SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING IN FIFTH GRADE STUDENTS: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in

COUNSELOR EDUCATION

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December, 1993

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(ABSTRACT)

The discovery of the variables that impact on the career aspirations of children is important in the development of effective programs and interventions. These variables can also serve as a basis to provide equal opportunities and to promote diversity in the work place.

This study was driven by three primary areas of investigation. First, it sought to discover the perceived gender characteristics of selected occupations held by a group of children. Second, it sought to investigate in what ways the occupational patterns within the families of these children related to their perceptions of occupational gender characteristics. Third, it sought to explore in what ways the occupational preferences of these children related to their perceptions of occupational gender characteristics. A qualitative research design using multiple-case studies was

utilized.

Participants were selected from a pool of 76 fifth-grade students from a suburban elementary school. A purposive sample of 11 boys and 10 girls was selected from this pool for in-depth study. A structured interview schedule was the main source of data collection. Data analysis was based on the tenets of the grounded theory approach.

This study revealed that these children assigned gender characteristics to occupations based on their underlying views of the meaning and character of femininity and masculinity. The occupational patterns in the families of these children were traditionally sex-typed and the boys perpetuated that pattern by selecting traditional occupations for themselves. The boys selected occupations which were congruent with their views of masculinity. Several of the girls broke away from the traditional sex-typed occupations of their mothers and aspired to non-traditional occupations. The girls who broke the traditional patterns were cognizant of the dominant social views and practices regarding gender-appropriate occupations. Nonetheless, they were undeterred in stating their aspirations of traditionally male occupations.

DEDICATION

IN MEMORIAM

LYNAM LEE PHILLIPS

October 13, 1965 - October 11, 1984

This study is dedicated to the memory of my son, Lynam Lee Phillips. He is remembered for his wit, his sensitivity, his joy of living and his service to others. Although no longer with us, the essence of his being remains to comfort those who love him.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project could not have been completed without the support of my family, friends, colleagues and mentors who gave generously of themselves, their time, and their energy.

I would foremost like to acknowledge with gratitude my family, who were my source of strength. My parents, who instilled in me the pursuit of knowledge as a lifelong endeavor. My husband Lee, companion and friend, whose love sustained and freed me to grow. My son Trevor, who shared my agonies and triumphs, believed in me, and never allowed me to lose sight of my goals. My daughter Melinda, who cheered me on every step of the way, bolstered my spirits whenever I flagged, and picked me up whenever I stumbled. My son-in-law Matthew, who listened and understood. My granddaughter Meghan Victoria, who made me laugh and keep life in perspective. My grandson Brendan Christopher, who reminded me of the renewal and continuity of life.

I would like to express my appreciation to my dissertation committee members: Johnnie H. Miles, Marvin G. Cline, Sharon Ferguson, Eric McCollum, and Libby Hoffman. I am thankful for their guidance during the completion of this project. Special thanks to Johnnie Miles who chaired my committee and kept me focused and on task from wherever she was, be it locally, Blacksburg, or abroad. I especially

value the friendship she so generously extended to me. Jerry Cline, who directed my research with the patience that allowed me to understand the true meaning of process. I appreciate his sense of timing and humor that kept me motivated.

I would also like to thank the many friends and colleagues, too numerous to name, who supported me. To the teachers who offered suggestions, ideas and collaborated with me, I owe a debt of gratitude.

But most of all, I would like to thank the children who shared their lives with me and welcomed me into that special place, a child's world. I treasure the times we spent together, and I am forever indebted to them for reminding me of how tender and precious the days of childhood are.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Erik Erickson (1950) proposed a series of stages to characterize development through the life span. By the time children enter school, they have already proceeded through the first three stages, of Erikson's (1950) well-established developmental model, Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust, Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt, and Initiative versus Guilt. Significant social relationships with their primary caregiver and family will have contributed to their development. Trust, optimism, purpose, direction and the ability to initiate their own activities are favorable outcomes of these first three stage (Hilgard, Atkinson, and Atkins 1979).

The elementary school years are a child's first entry into a formal social structure outside the family. During these years children need to successfully resolve the Industry versus Inferiority crises in Erikson's model. At this point in their development children need to develop a sense of competence in intellectual, social, and physical skills (Hilgard, Atkinson, and Atkins 1979).

These early school years are the foundation for building confidence and motivation as a basis to mitigate

later school problems and failures. Continued academic failure has serious ramifications that affect the lives of children. The experience of repeated failures contributes to the development of a poor self-concept. These failures create a self-perpetuating cycle of powerlessness and a lack of control over life events. Society loses its most valuable resource when people are discouraged from contributing their best effort (Cousey, 1992).

The philosophical concept that children's sense of worth is closely related to their competence demands the exploration of the different variables that impact on their career development (Super 1951). This exploration will enhance the opportunities to counsel and guide children to their full potential throughout their school years. Counselors are key players in leading students toward a future of possibilities (Sandy, Golden, and McCorsky (1992).

In terms of career development, it is at this juncture in the elementary school years that children learn to appreciate the importance of their education and its relevance to the world of work. Children's sense of self includes pride in their work and accomplishments. The development of an image of themselves as workers begins to evolve at this time (Seligman, 1980). According to Super (1963) the vocational self-concept develops as children begin to recognize themselves as distinctive individuals.

The process begins with the self-differentiation that occurs as part of the identity search. A child becomes aware of factors pertaining to self, such as being physically different, and good or bad in academic matters. This awareness is the precursor to decisions regarding education and work that are congruent with the self-concept. This self-concept is expressed through occupations that allow for the playing of a role in concert with that self-concept (Super, 1951).

According to Holland (1973) career choice is an expression and extension of the personality into the world of work. The congruence of the self-concept with occupational preference forms the basis for what Holland refers to as the modal personal style.

Roe (1956) theorized that childhood experiences play a major role in finding satisfaction in an occupational field. She noted that childhood frustrations and satisfactions greatly influence occupational choice.

To facilitate children's career development, the primary goal in the career education of elementary school children is the expansion of options; an increased awareness of self, society; and the world of work (Seligman, 1980). According to Meyerson (1981), existing career education programs are more compatible with providing students occupational information than in assisting them to develop

self and career awareness. Effective career education must incorporate the guidance principles of increased self-concept to develop self-understanding in the preadolescent years prior to later career decisions. The challenge to initiate, plan, and develop appropriate programs to meet and support students' needs requires an understanding of the different factors which impact on their career development.

In response to this challenge, counseling programs need to address children's unique needs in the development of their career aspirations. Counselors often work with students identified as unmotivated or not achieving to their potential. In many instances these students are experiencing not only academic difficulties, but also suffering from low self-concept and view themselves as incompetent.

The term self-concept and self-esteem have often been used interchangeably. Self-concept has been defined in a number of ways. Words such as feeling good about themselves, understanding themselves, and knowing themselves, have been used when discussing the self-concept of children.

Silvernail (1987) defines the evaluative dimension of the self-concept as self-esteem while the self-concept refers to the perceptions one has of self and of how others perceive us. Gottfredson (1981) views the self-concept as the

totality of different ways for seeing oneself. It includes one's view of one's abilities, interests, personality, or place in society.

On the other hand, Borba & Borba (1978) see self-concept as the consolidation of information from environmental and social experiences. The perception of how others view us and how we see ourselves creates the self-concept.

These definitions share the commonality of the perception of self from several perspectives. For the purposes of this study and to maintain consistency, the term self-concept will be used.

The expansion of career information would be beneficial to increase students self-concept. Bank (1977) suggested that children often encounter difficulties relating their experiences to the world of work. He found that children were more aware of occupations related to art, music and physical education than to the academic subjects. By helping them to see the relationship between their everyday activities and the world of work, students are able to develop an awareness of their strengths and areas of competence.

Background

Ginzberg (1951) posits that occupational choice is a developmental process which encompasses three distinct periods. The Fantasy Period, dominated primarily by play, occurs before the age of eleven. The transitional process that marks the gradual recognition of interests, abilities, work rewards, values and time perspectives occur from ages 11 through 17 and is known as the Tentative Period. Middle adolescence (age 17 to young adulthood) marks the onset of the Realistic Period. It is at this time that the integration of capacities, interests, values and the crystallization of occupational patterns take place.

The first two periods (Fantasy and Tentative) occur while the child is in the elementary school when the occupational role as part of the self-concept is evolving. According to Seligman (1980), individuals select careers that will allow them to express their self-concept. Gottfredson (1981) expands that to include sex-role stereotypes and social class as part of the developing vocational self-concept.

Children's career development has generally been examined from a broad perspective. Since the pioneering work of Ginzberg et al. (1951) and Super (1957) in approaching occupational choice from a developmental perspective, many

attempts have been made to quantify and qualify this phenomenon. In these attempts some correlates that impact on children's career development such as socioeconomic status, intelligence and parental expectations (Brook, Whiteman, Persach, and Deutsch, 1974; Seligman, Weinstock, and Heflin, 1991) have been identified and discussed in the literature. Researchers have also investigated family dynamics, achievement, play activities, and intergenerational patterns as evidence of the complexity of career development (e.g., Metzler-Brennan, Lewis, and Gerrard (1985); Cooper and Robinson (1989); Brook, Whiteman, Persach, and Deutsch (1974), Weeks, Wise, and Duncan, 1984). These correlates will be discussed under the following headings: childhood antecedents, family influence, and occupational sex-roles.

Childhood Antecedents

Numerous studies have focused on the antecedents in childhood that have some bearing on career choices. For example, Metzler-Bennan, Lewis, and Gerrard (1985) explored the childhood toys, games, activities and aspirations of adult women and concluded that childhood experiences are associated with later career choices. Cooper and Robinson (1989) investigated the relationship of childhood

preferences in masculine oriented play and activities of men and women entering male dominated career fields. Their investigation suggested that masculine childhood play experiences develop the skills necessary to achieve in several careers.

Family Influence

Numerous studies have examined family influence on occupational choice. Family dynamics, parental aspirations, intergenerational patterns of sex-role attitudes and career orientations are factors investigated. Seligman, Weinstock, and Owings (1988) examined the role of family dynamics and the career development of five-year-old children. Their data suggest a relationship between those children with a positive family orientation and the verbalization of career aspirations. Brook, Whiteman, Persach, and Deutsch (1974) investigated the correlates of children and parent expectations. Their study found parental educational and occupational aspirations for the child are related to socioeconomic status, race in the educational area, and sex. Children's occupational aspirations were associated with interactions of socioeconomic status with grade and sex and of grade with sex. Correlations between the parents' educational and occupational aspirations and between the

children's aspirations were highest for the fifth grade.

In another study Seligman, Weinstock, and Heflin (1991) assessed the relationship of ten-year-olds' career development to their perceptions of their families, their self-image, their career awareness, their interests, and their work/family aspirations. Their data suggest that children can clearly articulate their career and family aspirations at that age.

