Circus attend (*)
Painter (M)	Mail carrier (M)	Clock Repair (F)
Police (M)	Maple sugar wrk (M)	Construction (*)
Storekeeper (M)	Musician (*)	Custodian (M)
	Police (F)	Delivery (*)
	Princess (F)	Dock Worker (M)
	Rancher (M)	Doctor (F)
	Storekeeper (M)	Farmer (M)
	Vendor (M)	Film Director (*)
	Zoo Keeper (M)	Firefighter (M)
		Garbage Col. (*)
		Gardener (M)
		Heli. pilot (*)
		Land surveyor (*)
		Lumber worker (M)
		Mail Carrier (M)
		Mayor (M)
		Musician (*)
		Native Chief (M)
		Police (M)
		Porter (M)
		Rancher (M)
		Rescue Worker (M)
		Sales Person (*)
		Ship Captain (M)
		Shoe Maker (M)
		Shoe Maker Hlpr (F)
		Sign Maker (M)
		Storekeeper (*)
		Street Cleaner (M)
		Teacher (*)
		Totem Pole Crvr (M)
		Tour Guide (M)

Legend

M=Male

F=Female

*= Male and Female

Table 20, continued.

1960	1970	1980
		Truck driver (M)
		Vendor (M)
		Weather Person (F)
		Witch (F)
		Woodman (M)
		Zoo Keeper (M)

Table 21. Changes in the Most Common Occupations of Adult Characters in Textbooks, 1960's - 1980's.⁺

	1960		1970		1980	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
Bus/Taxi						
Driver	10.3	3	4.2	3	2.8	6
Const-						
ruktion	3.4	1	0.0	-	16.0	34
Farmer	3.4	1	5.6	4	4.2	9
Musician	0.0	-	21.1	4	1.4	3
Police	20.7	6	0.0	-	1.9	4
Store-						
keeper	20.7	6	2.8	2	5.2	11
Teacher	0.0	-	0.0	-	14.1	30
Other	41.5	100.0	66.3	28.7	54.4	68.3
Total %	100	17	100	13	100	97
		0		5		20

⁺ Refer to Table 13 for the proportion of characters shown working. See Footnotes in Table 9.

Table 22. Changes in Percentage and Number of Adult Characters in Occupations, 1960's - 1980's.

	1960	1970	1980
Total # of occupations	12	18	48
# of occupations for men	10	16	41
% of occupations for men	83.3	88.8	85.4
# of occupations for women	2	4	18
% of occupations for women	16.6	22.2	37.5

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