Weeks, Wise, and Duncan (1984) sought to discover whether a relationship existed between daughters' and mothers' sex-role attitudes and their own and their mothers' career orientations. They hypothesized that the more extra-familial the daughters' career orientations, the more contemporary their sex-role attitudes would be. The study also investigated the link of sex-role attitudes of daughters not only to their own aspirations but to the career statuses of their mothers and maternal grandmothers.

Occupational Sex-Roles

Several studies have examined children's career aspirations and their views of sex appropriate occupations. Henderson, Hesbeth, and Tuffin (1988) studied the stability of sex-role typing in career choices of children aged 5-14. Their results suggest that girls develop a strong sex-typed

preference earlier than boys. Boys were found to be more rigid in their views of sex appropriate occupations. They concur with Gottfredson's (1981) theory that sex-role stereotypes and social class become part of the developing vocational self-concept.

A study by Miller and Stanford (1987) also found support for Gottfredson's theory of occupational restriction. Their findings are congruent with traditional sex-role stereotyping and vocational development.

Hageman and Gladding (1983) investigated occupational sex-role stereotyping among elementary school children. Their findings suggest that boys chose traditional male occupations for themselves and limited the occupations available to girls. Although girls chose nontraditional jobs as occupations they would most like to have, many girls resign themselves to having a traditionally female occupation.

On the other hand, Schlossberg and Goodman (1972) found in their study that although boys and girls choose traditional occupations for themselves, they tend to exclude more women from men's jobs than men from women's jobs. Men are viewed as having the ability to do anything, while women are more limited. The children's views reflect the notion that woman's place is not necessarily in the home, but in certain occupations.

Barnhart (1983) investigated children's sex-typed views of traditional occupational roles and also found support for a high degree of occupational sex-typing for both boys and girls. Most occupations were perceived as the role of one or the other sex in keeping with traditional stereotyping. The Tibbetts (1975) study also found a high degree of traditional sex-role stereotyping of occupations by both genders. Boys express a larger quantity of choices available to them in comparison to girls.

Researchers have accumulated a considerable body of knowledge about the correlates that influence career development. The majority of the data have been obtained from adults and high school students and, in most instances, from a retrospective point of view. However, retrospective perspectives can be influenced by memory and present circumstances.

A limited number of studies have addressed career aspirations from the school-age child's perspective, with the exception of the previously cited works. The available literature has also neglected to address the process that children pass through in the development of their career aspirations.

Although career development is recognized as complex and having its early roots in childhood (Super, 1957; Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad and Herma, 1951), researchers

have devoted little attention to investigating school-age children's aspirations at the elementary school level. An area not widely investigated is the nature of children's aspirations. More specifically, whether boys and girls select their stated career aspirations differently at the fifth grade level has not been widely addressed.

Statement of the Problem

In view of the absence of specific data in the area of investigation regarding children's development, this study, with a primary focus on gender differences in children's stated occupational preferences, will add to the literature and hopefully provide some ideas in counseling children. The study will investigate the variables that impact on fifth grade children's occupational preferences.

Purpose and Research Questions

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the gender differences in the occupational preferences of fifth grade students and to examine how these preferences are related to their perceptions of their families, their interests, their career awareness, their capacity, their role models, their values, and their occupational sex-

typing.

The gender differences in children's occupational preferences will be examined using the descriptors in the Ginzberg et al.(1951) model. Gottfredson's (1981) theory of circumscription and compromise will guide the study in exploring gender differences in the perception of sex-appropriate occupations.

The study will be guided by the following questions:

1. What are the perceived gender characteristics of selected occupations that a group of fifth grade girls and boys have?

2. In what ways do the occupational patterns within the families of these children relate to their perceptions of gender occupational characteristics?

3. In what ways do the children's occupational preferences relate to their perception of occupational gender characteristics?

Limitations

The sample in this study is small in number and selected from one suburban school in Virginia. The results will be generalizable not to other subjects, but across concepts. The relationship of gender and occupation, as well as the process of conceptualizing gender and occupation

are generalizable.

Significance of the Study

According to Marshall and Rossman (1989), research should contribute to knowledge, be useful and meaningful to the relevant policy arenas, and be useful to practitioners. This study will be useful in these three broad areas:

Contribution to Knowledge

The findings from this study will possibly have implications for those who work with children from an educational as well as from a developmental perspective. This research will also assist in heightening the awareness of teachers and parents regarding the effects of activities and experiences on career aspirations.

Relevant to Policy Arenas

Authorities may use these findings to:

a. Reduce any culturally imposed gender limitations in career aspirations.

b. Increase the level of participation of children in androgynous experiences.

c. Actively support and encourage students in the pursuit of individual interests and the realization of each individual's potential.

It is hoped that knowledge gleaned will open the doors to equity in the opportunities for choice.

Useful to Practitioners

Counselors may use the findings to guide students in the development of a positive self-concept and in sound decision-making which leads to a future of expanded possibilities. Additionally, counselors can help students understand how their perceptions of the world of work play an important role in the quantity and range of their occupational preferences (Miller and Stanford, 1987). In this respect, students can be assisted in the elimination of premature foreclosure or circumscription of their occupational aspirations.

Theoretical Framework

The proposed study will investigate gender differences in the occupational aspirations of fifth grade students. Two theories will provide the framework for the study; the Ginzberg (1951) model and the Gottfredson (1981) theory of

circumscription and compromise.

The Ginzberg (1951) model will provide the foundation to explore students' stated aspirations on the basis of interests, capacity, time perspective, and values rather than from a pleasure perspective.

Ginzberg (1951), like Super (1957), views career development as a series of events in a predictable order. The Ginzberg model is not predictive of occupational choice, rather it allows for the anticipation of vocationally relevant behavior (Osipow, 1983). It provides normative information about the vocational process at approximately predictable times (Osipow, 1983).

Ginzberg proposes three distinct periods in career development. The Fantasy Period is related to career choices primarily for the pleasure of the activity. Occupations are thought of in terms of wishful thinking; the desire to be an adult and pursue adult activities perceived as pleasurable. The Tentative Period incorporates several stages, beginning with the recognition of interests and progressing through the capacity stage, the evaluation of values and the transition stage before entering the third and final period. The Realistic Period is marked by the recognition of environmental barriers and compromise is exerted to procure the best fit.

Gottfredson's (1981) theory of circumscription and

compromise will provide the underpinnings to examine girls' and boys' perceptions of occupational stereotypes. Gottfredson's theory describes four stages centered around the evolving self-concept and cognitive development. Stage one (Orientation to Size and Power) occurs when children first grasp the concept of being an adult, usually around the ages of three to five. Sex-typing of occupational preferences occurs during the second stage (Orientation to Sex Roles) around the ages of six to eight years. Children next enter the Orientation to Social Valuation Stage from ages nine to thirteen when social class and ability become important. The fourth stage (Orientation to the Internal, Unique Self), around age 14 centers on the adolescent identity crises. It encompasses attitudes, values, personality traits and interests into occupational preferences. At this stage the field of work has already been circumscribed by gender, social position, and ability.

Gottfredson maintains the view that sex-typed preferences remain constant once established between ages six and eight. However, Henderson, Heskett, and Tuffin (1988) (cited in Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg, 1983) point out that Gottfredson does not address gender differences in the sex-typing of occupational preference. This study will examine the gender differences in the sex-typing of occupations.

CHAPTER TWO

Related Literature

Introduction

The philosophy that supports the rights of both men and women to pursue occupations on the basis of individual abilities, interests, values and goals rather than on the basis of culturally established and socially maintained gender roles and stereotypes promotes the human potential (Hayes, 1986). Because children develop within a sociocultural context, this review begins with a discussion of gender role socialization. The review also discusses the subtle messages children receive from a variety of societal influences and their impact on gender role development and the development of the self-concept.

The goal of equity in occupations is to increase options and choices in both sex-traditional and non-traditional occupations (Schwartz, 1981). Gender equity is a prominent issue in society today, and some inroads have been made to reduce sexual segregation in the work force. However, further change must occur to ensure that individual choice emanates from one's values and purpose and is not limited by both external and internal factors (Kline, 1991).

External factors that influence choice include the overt and covert gender bias in society. These create an atmosphere of caution and limited risk-taking which discourages self-exploration and assertive choice. Internal factors which influence choice are the subtle messages children receive from adults and culturally through books, magazines, music and television media (Kline, 1991).

Gender Role Socialization

The term gender role is used throughout this review. According to Unger (1979), it is a more inclusive term than sex role which refers to the physiologically determining role sets for men and women. Gender role is composed of the nonphysiological components of sex, including the behaviors, expectations, and roles that society defines as masculine, feminine or androgynous.

Children are born into a pre-existing social structure with culturally defined expectations and patterns of behavior. These expectations and patterns link the individual to the structure. The expectations which determine the behavior normally acceptable for the individual and is a determinant of the position an individual occupies in the organized social structure is commonly referred to as social role. The different sets of

roles assigned to males and to females are identified as gender roles (Leach & Davies, 1990).

The process of gender role socialization leads children to assume the appropriate roles and responsibilities assigned to their gender. Role induction occurs through the socialization of the child into the acquisition of "sex-appropriate" preferences and skills (Leach & Davies, 1990). The child is taught how to be a boy or a girl through experiences and social interactions that reinforce these normal and acceptable behaviors.

Holland (1975) contends that the occupational aspirations of men and women differ because of their life histories. Through gender-role socialization children learn that men and women have different abilities, interests, and aptitudes that are suitable for different jobs for men and for women (Wesley & Wesley, 1977).

Researchers propose that gender-role socialization creates a male/female polarity (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). According to Vetter et al., (1979), as quoted in Hayes, (1986), the socialization process perpetuates rigid gender roles that constrain or limit occupational choice to those traditionally considered sex-appropriate. Men continue to prefer practical, physical, psychomotor or managerial occupations, and women prefer supportive, clerical and socially-oriented

occupations (Kendall & Miller, 1983).

Asten (1984) contends that socialization experiences and opportunities affect the career choices of men and women through their expectations of what would satisfy their needs. Years of socialization regarding occupational stereotyping restricts occupational choice (Auster & Auster, 1982; Dillard & Campbell, 1981). Haring and Beyard-Taylor (1984) cite gender role socialization and poor self-concept, particularly concerning math and science abilities, as barriers for females entering non-traditional occupations. Farmer (1985) proposed that environmental factors such as parent and teacher support modify career aspirations.

School Influence on Gender Role Development

Schools are a strong socializing force in the development of the individual (Gibson, 1989). There has been a great deal of educational thought about how social inequities are maintained though schools. Whether the attention is positive, negative, or neutral, the maxim in the American classroom is that boys get more (Sadker,1986).

According to Sadker (1986) teachers in general, from elementary school to graduate school, interact differently with girls and boys. In elementary schools males are questioned more often, are given more precise feedback, are

criticized more often, and allowed more wait time to respond than females.

Instructional inequity is evident as teachers instruct male students in performing a task, but will often do the task for female students. Because they are given the opportunity to respond more often and to receive positive feedback, boys learn to handle criticism. Their self-concept increases as a result of the opportunity to express their views, while at the same time their efforts are noted and praised.

On the other hand, the average female in the classroom is often ignored - neither praised nor reprimanded. Girls learn that their opinions are not valued. Female students come to the conclusion that they are neither smart nor are they important in the classroom. The message they receive is that their achievement is based on luck or hard work rather than on their ability (Shakeshaft, 1986). Girls, therefore, emerge from schools with a lesser degree of confidence and self-esteem than boys. The 1990 AAUW poll, Shortchanging Girls, reveals a loss of self-confidence in girls as they enter adolescence.

Teaching methods which encourage competition work in boys' favor and do not address girls' needs to undertake projects and activities which require cooperation rather than competition (AAUW Report, 1992). This "I win, you

lose" philosophy is reinforced in classrooms and on playing fields. According to Gilligan (1982), this is not the best learning environment for girls. Although boys gravitate toward competition, girls find it potentially divisive and threatening to group formation (Gilligan, 1982).

The inequalities of teacher-student interaction are further reinforced in curriculum materials. Textbooks and illustrations are not as inclusive of females as they are of males (Sadker & Sadker, 1989).

Textbooks are the foundation for the learning experience in most classrooms. Through the use of textbooks students experience concrete evidence of what they are learning. Historically these textbooks portray girls and boys stereotypically. Boys are depicted as ingenious, independent and brave. Girls are portrayed as passive and dependent (Sadker, Sadker, & Donald, 1989).

According to a study conducted by Gonzalez-Suarez and Ekstrom (1989) of elementary reading texts, males comprise more that 60 percent of the characters. Not only were males depicted more often than females, but the portrayals also differed for males and females. While men were seen in active roles, they were restricted to traditionally male occupations. On the other hand, women's appearance and personal characteristics were stressed.

Some change in curricular material is taking place. In

contemporary mathematics texts, the Nibblelink, Stockdale, and Mangru (1986) study revealed a fairer representation of females than in the past. Kinman and Hendersons's (1985) seven year study of children's books awarded the coveted Newberry Medal Award found women depicted more frequently in these books as the main character and in less stereotypical roles. Apparently women can now be ingenious detectives or independent actresses (Gonzalez-Suarez & Ekstrom, 1989).

The assignation of rigid roles or attributes to a group contributes to stereotyping of that group. Instructional materials that stereotype deny students knowledge of other groups. In books, videos, and handouts, bias takes on the form of female invisibility and gender stereotyping. If children internalize these stereotypes, they may fail to develop their own unique abilities, interests and full potential (Sadker, Sadker, & Donald, 1989).

Teachers enter the classroom with their own socially influenced expectations of sex-appropriate behaviors and careers for girls and for boys. Like other members of society, teachers are the product of a socialization process that expects girls to be passive and dependent and expects boys to be assertive and competitive (Sadker, Sadker, & Donald, 1989). Female students are very aware of these stereotypical teacher expectations (Knopf, 1979).

Values, attitudes, and stereotypes influence the

expectations of teachers and administrators in their daily interactions with students. These expectations are transmitted in subtle but powerful messages to males and females about how they should behave and what they should become (Lindley, H. & Keithley, M., 1991). Teachers' sexist expectations often translate into behavior (Sadker, Sadker, & Donald, 1989). The Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) study concluded that teacher expectation shaped and altered student academic performance.

The paucity of women as role models in administrative positions also sends messages to children who typically observe female teachers taking orders from male administrators. In 1928 women comprised 55 percent of elementary principals. By 1985 that figure had dropped, to an 18 percent representation. Through observations of role models (female teachers), young females internalize the message that their function is that of service, placing the needs and wants of others above their own (Gilligan, 1982).

Teachers and administrators bring into the educational setting the messages they have acquired from their childhood and adult years. In subtle or sometimes direct ways these are communicated to students as they interact with them. Stereotypes and biases create educational inequity and thus restrict the potentials of individuals. The most pervasive form of bias in schools is exclusion of students from

opportunities and equal treatment (Lindley & Keithley, 1991).

Children come to school eager to achieve, to learn, and to develop peer relationships. What happens to the eager child depends to a large extent on the educational system that welcomes him or her. It remains unclear if measured characteristics such as negative school attitude and low self-concept are brought to the school or produced by school experiences (Wehlage & Rutter, 1986).

Schools as major socializing agents besides the family are the germinating fields of a child's perception of empowerment and the ability to make choices free from societal constraints. All children need to have an equal ownership in the commitment to their education. The positive school climate correlate to effective schools mandates that children feel valued and a sense of belonging in their school building regardless of sex, race or religion.

Educators are responsible for providing an environment conducive to the engendering of growth in all students, not only academically, but physically and emotionally as well. Those of us who are privileged to work with children are accountable for at least attempting to teach them the necessary survival skills for our contemporary times (Chase, 1975).

Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1975) suggested a more equitable treatment of sex roles. It stands to reason that as women's roles change and more women enter non-traditional occupations, men too will have to undergo role change. Students need to be exposed to an expansion of roles to include men in nurturing activities and women in non-traditional activities.

Students need to be able to consider all the available options in occupations. Girls often believe they cannot achieve higher goals or fear being judged as less "feminine" by male peers. Boys can be so preoccupied in selecting a career because of financial status that is equated as more "masculine" (The Equity Equation, May, 1992).

Researchers such as Maslow have verified that people without choices experience reduced motivation and achievement (Causey, 1992). Schools are central in effecting change in gender role expectations (AAUW, 1992). It is alarming that in all the rhetoric of educational reform, so little attention has been given to equity issues (Lindley & Keithley, 1991).

Family Influence on Gender Role Development

Long before a baby is born, parents have dreams and expectations for their children. These goals and dreams

often differ according to the sex of the newborn. In studies of pregnant women, a strong preference for boys was found, possibly indicating that a higher value is given to boys than to girls (Schaffer, 1980). Beginning with the pink and blue identification cards in the hospital nursery, differential attitudes and treatment are set into motion.

Rubin, Provenzano, and Luria (1974) suggest that at the time of birth, baby girls are regarded as softer, smaller, and finer featured than boys. Other studies support the concept of differential attitudes and treatment in that baby boys are regarded as sturdier than girls and are played with more roughly. Additionally, parents expect sons to be more active and aggressive and daughters to be passive and nonassertive (Moss, 1967; Lewis & Freedle, 1973).

Parental expectations also differ for their children, depending on their sex. In a nationwide study conducted by Hoffmann (1977), characteristics such as hard working, intelligent, honest, ambitious, aggressive, independent, and successful were reported for boys. Parental expectations for girls were to be a good mother, to make a good marriage, and to be kind, loving, and attractive. These parental expectations may to some extent influence the careers and roles children select for themselves (Rosenwasser, 1982)

Several studies support the choice of different types of toys for boys and girls (Fagot, 1974; Seavy, Kartz &

Zalk, 1975; Fein, Johnson, Kosson, Strok & Wassman, 1975). Although this practice has decreased over the years, there is evidence that parental choice of toys continue to be based on perceived gender-roles (Solomon, 1982).

Several studies support the choice of different types of toys for boys and girls (Fagot, 1974; Seavy, Kartz & Zalk, 1975; Fein, Johson, Kosson, Strok & Wassman, 1975). Although this practice has decreased over the years, there is evidence that parental choice of toys continues to be based on perceived gender-roles (Solomon, 1982).

The selection of toys children receive or the kinds of things children see on television may be factors that fit into a pattern of reinforcement. O'Keefe and Hyde (1983) investigated the stereotyped choices of jobs in children and concluded that these children may have been responding to the reinforcement from parents.

Other studies support the contention that parents may encourage sons to be more independent than daughters (Saegert & Hart, 1976; Callard, 1964). Additionally, Duncan, Schuman and Duncan (1973) discovered that mothers assigned tasks and chores according to what they perceived as gender-appropriate. For example, boys should shovel snow; girls should dust and make beds. Although there are some changes being made, Rosenwasser (1982) suggests that tasks continue to be gender-typed.

Men are more likely to perceive children in a stereotypical manner, and to assign attributes of independence and aggressiveness to boys and passivity and dependence to girls (Schaffer, 1980). Gender-appropriate activities are more strongly encouraged for boys than for girls. Behaviors considered sex-inappropriate for boys create more concern for parents than such behaviors in girls (Norris, Katz, & Chapman, 1978; Seyfried & Hendrick, 1973). Boys who pursue non-traditional careers are often viewed by girls in non-traditional careers as less socially attractive (Kendall, 1983).

According to Sutherland (1984), girls who choose non-traditional occupations usually have parents with higher educational and occupational levels than girls who choose traditional occupations. These females also tend to be the first-born child or an only child, may have higher educational goals, and perceive that their parents and teachers also have higher educational expectations for them.

Media Influence on Gender Role Development

Being "male" or "female" is an issue children enthusiastically embrace, often to the puzzlement of parents whose efforts to teach their boys to be gentle and their girls to be assertive fall on deaf ears (Leach & Davies

1990). According to Lindley and Keithley (1991) children develop attitudes about themselves and others based on the repeated messages they receive over time. These messages come from several sources such as parents, teachers, and other adults in their lives, from peers, and from a variety of societal influences, including television and other media.

Children are continuously exposed to sexist language in many aspects of their lives. According to Sadker, Sadker, & Donald (1989), at toy stores children see science kits with scenes of boys looking through microscopes and actively performing experiments. Displays feature well-endowed female dolls with pretty dresses and long hair standing in rows to be admired.

Teglasi (1981) stated that long before children are faced with the opportunity to make a career-related decision, they have internalized the appropriate cultural expectations for them. At a young age girls play with toys which seem designed to reinforce societal expectations and stereotypes that impact on their career development (Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972). Boys are surrounded by societal influences, including parental attitudes which facilitate the internalization of the masculine role (Solomon, 1982).

Girls often get nurse kits and miniature mothering or

household items, while boys receive cars, trucks, and doctor kits. Apparently, children from an early age stereotype and select toys and activities which are congruent with their understanding of sex-role standards (Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers, 1976; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

The avoidance of non-traditional sex-role objects increases over time as children grow older (Vieira & Miller, 1978). Teglasi (1981) contended that children maintain stereotyped perceptions and traditional behaviors that are consistent with early childhood career aspirations and provide a basis for continuity with later career decisions.

O'Keefe and Hyde (1983) posit that children may choose stereotyped jobs on the basis of reinforcements and learning what the social expectations are for them. Possibly, children divide jobs into what is gender appropriate based on gender identity.

Self-Concept and Gender Role Development

Children begin to mold their self-concept at a young age. Successful experiences enhance the formation of a positive self-concept. Parents and teachers can help children develop their strengths in a secure environment (Borba & Borba, 1982).

The importance of the self-concept in children is well

documented. Several researchers (e.g. Brookover, 1969; Glasser, 1969; Maslow, 1971) believe there is a clear relationship between how one sees oneself and how effectively one functions. Neither the nature, nor a cause and effect of this relationship has been established (Stafford & Hill, 1989).

Wiggins and Wiggins (1992) make the point that the self-concept cannot be divorced from the academic performance of most students. Feder-Feitel (1993) contended that self-concept cannot be separated from the issue of gender equity. In exploring gender equity with students, they are being asked to examine how they feel about themselves. Several researchers have stressed the link of the self-concept to children's ability to achieve in a variety of school-related areas. For example, Bledsoe, 1964; Lewis and Adank, 1975; and Rubin, 1978 found that high levels of self-concept may positively influence academic achievement. Standardized scores have been found to be positively related to high levels of self-concept (Bledsoe, 1964; Lewis and Adank, 1975; Simon 1975). Conversely, students who become dropouts are not only dissatisfied with school, but also have a low self-concept (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack and Rock 1986).

High levels of self-concept influence areas other than academic performance. The perception the student has of self

may also affect school attitude and the ability to interact positively with peers (Felsen and Blumberg, 1973; Padwal, 1984; Zeichner, 1978). According to Clemes and Dean (1981), children with high levels of self-concept assume more responsibility and tolerate frustrations well. Additionally, these children are proud of their accomplishment and feel they can influence their environment.

Building a healthy self-concept instills the confidence to allow skills taught to come easily to students (Mitchell, 1985). When children feel good about themselves, their chances for success increase. The higher a child's self-concept, the greater the desire and ability to self control. Stenner and Katzenmeyer (1976) found evidence to support a positive relationship of high self-concept to confidence in meeting everyday problems and ease in social relationships. Their study concluded that children with positive self-concept viewed authority figures as supportive and interested in them as individuals.

On the other hand, a negative self-image promotes negative behaviors (Mitchell, 1985; Beery, 1975). Battle (1978) found that as the level of self-concept decreased, the level of depression in children increased. According to several researchers, anxiety appears to interfere negatively in the development of a positive self-concept (Cowles,

1983/1984; Phillips, 1978). Children with poor self-concept are insecure and pessimistic about their ability to meet everyday demands and are uncertain about their social relationships. They are insecure about new situations and report feelings of tiredness, anxiety and nervousness. These children view school as an unhappy place to be (Stenner & Katzenmeyer 1976). Poor self-concept is the common denominator for low achieving students. Low self-concept limits students' chances for school success (Bleuer & Schreiber, 1986).

Many students are capable of academic success. Unfortunately, they choose not to succeed. As a result, they fall short of their potential (Bleuer & Schreiber, 1986). Because the self-concept in children affects behavior in numerous aspects of their daily lives, anything that interferes with the development of a healthy, positive self-concept might prove detrimental (Matthews and Odom, 1989).

Summary

Contrary to the belief that men and women are free to select an occupation, choice is restricted by external and internal factors. Gender bias in society and the subtle messages children receive from the media, parents, and

teachers are self-limiting factors that inhibit risk-taking.

Through the process of gender role socialization children learn about the suitability of jobs according to gender. Because children internalize gender roles, it becomes a component of the self-concept and cannot be separated from the issue of academic performance or career aspirations. In exploring gender equity with children, we are asking them to examine not only how they feel about themselves, but also how they define themselves in relationship to their occupational aspirations and to the world of work.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods

Design of the Study

A qualitative design was used to build a rich detailed description of the perceived gender characteristics of selected occupations held by a group of fifth grade girls and boys. The selection of a qualitative research design for this study was based on the proposition that in studying people, it is essential to study how they define their situations from their frame of reference (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

One of the values of qualitative research is the opportunity it provides to obtain in-depth information and to follow the direction of inquiry that surfaces during the data collection process (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). How these fifth grade girls and boys develop their perceptions of the gender characteristics of occupations is complex due to the interrelated influences of their assumptions, their values, their families, and the societal messages they receive.

A qualitative design is compatible with the nature of the research problem in this study. This design is

especially useful to gain some understanding on what influences these children's perceptions of occupational gender characteristics that could not be captured through other measures. What the researcher wanted to learn and the best way to learn it strongly influenced the choice of a qualitative design for this study.

Sample

The researcher accumulated a pool of 76 fifth-grade students from a suburban elementary school in Virginia. The school is located in a distinct geographical area with families of varying socioeconomic levels and cultural backgrounds, and the sample reflected this diversity.

A purposive sample of 21 students was selected from this pool for in-depth study. The goal of the sample selection was to obtain variability in family configurations and the occupations of parents (e.g. single parents, parents in non-traditional occupations, blended families, etc.). The family variability was represented by the inclusion of 12 students who lived with their biological parents, seven students who lived with single parents (two lived with a parent and grandparents, two lived with mother and her fiance), and two students lived with a parent and step-parent. The students' family constellations also

varied. Of these students, ten were the youngest children in their families, seven were the oldest and four were the only child.

The occupational variability within the families was evident in the range of occupations held by the parents. The parents were skilled workers, technicians, homemakers, daycare providers, secretaries, electricians, military officers, teachers, managers, clerks, construction and maintenance workers, as well as in sales and law enforcement (Appendix F). The racial mix of the school is approximately 1.6 per-cent minority students. The sample also reflected this diversity through the inclusion of a Native American and a student of Hispanic heritage.

The selection of the participants for in-depth study was based on the evaluation in consultation with teachers of their potential to contribute to the development of themes and insights in the phenomenon under study.

A brief survey (Appendix A) was administered to students in three different classrooms. The survey consisted of four questions regarding parental occupations. The students were asked to identify the adults in their homes; whether their parents were currently employed; and to identify in their own words what their parents did for a living. They were also asked to identify the occupations of the other adults in their homes.

A coding system was developed so that students could later be identified. Prior to the arrival of the students in the Guidance room where the survey was administered, the researcher placed a different colored paper square on each of four different tables in the room. The colored squares were numbered with the location of the seats around the table. After sitting at the table of their choice, the students were instructed to write their names on the colored squares next to the corresponding number of their seating position.

The survey sheets were then distributed to the students. The survey sheets were marked in the upper right hand corner with a colored circle which corresponded to the colored square for that specific table. The students then were told to write the number of their seating position next to the colored circle.

At the completion of the survey, the students sitting at the number one position of each table were requested to collect the colored squares with the students' names and to place them in an envelope with their classroom teacher's name. The envelope was then given to their teacher. The identity of the students, therefore, was unknown to the researcher until after the selections, based entirely on the survey, were made.

Ginzberg's model (see Osipow, 1983) proposes that

individuals aged 10 to 24 make educational and vocational decisions that affect entry jobs. In developing his model, Ginzberg (1951) began a systematic study at the 11 year level. However, a later study (O'Hara, 1959) found evidence to support the earlier occurrence of the Tentative Period, and Ginzberg (1984) later expressed the desirability to give more weight to grade in school than chronological age. Students in the fifth grade typically range in age from 10.2 to 11.1 years. The selected sample fell well within the age range and grade in school as discussed by the aforementioned theorists.

The safety and welfare of the students were of primary concern to the researcher. In this respect, county guidelines as well as ethical guidelines regarding the use of human subjects were observed. The identity of all participants will remain anonymous. Preliminary contact with the Prince William County Department of Testing and Research was initiated and the researcher was informed that a review and subsequent approval from the Department of Testing, Research and Accreditation was necessary. This was formalized after the successful defense of prospectus. The County classification of the study as externally generated research, required parental consent.

Measures

A structured interview schedule (Appendix B) was the primary vehicle of data collection in this study. The instrument is a modification, by permission, of the assessment tool used by Seligman, Weinstock, & Heflin (1991) in a previous study of ten-year-olds career development. The primary purpose of that study was to examine and assess the relationship of those children's perceptions of their families, their self-concept, their career awareness, their interests, and their work and family aspirations. The primary researcher in that study has given permission to the modification and use of that instrument in this study.

This study expanded on the Seligman (1991) study through the inclusion of additional variables. The topics that guided this investigation were selected after a review of the literature and the descriptors of the Tentative Period in Ginzberg's (1951) model.

The topics were categorized into nine general areas: family, parental expectations, education, interest, capacity, aspirations, sex-typing, peers/role models, and values. Family characteristics and personal preferences are the independent variables. The dependent variable is the gender categorizing (and reason) of occupations.

The questions were open-ended to allow for maximum

responding. The researcher attempted to discover the participants' meaning, and as the information unfolded from the participant's perspective, to make adjustments in questioning (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The researcher listened for the meaning in the responses, and shifted the order of questions from the interview schedule to explore a response in depth, as deemed appropriate, and to make adjustments until the focus became clear.

The researcher sought to uncover how and why gender characteristics are assigned to certain occupations. What is the process that contributes to gender categorizing of occupations? The researcher relied on her skills and expertise as an elementary school counselor to build the rapport necessary to promote open communications. According to Garbarino and Stott (1989), knowing something about the child's experiences will assist the interviewer in asking more informed and intelligent questions.

The interview schedule was used to ensure consistency and comprehensiveness by defining the range and type of information to be gathered, but flexibility was maintained to tailor the interview schedule to the competence of the individual child (Garbarino & Stott, 1989).

The open-ended questions allowed for a range of responses and also opened the door for questioning sequences. This allowed the researcher to probe for

clarification to ensure that the researcher and the individual were operating on the same wavelength.

Questioning was embedded in routines and activities familiar to the child, or in the words and references that the child introduced. The use of routines or activities were used to facilitate questioning, (e.g. What happens when you want to do one thing and your parents want you to do something else? What happens when it is bedtime? When you and your best friend are playing (games) together, how do you decide who does what, (catches, pitches, plays field, etc.?).

First level and second level questions were also used (e.g. what do you think (Mary) would like to be? And if I were to ask (Mary) what you ought to be, what would (she) say?). Questions were also prefaced with a statement of how things are before asking the participant a question of how they think it should be, (e.g. Sometimes boys/girls wonder whether it would be better if a boy/girl did that job. What would you say if I were to ask you if a boy/girl should do that?).

Development of the Interview Questions

According to Ginzberg (1951), children pass through several stages in the Tentative Period (e.g. interest,

capacity, and value). In developing the interview questions, items were written by the researcher to correspond to these stages.

The instrument consisted of five general demographic questions to provide a demographic profile of the participants. Topic questions were not necessarily asked as they were written. The questions were intended to be used as a guide, and the researcher phrased questions according to what seemed appropriate at the time.

Questions on the topics of discussion, occupational preference and sex-typing of occupations focused on discovering how the occupational patterns in families work for the participants; how these patterns contribute to the subjects' sex-typing of occupations; how their preferences relate to their perceptions of gender characteristics of occupations; and what influences outside the family impact on their perceptions, (e.g. peers, teachers, role models).

Procedures

Prior to the administration of the assessment and in adherence to Prince William County guidelines for external research, letters seeking parental consent (Appendix C) for students to participate in the study were distributed. All students who were invited to be participants in the study

received parental permission to participate.

All data-gathering activities were conducted in the Guidance room of the students' school. The researcher audio-taped the individual interviews and took notes of participants' responses. The identity of the participants in the pilot and the study are anonymous and known only to the researcher. The research assistant who assisted in the transcription of the data was required to sign a confidentiality statement (Appendix D).

Pilot Study

Four pilot interviews were conducted prior to any data collection to test for clarity, task difficulty, and the length of time required to complete the interview. The participants for the pilot were two girls and two boys in the fourth grade whose parents had consented to their participation in the pilot study. The selection of fourth grade students for the pilot was based on the assumption that if the method was appropriate for fourth grade students, fifth grade students would also be able to complete the interview without difficulty.

The pilot was an opportunity to refine interviewing techniques and style and to obtain feedback from the participants regarding the process. Data from the pilot

interviews was utilized to perfect the questions. The pilot also determined that the length of time necessary to complete the interview was approximately 55 minutes. This was especially helpful in planning with classroom teacher for the students' release time.

The purpose of the pilot study was to refine the interview process and to provide the researcher with the opportunity to test for clarity and appropriateness of the questions. Each interview lasted approximately fifty-five minutes.

As a result of the pilot interviews, the researcher adjusted the way in which the interview was initiated. It was decided to introduce the questions by first focusing participants on the general areas under discussion (e.g. family, school, peers, occupations). Summarizing discussions before moving into new topics provided the opportunity for participants to validate or reconsider their responses. Using terms like "pretend" or "imagine" prompted participants to alter "don't know" answers and to provide more useful information.

It was also helpful to clarify plans to attend a four-year college as "graduating with a diploma" versus "going to college". When discussing personal capacity and interests, participants were more open when the topic was introduced with "let's talk a little more about you." In discussing

peers, using a reality statement (e.g. Best friends know each other well) before asking a subjective question was well received. Some participants denied knowing a peer of the opposite sex, and in those instances, the researcher asked general questions about boys and girls.

In summary, the pilot interviews reinforced the need to approach each participant in a manner that was consistent with their individual language style. Summarization facilitated focusing and provided the opportunity to validate, clarify and expand on responses. It was also helpful to discuss peers with a reality question prior to seeking a subjective response. Additionally, the researcher needed to be flexible in the ordering of the questions and to follow the natural flow of information as the participant freely responded. The researcher also needed to be cognizant of the probability that some participants may be reluctant to refer to peers of the opposite sex. When this should occurred, general questions regarding boys and girls behaviors were asked.

Focus Group

A focus group of parents and teachers was utilized as an added component to the data gathering process for triangulation of the data. The focus group was convened

after four interviews had taken place.

The purpose of the focus group was to explore the topics of interest and to generate hypotheses. It was not intended to use the focus group to answer the research questions, but rather to develop exploratory questions.

The discussion was initiated by presenting the following questions to the group:

a. What occupational aspirations do you have for your children?

b. How do you perceive the current social climate regarding gender appropriate occupations?

As a result of the focus group, it became apparent that these parents and teachers had varying views regarding gender appropriate occupations depending on the gender of the child. Questions regarding parental acceptance of non-traditional occupations were introduced in the student interviews to explore their views in this area.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Descriptive research involves data collection to answer questions regarding the current status of the subject under study. This research method determines and reports conditions as they currently exist.

Before describing the data, the data needed to be reduced. The procedure for the reduction of the data differs

for open-ended and closed questions.

The primary source of data for this study were the transcribed notes of open-ended questions from the interviews. The data were broken down, conceptualized, and put together in new ways through the coding procedure. The analytical procedure of comparisons and questioning was on-going throughout the data collection phase to allow the explorative and iterative process to prevail (Straus & Corbin, 1990). Data were compared to previous data to discover similarities and differences to aid in the development of appropriate codes.

Conceptual labels were categorized and insights that emerged during coding were facilitated through the use of the Ethnograph (Seidel, Kjalseth, Seymour, 1988) software program. The researcher attempted to identify and describe emergent themes and patterns during data analysis. To triangulate these emergent themes and patterns, the researcher consulted with another counselor, a librarian and a teacher, who read the text and added their insights. These professionals played the role of devil's advocate to promote comprehensiveness of views and to further validate the data. The final report was then presented in a narrative format with the use of illustrative quotations or examples to supplement validation.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Introduction

The undertaking of this research study was three-fold. First, it sought to develop an in-depth understanding of the perceived gender characteristics of selected occupations held by a group of fifth-grade children. Second, it sought to discover what relationship the occupational patterns within the families of these children had on their perceptions of gender occupational characteristics. Third, it sought to investigate in what ways the children's occupational preferences related to their perceptions of gender occupational characteristics.

Inasmuch as these children's families and experiences differed, they shared a similarity in certain themes in the development of their views on gender appropriateness in the occupational world of work. In this chapter the cross-case analysis that formulated these emergent core concepts will first be presented. This will be followed by two case studies that will present the variability in the data. This represents the variability across transitional children who recognize, believe, and express the desire to move towards a

more nontraditional view on occupational gender characteristics.

The Story: Assigning Gender Characteristics to Occupations

The following is an overview of the process and findings of this study. Initially, this study began as an investigation into how a group of children assign gender characteristics to selected occupations. One of the goals of this study was to discover if there was a link to the pattern of familial occupations and the aspirations these children selected for themselves. As the study progressed and themes evolved, it became evident that the assignation of gender characteristics to occupations are reflections of the underlying views these children have of the meaning and character of masculinity and femininity.

The analysis of the data, gathered from the structured interviews with the subjects, revealed that for these children the gender assignation of an occupation as either male or female was based on whether or not the occupation was perceived to have the inherent qualities of masculinity or femininity. These children also valued knowledge and competence in the world of work. They attributed men as the receptacles of knowledge. For them knowledge was the precursor to competence on the job. This competence was

viewed as the basis for compensation and advancement, and hence, to status positions for men.

While men were viewed as rational decision makers, women were viewed more for their personal qualities and relegated to occupations that were either in a supportive or secondary role. Women were considered more emotional and placed in occupations with a nurturing component. Being a lawyer was an acceptable occupation for women because it was viewed as a helping profession.

Men were thought to possess the capacity to engage in intensive activities that required sustained concentration. Women were perceived to prefer routine repetitive work, to be more organized, and to be people and data oriented.

These perceptions formed the lenses through which these children filtered their views of what is considered a sex-appropriate occupation. There was also some variability across these views. Not all children had exactly the same perceptions. Some had a less stereotypical view of occupations.

These views nonetheless were linked to the environment that engenders the growth and development of these children. They are generated through a historical tradition that transcends the passage of time and is passed down from generation to generation through the social, familial and educational context. The following categories were

developed through open and axial coding. Data were analyzed, labeled and placed in various categories. Related categories were then clumped together to develop constructs that were grounded in the data.

The following pages will present these categories and constructs. The developed constructs were congruent with the literature on how children develop their views of masculinity and femininity, as well as how they assign gender characteristics to occupations (e.g. Wesley and Wesley (1977); Vetter et al.
(1979); Hoffman (1977); Schaffer (1980).

Table 1

Constructs and Categories	
Constructs	**Categories**
Perceptions of Masculinity and Femininity	Rational - Emotional Knowledge Status Views on athletics Goal-setting Risk-taking Values
Social Influences	Historical basis Current practices What is seen and heard Rehearsal School experiences
The Roles of Men and Women	Priority Primary and secondary roles Ownership Division of work Homemakers
Restrictions	Preferences Limitations
Two Camps: Woman's Work and Man's Work	Inclusion and exclusion Challenge Equity
Familial Patterns	Parental expectations Parental occupations Alternative occupations Communications Role models

Perceptions of Masculinity and Femininity

The children viewed masculinity and femininity based on the possession of certain traits and behaviors. They believed that men were more cognitively oriented, while women were more emotionally based.

To be masculine meant to be knowledgeable and competent. Because in their views knowledge and competence are the precursors of advancement to prestigious jobs and hence status, men, by default, are seen in positions of high pay and high visibility. Additionally, men were considered more persistent in pursuing goals than women. Instead of persevering, women were perceived as more likely to change their goals.

These children also differed in their perceptions on risk-taking. While boys considered risks from a physical point of view, girls were more concerned with the risks of evaluation and failure. Boys were thought to be more inclined to accept challenges and the accompanying risks. Girls, on the other hand, would prefer to compromise rather than to confront issues.

Their views on athletics also differed. While boys visualized sports as a livelihood, girls thought of sports as primarily a leisure time activity for pleasure rather

than as a source of income.

Both boys and girls valued a sense of competence in their endeavors. Boys additionally valued status. Girls, on the other hand, were more vested in their relationships with people and in a sense of fulfillment from what they do. The following categories developed from the open and axial coding of the data and presented in the following pages contributed to the construct of masculinity and femininity.

Rational - Emotional

These fifth-grade students considered men as more cognitively based than women. Boys believed a man would respond in emergencies through a rational approach and seek to resolve or diffuse the situation.

> *But I think maybe one occupation would be flying a plane because in an emergency they (men) have more adrenaline flowing through them, so they can find things faster and they know what to do better. Where a girl, she just like, she is so shocked she like stands there. Where a guy would be worried, but he would be running around trying to do something.*

> *I don't think women should drive a train on the railroad tracks cause that could be dangerous. Cause men usually know what they are doing in case of an accident. They would know how to defend themselves and the other passengers.*

Although both boys and girls discussed the concept of men's ability to function under stressful situation, girls

spoke of women's emotional nature and how this could render them immobile during a time of emergency.

> *Probably a boy, cause most girls don't like fire. They have a lot of fears and guys have less fears.*

> *Well, I think like a man because usually women are afraid of heights.*

In discussing performance levels in similar occupations, both boys and girls expressed the view that men are capable of dealing with more complex situations because of their problem-solving and decision-making skills.

> *I think a man because he has more decision and sometimes he's a little bit tougher and he doesn't care if it's a divorce or a criminal that shot someone or if it's a bank thief or whatever happened.*

> *Physically, mentally, well they can deal with it more than women can.*

The selection of women for certain occupations was not based on competence or skill, but rather on the perceived characteristics of femininity. Boys and girls excluded women from certain traditionally male jobs because of these perceived characteristics. They also felt that men may exclude themselves from traditionally female jobs because these jobs do not offer the challenges that men seek in their occupations.

> *Mostly women, (lawyer) cause women express more. Have more expressing of their feelings.*

I doubt a woman would want to be a trash collector because it smells bad.

Well, maybe a doctor, maybe a surgeon who does heart surgery or stuff would probably be better for a man, because most girls think it is disgusting putting your hands inside someone's body.

Men say what they want. They don't get as emotional as women.

Because it would be a hard decision, I would probably pick the man, because he doesn't take time to feel sorry for the other person.

Cause they probably think they are tougher and they want to do tougher jobs that are like more challenging.

Knowledge

Since these children viewed men as more knowledgeable, occupations requiring higher intellectual levels were perceived as men's jobs. Women were assigned jobs on the basis of their personal qualities.

A woman for a nurse, but a doctor for man because the woman has gentler hands for a nurse. But the doctor is more advanced than a nurse so they would probably think a man would do better.

I'd say I'd pick the man because he would have a better sense of building. He would know where to put things.

Cause they probably think they are tougher and they want to do tougher jobs that are like more challenging.

Competence

The children cited the hiring practice that favors men because they are perceived more competent than women. They related this to the historical precedence that places women at a disadvantage in the job market because of their lack of training to qualify themselves for a variety of jobs. In addition, they believed that when women are hired, they would have a continuous battle to prove their competence through comparison to male determined standards.

> *A woman would have to work harder because women have to know just a teeny bit more than men do about being a lawyer.*

> *Maybe to prove a point. To prove something to someone that they (women) can do a job that someone else can do.*

The children not only perceived men as generally more competent than women; they also believed they are more capable of handling complex situations. Additionally, they thought men were able to perform at a higher intellectual and physical level than women, giving them an edge in the world of work.

> *At first probably the male because the person, the boss, probably thinks he can do a lot more. But the woman has to show him that it doesn't really matter what sex you are.*

Boys' sense of competence was strongly linked to their emphasis on knowledge about the job. They also equated the

level of knowledge to the level of pay. In discussing the job of an airline attendant, they believed that men would not be interested in any occupation that was below their perceived competence level. They expressed the concept that men are more interested in seeking jobs that require a higher level of performance.

> *Well men could do it if he tried out for it, but men mostly try to be a pilot. Cause that's more of a harder job cause you have to learn which switches to hit and everything.*

Status

Status for these children was perceived as important jobs. These jobs have a high visibility (sports), involve making far-reaching decisions that affect many and are high-paying. These high status jobs were primarily attributed to males by both male and female students.

Given a hypothetical situation, students selected jobs for men where they would be empowered and the women were placed in a minor or secondary position. Men were selected for prestigious jobs (e.g. doctor, lawyer, and manager). Women were selected exclusively for the job of secretary.

Men were viewed as having the edge or advantage because of previous experience and exposure. This places them in favorable positions for advancement ahead of women. As boys

left their fantasy occupations based on excitement, they selected more prestigious occupations.

Views on Athletics

There was a difference in how girls and boys viewed athletics. While several boys aspired to a role in athletics as a profession, they were also aware of the possibility that they would not achieve this goal. Some of these boys could articulate a preference for another occupation, while others stated that they had no idea what direction their college plans would take.

Boys also excluded girls from most athletic activities, except for tennis and gymnastics. These two particular sports they considered appropriate for girls.

> *Being a baseball player...just weird to see a girl swing a bat like that and then catch and throw.*

> *Probably better at most sports except tennis and gymnastics.*

Girls on the other hand, appeared to view athletics as a leisure time activity for pleasure, and not as an occupational role.

> *Well, because they're boys and because they like sports. I like sports too. I like them a lot, but I just don't think I would want that to be my life job.*

Goal-setting

Some boys thought men are more persistent in pursuing their goals than women. Women were perceived as being more easily frustrated and more likely to change direction and pursue different goals.

> *Yeah, like if it dragged out for years and stuff, years and years and years, he would probably stick with it longer than the girl. She would get frustrated.*

> *Probably a girl, because they like running around doing little teeny things. They don't like doing operations that take a long time.*

Boys also assumed that women are not competitive in seeking jobs. It would be the exception rather than the rule if a woman actively competed against men for a job.

> *If they work as hard and maybe they would cause it's kind of surprising to see a girl working as hard as a man.*

Girls thought that although men and women may hold the same job, they are motivated by different reasons. Men view jobs from a detached perspective, while women are more emotionally involved in their jobs.

> *I think women (judges) have more fair, well they should, but sometimes I don't think that they should, cause they feel sorry for more people than men do. Men kind of get to the real point.*

Risk-taking

The discussion of risk centered on two distinct themes.

Boys discussed the physical and dangerous aspects of risk-taking. Girls discussed the nature of risks from an evaluative point of view.

To these girls evaluation brought the inherent risk of failure. Evaluation by others might evoke unpleasant feelings for these girls. One student in particular discussed her perceived failure patterns in her family and her reluctance of setting goals that may not be realized. She was willing to settle on a lesser occupational position because of this, although she had a strong preference for a professional occupation.

Women were also viewed as reluctant to take the risk of conflict. To these children women were considered more prone to compromise, to avoid conflicts.

> *He would probably go really straight into it hard. I think she would probably try to compromise, to work things out.*

> *She would probably just give the person who lost the money; she would pay them back. He would be willing to have the possibility of being sued.*

Values

What these children value in work were similar for boys and girls in some respects. They both considered money and a sense of competence in what they do as important in their

lives. They differed in that boys also included status (recognition and power) as an important component for them. Girls did not mention status in their discussions. For these girls their relationships with people, a sense of fulfillment, and being of service to others were important to them.

Social Influences

Students attempted to be honest in their answers. Although some initially were concerned about socially acceptable answers, they were able to be more honest in their replies after being reassured that there were no correct answers and that only their opinions were the important criteria.

The data revealed that these children's views reflected the influence of their social environment. These influences had their roots in the past and present practices in the world of work and were transmitted to these children through the media and, on a more interactive level, through their peers, role models, their personal and school experiences, and the early rehearsal of their perceived occupational role.

The following pages will illustrate the perceptions that contributed to the formulation of the varying

categories.

Historical Basis

These students were able to link the absence of women in powerful position such as the presidency and as judges and lawyers to a historically male-dominated work force. Men were viewed as having the advantage over women for jobs because women lack the training to qualify them for these jobs and other jobs as well. Not only are women at a disadvantage in competing for jobs with men, but the opportunities for advancement are more favorable towards men because of their previous experiences.

> *Well, I think there are more men judges than women because there used to be more men and they worked up to be a judge.*
>
> *I think that's for men because there was only one girl judge. Sandra Day O'Connor.*

Current Practices

Certain jobs were considered appropriate for one sex and not for the other for no apparent reasons other than it "just seems right" or "just fits". These girls appeared quite willing to accept the status quo, although they expressed their feelings of discontent with statements like

"I don't think it's fair", and "It isn't true", and "They can do it if they want".

> *It's just the way it is. It's just the way girls are. They like being teachers.*

> *Teaching, physical education, music, arts. It's kind of like, well, I don't know why (women) would be better, but I think they would.*

> *Teachers, physical education, gymnastics, stores, something that would best fit them cause they are way different than men are.*

In spite of having been exposed to seeing both men and women in a common occupation such as a mail carrier, students continued to struggle between the socially acceptable answer and their perception of current practices.

> *A man (mail carrier) because it just seems that way.*

What is Seen and Heard

These students' views on what is sex-appropriate were further influenced by what they see and hear through the television media, the movies they watch, the books they read and by their interactions with their parents and peers.

> *I see a lot of judges, like if you watch TV and you see like People's Court or Matlock, usually the judges are men.*

> *Lawyer, I usually see movies with boys and no one has ever tried to turn them off in the movies.*

The sex-typing of occupations by these students was

further influenced by their experiences either through observation of what is currently occurring, or through their personal involvement in sports, with their parents on family outings, or through services rendered such as taking a pet to the veterinarian, getting haircuts or through a visit to the doctor's office.

> *Probably a woman, cause all my vets for all my animals have been women and they help them get better and everything.*
>
> *When you go to the doctor's offices there a lot of nurses there that are women and at the hospital there's a lot of nurses.*
>
> *(Girls) would like to work as maybe a waitress cause when I go to a lot of restaurants there are a lot of lady waitresses.*

Rehearsal

In discussing student's activities and hobbies in an effort to investigate the connection between what students do and what they express as their occupational preferences, they referred to activities that involved them on an active or inactive level.

These students justified their involvement in the activities that had some bearing on their occupational preference with comments as "I'm good at that" or "I like being alone with them and trying to figure out what they are doing, kind of reading their minds."

They actively practice skills of mediation and conflict resolution on peers and were able to evaluate the relationship to the role of being a lawyer. They also spoke of being actively involved in the medical care of their pets and connected this experience to their preferred occupational role as a veterinarian. They additionally read books on subjects related to their intended fields, such as National Geographics for an environmental photographer.

On an inactive level they watch television programs that are educational in their area of interest, or they select programs depicting characters in the portrayal of their intended occupation.

School Experiences

The majority of these students evaluated themselves as primarily above average or average students. With the exception of two boys, these students felt very positive about school.

These students also understood the relevance of school and were able to see the relationship of school to the attainment of their life goals. These children sought challenges in school, valued teachers for their understanding and fairness and appreciated structure and direction when they lagged.

Teachers were crucial in these children's discussions. They viewed them not only as educators, but also as positive role models in their lives. Although these children as a group were positive about their school experiences and their former and current teachers, they perceived subtle gender bias and expressed their frustrations at the mixed messages they sometimes received.

For these children learning was best achieved through active involvement in their classes through role play, projects or games. They varied in their preferred and least liked subjects. Girls and boys cited math as their favorite subject. English was their second most liked subject. The most disliked subject was social studies. These girls' negative feelings regarding subjects clumped in social studies, while these boys' negative feelings regarding subjects were dispersed throughout the curriculum.

For these children, school was the place to connect with their friends and to practice their social skills. These children enjoyed and looked forward to seeing their peers.

With the exception of one male student who plans to receive vocational training, these students all had plans to attain a college degree. In addition, five students plan to go beyond a four-year program, and one student aspired to a prestigious institution.

The Roles of Men and Women

These children's views on appropriate sex roles centered on the perception of who is in charge, who owns the role, and the priority they placed on their respective roles of breadwinner or nurturer. Men were placed in charge, with women in supportive roles. The division of work was categorized as sex-appropriate for men if it included outdoor work or involved the use of machines. Women were relegated to doing home chores indoors.

Priority

These students placed different priorities in their roles as breadwinners or nurturers. Although some students thought that both sexes were able to earn equitable salaries, others thought that men would have a higher earning power than women. Girls expressed their discomfort with the concept of wives earning more than their husbands do. Girls placed family before work and spoke of altered schedules to allow for family time.

> *I don't know. I'd feel kind of, I would feel funny because it's usually the boys who make more money. And I think he would probably feel funny too if his wife is making more money.*

> *But my family would come first. If I had to quit my job or anything to be with my family, I would do that.*

I wouldn't work that long of hours so I could be home with my children.

Decisions in their personal lives would center on the priority they placed on the roles each sex would play as breadwinner or nurturer. Clearly this decision was linked to whose job was considered more important. Boys strongly articulated their sense of men's responsibility for the welfare of their families and the perception that they as men were committed to this role regardless of whether or not their wives worked.

If my son or daughter is sick, I can't stay home because I'm getting paid and if I don't get paid I don't put food on the table.

No, I couldn't quit. Nobody would be able to live in our house.

If we make enough, she wouldn't have to work.

Whoever's job pays less would stay home so the other person can make more money.

Futhermore, students also assumed that others also share the perception that some jobs are right for one sex and others are not. Boys in this group felt that boys tended to think of jobs as male or female jobs more than the girls in this group do. Experience further strengthened students' opinions of who typically is perceived as "in charge".

Primary and Secondary Roles

The roles of men and women were viewed differently. Men were seen in primary roles because of their perceived competence. Women's roles were considered secondary to men's roles. Women were viewed in a supportive capacity because of their lack of knowledge or expertise. They were never in command; their fate was always tied to the male who is in a superior decision-making position.

Men were placed in supervisory positions with the power to critique and approve or disapprove of women's work. Inherent in this power is the decision-making nature of men's work while women were relegated to the boredom of routine work.

Not only were men perceived in primary roles, but when asked what would men want to be instead of secretaries and nurses, students assumed that men also view themselves in this manner and would not consider these occupations. They would prefer to be in charge as the manager or the doctor.

> *I see a girl being a secretary...just look at the office they are all girls except for the principal.*

> *I think the man would get the doctor job and the woman would get the nurse job.*

> *Probably because they see all women mostly being nurses and they don't want to be a nurse with all these women.*

Ownership

When discussing the chores involved in their personal lives, the students spoke of those who help and those who do the chore. Implicit in their discussion of who helps and who does the chore is the concept of ownership. The person who views the chore as theirs accepts the responsibility of seeing that the chore is completed. Others are involved in the completion of the chore primarily in a secondary role as helpers or supporters of the primary owner of the chore. Although girls readily accepted the responsibility for running the home, they more often than boys used negative statements regarding the ownership of home chores.

> *I would probably do like the dishes and clean the kitchen and stuff like that, but he's gonna help me watch the kids while I'm doing that work. I can probably do the laundry, he can help me.*

> *He probably will be helping. Like do the dishes and helping around the house.*

> *Actually it should be my job, because usually it's the woman's job. But I mean men shouldn't just come home from work and just sit down and watch TV.*

> *Whenever I had a chance I would do the laundry.*

> *I'd probably cook sometimes when she is working late.*

Division of Work

There were some commonalities in how these students viewed the division of labor within the home. There was evidence that their views of sex-appropriate chores were parallel to their views on the sex-typing of occupations. Work that involved the outdoors and the use of tools, equipment, or unpleasantness such as trash removal was classified as man's work. Woman's work centered primarily on indoor chores such as cooking, childcare, and cleaning.

Doing the laundry was an indoor chore that was seen as appropriate for men or women, perhaps because it involved the use of large appliances. When the students referred to the mutual sharing in yardwork, there was a division of gender-appropriate chores. The men would do the chores that involved large equipment, such as the mowing and rototilling of gardens. The women would do the planting, raking, and clipping.

He will take out the trash.

I'll mow the lawn.

I would help my wife if she would need a garden. I would buy the car. I would buy what my wife wanted if it wasn't too expensive.

I would trim, plant and water.
And he would do the cutting.

She would clean the house, make beds, clean the bathrooms. She

might even rake the yard.

Homemakers

Homemakers were not viewed as an occupational role. These boys' concept of the stay-at-home role of women is one of leisure and fun. Some boys understood the view some men hold of the homemaker's role as unimportant, while others understood the value of the homemaker's contribution to the family. Surprisingly, some boys also valued the homemaker's role and realized that although her contributions were not monetarily compensated, her work is not for personal benefits or pay, but rather for the benefit of others in the service that she provides.

Because I want my wife to get a job, too. Because I don't see why you should spend your time at home and just like watch TV.

I mean just sit home and maybe watch an hour of TV, just cleaning up around the house, vacuuming.

Well, they probably think it's like not very important because most people, like men, think a woman's job is cook, clean and feed.

RESTRICTIONS

Recurring themes of restrictions primarily for women in the world of work surfaced in these children's discussions.

These restrictions often pertained to the advantage of physical strength that men have over women. In stores where women are traditionally cashiers, men are considered not only stronger to lift objects, but also more knowledgeable.

Girls should "just" do registers, because, like tellers, they can count and put the money away. This reflects a view of women performing within a limited scope in jobs, with men having a wider capability. It is implied that girls make choices within the limited scope of their capabilities.

> *He knows more about that department. He can work lifting up boxes for the person. Usually girls are just at the cash register. I think girls like being bankers so they can just count the money and put it away.*

Not only are girls' choices limited by their perceived capabilities, but by the limited jobs that are available. Girls were thought to choose some jobs because they are unable to get others.

Although men have a wider selection of jobs to choose from, they may decide to go into teaching, a predominantly female job. Women, however, go into teaching because of the limited opportunities available to them to seek other gainful employment.

Men were perceived to select teaching as a profession by preference, but women select teaching because of the need

to be employed. Men have the freedom to choose the jobs they consider sex-appropriate for them. Women are placed in the position to accept whatever is left for them.

> *If the guy loves school and the girl is just teaching because she can't find any other job. But the man would be better, it all depends if they really like school.*

Preferences

In discussing the job preferences of men and women, students thought women may enter the field of nursing because they enjoy a repetitive routine that does not require sustained or prolonged concentration. Because of this preference, they would eliminate the occupation of a surgeon, since this would require a skill that they are perceived not to possess.

> *Probably a girl because they like running around doing little tiny things. They don't like doing operations that take a long time.*

> *A girl would probably be more the easier jobs maybe like a nurse or a secretary or something like that.*

Because secretarial work is also viewed as repetitive routine, and men seek occupations using more diversified skills, this field of work is viewed as strictly woman's work. Both girls and boys appear to share this perception of clerical work. They thought of women as the organizers

and keepers of data.

> *Probably a girl being a secretary working with the papers, business, maybe handling the checks. A man kind of likes working harder because they usually get bored faster than a girl.*

> *A secretary would probably be better for a woman because they could remember stuff better and they could keep up with the job.*

Additionally, women's work was considered simple and fun-oriented, contrary to men's work which was considered to be more difficult. Women's work was viewed as inconsequential, and more as a time-filler.

> *She just likes playing and having fun, so she would probably be a teacher. She doesn't like going down to work really really hard.*

> *It just gives her something to do.*

Limitations

Boys discussed the concept that women may select jobs based on certain limitations. For instance, because of the inability to own a car, she may be limited to accept jobs that do not require owning a car, such as a mail carrier. The implication is that the selection is not made based on skills or abilities, but rather through a process of elimination that is governed by limitations.

> *If the girl likes walking a lot, and she likes getting exercise and she doesn't have a car, they probably hire her.*

Two Camps: Woman's Work and Man's Work

For these students the world of work was simplified through the separation of work into what was considered man's work or woman's work.

Men seek work that requires concentration, intensity, and the use of tools or mechanics. Women seek work that allows for the use of a variety of skills. Women also seek work that is more people-oriented. And while women seek equitable benefits, men seek high pay. Men work for status; money and power over women. The categories contributing to the development of this separation into two camps follows.

Inclusion and Exclusion

Students articulated the concept that some jobs should include or exclude one or the other sex. Jobs that involved physical risk and danger were considered for men only by both girls and boys. Sports were also viewed by males and females as a for men only occupation. Being a police officer was also viewed as a masculine job that was inappropriate for women.

> *Probably the man's job would be the rough job that you could get hurt at.*

> *More difficult, because they think girls can't do anything difficult or dangerous. But they can.*

Conversely, students also felt that men might get the message that they didn't belong in the field of teaching. Implicit in their statements is the assumption that teachers are women.

Although women might be excluded from certain jobs that require a degree of physical strength, if she was physically strong enough it would be acceptable for her to be hired for that job. Women's place in the world of work was primarily linked to her role as a nurturer/helper. Men were perceived to be reluctant to take on the role of nurturing or to accept a "woman's job."

Well, some teachers might not like guys being there.

Like in a man's job you might have to lift up heavy things and a girl might not be able to do that.

A man working in a girl's job like for a store, I don't know. It might be okay, but I just can't picture a man being in a girl's job.

Challenge

The children discussed the components that link men to certain jobs. They thought that men seek the type of work that challenges them and women's work does not offer them this. They prefer to work at a complex level rather than the simplistic level of women's work. This complexity would offer them the opportunity to analyze and to solve problems.

The children shared the view that men and women are moving towards integration of the world of work at a different pace. They voiced the opinion that women may be willing to seek challenges in new or different fields, but men may be retaining a view that perpetuates the separation of work into two camps: male and female.

Equity

These students articulated their views for the need of equity in hiring practices and clearly were dissatisfied with the way things are. Two other issues surfaced regarding the differences in the work place. Some students were aware of the inequality in pay, with women getting less pay than men for equal jobs and the limited opportunities for advancement afforded to women.

> *Actually I'd take both because if you were a lawyer and if me and you were going to class to learn to be a lawyer, we would both do the same thing, wouldn't we?*

Interestingly, some of these students perceived that women currently have a wider selection of jobs available to them. Because men are in a position to select from a wider field of work, as men gravitate towards other occupations, gaps are occurring in fields that women are beginning to fill. Jobs once considered for men only are now opening up

to women because of this movement.

However, women still lag behind men in the probability of being hired for these jobs. There was a sense that who was hired depended on who was doing the hiring and where that person stood on some issues. Although women were sometimes viewed in positions held by men (doctor), the reverse was not true for men. They were reluctant to place men in primarily female jobs such as a secretary or a nurse.

Although bias against women predominated their discussions, the field of teaching was cited as an area of work that may be biased against men. Although as these students deplored this perceived bias against the sexes, they continue to perpetuate this practice in their personal choices. Given the opportunity to select a peer for activities or interaction, boys choose boys and girls choose girls. It has been this researcher's observation that these students do indeed tend to be same-sex selective in their activities and interactions in class and on the playground, with boys being more rigid than girls in this practice.

Equity in work role or sex role were competency based. Both boys and girls believed that equity in pay should exist for both men and women who are engaged in similar occupations.

> *Well, there is only one way of fixing it and that's the same way how a woman would fix it. So I don't think any kind of person*

would act differently.

Equity in their personal lives, also shared the commonality of competency for boys. They would prefer to do home chores in areas where they felt competent. Girls on the other hand would choose to relegate to boys the chores that they preferred not to do.

I hate doing laundry, so I would ask him to do that.

Yeah, I would mow the lawn, wash the cars, that kind of stuff. Painting, fixing broken things.

Aspirations

Students articulated a wide range of selected occupational aspirations as demonstrated by the following table. Girls selected several non-traditional occupations (e.g. pilot, lawyer, architect, veterinarian, doctor), while boys selected only traditionally male occupations.

Although five boys selected an athletic field as their primary preference, four were able to recognize that these may not be realistic goals. These four boys selected other traditional occupations as secondary goals. One student believed his aspiration to be a professional soccer player was attainable and had no other alternative selection.

Two students, a girl and a boy were undecided regarding

a preferred occupation at this time. Inasmuch as a girl selected a non-traditional female occupation, she believed she would not attain this goal, primarily because of her experience with the perceived failures in her familial role models. She was clear in stating that she would like to be an architect; but would probably be a secretary.

Similar to their parents, the boys selected typically male sex-typed occupations for themselves. The girls, however, differed from their parents. Several of these girls broke the pattern by selecting traditionally male occupations for their aspirations. Clearly these girls are beginning to move away from the traditional view of sex-typed occupations while the boys remain entrenched in traditionally typed occupations for themselves.

Table 2

Aspriations	
Girls	Boys
Pilot	**Athletics (5)**
Computer operator	**Accountant**
Teacher	**Photographer**
Doctor	**Machinist**
Lawyer	**Lawyer**
Eventor	**Architect**
Veterinarian	**Veterinarian**
Nurse	**Mechanic**
Architect	

Familial Patterns

These children were aware of what their parents did for a living. They were able to identify the messages and interactions in their families that revolved around work. They possessed a keen sense of what would be acceptable occupations for them to pursue and to predict the reactions of their parents to their choices.

In selecting alternative occupations for their parents, girls and boys chose traditional occupations for their mothers. The basis for their selections varied for their fathers and mothers. The emerging categories for this major construct follows.

Parental Expectations

These students, perceptions of their parents' expectations for them centered primarily on two goals; personal and occupational. Fathers expressed mixed feelings regarding their sons and daughters entering non-traditional occupations, with stronger negative feelings for sons entering non-traditional occupations. Mothers were more accepting in their views on non-traditional occupations for their sons. Some boys expressed the sense that their

mothers would enjoy having some commonality with them if they chose a female-oriented occupation.

Both fathers and mothers focused more on the emotional goals of contentment and pleasure for their daughters and were more ambiguous in their expectations for them. For boys, parents were more specific and strongly occupationally oriented in their expectations.

Parental Occupations

These students' parents are engaged in a wide variety of occupations, with a distinctly traditional pattern (Appendix G). Mothers and fathers are employed in traditionally sex-typed occupations. Several are federal employees and homemakers.

Alternative Occupations

When given the opportunity to select an alternative occupation for their parents, more students were able to identify an occupation for their mothers than for their fathers. Their choices for their fathers were based on that parent's experience, ability and the relationship between parent and child. Mothers' alternative occupations were selected based on that parent's experience and interests.

Although boys and girls chose traditionally sex-typed occupations for their fathers, two girls chose non-traditionally sex-typed occupations for their step-fathers.

Selections for mothers by both boys and girls were traditional occupations that placed them in a helper or secondary role, such as teacher or secretary. One boy selected the non-traditional occupation of a lawyer for his mother, however he viewed the role in this occupation as that of a helper to people in need.

Communication

These children learned about the world of work in their families indirectly by listening to their parents or watching their parents work at home, or directly by visits to their parents' places of employment or watching their parents bring work home and asking questions.

These children's parents communicated occupational information on a parent-to-parent level. This was done either privately, away from the student, or on a familial level, with the conversation and comments primarily directed to the other parent, with the children as observers. Topics centered on their interactions at work and their content or discontent.

The parents of these children communicated occupational

direction personally through vague indirect reference to their children's abilities and interests. They encouraged persistence and usually expressed agreement with any occupational preferences their children mentioned.

What parents say to children regarding their occupational goals differed between parents. Mothers talked about their children's abilities and fathers tended to talk about money and effort. Three boys felt that their fathers would like for them to follow in their footsteps occupationally and pursue a similar occupation. A female student who selected a non-traditional occupation for herself clearly associated her choice to following in her father's footsteps.

> *So he loves it, that's why I'm gonna be a pilot. Because I think it's fun. I'm taking after him. I think I will have a better advantage cause my dad is a captain. He's really good. I have a lot of confidence, because my dad says I have a lot.*

> *He'd probably want me to still take an athletic career because he's always been in sports.*

> *He wants me to be someone that works with his hands. He wants me to follow in his footsteps and become a bricklayer for him to be proud and show off to his friends.*

Role Models

These students were strongly influenced by the adults

in their lives. These included their parents, extended family members, teachers and family friends. Their views on appropriate sex roles were a result of their daily interactions with and observations of these significant people in their lives.

On an inactive level, sports figures were instrumental not only as role models in the world of athletics, but also by providing an awareness of alternative life styles when these figures were involved in endeavors other than athletics, such as owning a business.

> *I would probably work where my dad works, because I could learn more from my dad where he works, cause nobody in my family was a police officer. Like my grandfather's father was a police officer, but he died. I can't ask him things.*

> *But you look at her now and I don't mean to say like she is nothing; but she is nothing to look up to and say "I want to be like that." Sometimes it brings me down cause I think of what can happen.*

> *Like I know sports players like Michael Jordan who has opened up a restaurant now.*

> *When I watched my teacher it looked like fun.*

TWO CASE STUDIES

The previous pages have presented the cross-case generalities in the findings of this study. The cross-case

data identified the major categories that most of these children had in common. However, some degree of variability was also present. Two case studies depicting this variability are presented in the following pages. These two cases represent the movement toward a more non-traditional view of occupations held by these children.

Upon comparison of the data several similarities and differences were discovered. These two children share similar family backgrounds. They are both from intact families. They have similar family constellations. Both are from two-children families. They differ in that Jake has a younger same-sex sibling, while Sandra has an older opposite-sex sibling. Jake is from a dual income family. His mother works as a legal secretary and his father is a brick salesman. Sandra's mother is a homemaker and her father is an airline pilot.

Familial patterns appear to be the primary category that generates the ability in these children to move towards a more egalitarian view of the occupational world. These two children identified with their opposite-sex parent as their role models and acquired their occupational experiences through these parents.

Interestingly, Jake aspires to a traditionally male occupation, and Sandra aspires to a non-traditional occupation. Their parents' acceptance of non-traditional

occupations for same-sex children might have influenced their decisions. Although both children's mothers approved of a non-traditional occupation for them, their fathers held different views. Sandra's father was accepting of her entering a non-traditional field, but Jake's father was not in favor of a non-traditional field for him.

These children demonstrated a less rigid view than their peers in their discussions regarding the sex-typing of occupations and of sex roles. They expressed a higher degree of flexibility in these two categories.

The Transitional Child: Jake's Story

Jake is 11 years old and is the older of two sons in an intact family. Jake describes himself as an above-average student and aspires to be a domestic lawyer. He also was able to understand the relationship of a good education to the realization of his occupational goals. His mother is a legal secretary, and his father is a brick salesman.

While Jake is similar in his views to the boys in his peer group, he appears to be moving away from the traditionally held views of his peers: a child in transition. The significant categories that define this difference follow.

Familial Patterns

Parental Expectations

Jake had a keen sense of his parents' expectations for him. He believed that his mother had occupational as well as social goals for him. He knew that his mother expects him to get a college education and to be a professional and a prominent citizen. He states that his father would like him to work with his hands, as he did at the onset of his career.

Jake discussed the values he holds. He placed a high value on social position, power and money. He often referred to recognition and being socially prominent. These values reflect his mother's desire for him to be "a pillar of the community" and the strong link to wealth as a social indicator of status.

> *She says, "You have to go to college."...She wants me to be like a pillar of the community...to be a doctor.*

> *He wants me to be someone that works with his hands...to be a construction worker.*

When it came to the acceptance of a non-traditional occupation for him, Jake's parents would experience mixed feelings. His mother would accept his role in a traditionally female occupation, while his father would reject it. In an hypothetical situation, Jake felt that his

parents would be more in agreement if a sister were involved. Both his mother and father would be willing to accept their daughter's entrance into a non-traditional occupation. He sensed that his mother would give both him and his sister the same message, while his father would advise her to seek help if needed.

It is interesting to note that both parents are in gender-traditional occupations and also selected traditionally male occupations in their expectations for Jake.

> *She'd probably think it was great cause she was a tap dancer.*
>
> *Yeah, he'd probably being honest, laugh and then start yelling at me. He would probably think "what kind of job is that?"*
>
> *She'd probably warn her that she could get hurt around the construction site, and as long as they are paying you, you can try the job but just be careful. She would probably warn her...The same thing for me.*
>
> *He'd probably say be careful and if you need any help just call somebody.*

Communication

Most of the communication regarding work occurred on a parent to parent level in Jake's presence. These talks often centered on the day's frustrations and stresses.

Jake's parents did not always openly communicate their feelings about their plans for him. He apparently picked up on the covert messages they sent him in their interactions and was very clear in his discussions of their views.

> *Well my parents don't really talk about it all that much, but I know they want me to be this...In some ways I am, but I'm just not going to be exactly like him or exactly like how my mom wants me to be.*

Alternative Choices

In discussing alternative occupations for his parents, Jake was able to generate a choice for his mother, but not for his father. His mother's work pattern was more varied than his father's. She worked at several jobs, including government work and is currently working on her teaching degree. Jake's father has always been in the construction industry. He began his career as a bricklayer and recently moved into sales. Apparently, Jake could visualize his mother in various settings because of her experience.

> *Something that doesn't involve that much work and having such a stressful job. She is going to night school to become a teacher. I choose for her to be a teacher.*

Traditions

Jake had a strong sense that his father would be very

pleased if he followed in his footsteps. He is aware that for his father it would be a sense of pride among his peer group. On the other hand, he thought that although his father would be disappointed if he did not pursue that career path, he would be forgiving of him.

> *He wants me to follow in his footsteps and become a bricklayer for him to be proud and show off to his friends.*

Jake also referred to an uncle as a role model. This relative would like him to follow his career path in computers and has attempted to influence him by pointing out the many high-paying positions available.

> *Yeah, my uncle Joe, because he wants me to be a person who handles money. Because he works for IBM and he handles a lot of money through the computers. he wants me to do that because he's one. Like he told me what the big money making jobs are.*

Rehearsal

Jake has had the opportunity to visit his mother's office and observe the daily interactions and activities. He feels confident that he could be a good domestic lawyer because this experience provided him the opportunity to study the style and demeanor of the lawyers as they went about their daily routines.

> *Well, I have been in my mom's work before and I know how to like, what to say and the tone to say it in.*

And when I saw Mr. Smith and all the other lawyers working, it seemed like a fun thing to do...You get to go into court rooms, which I think is pretty good. You get to help people and you get to see what a real jury and a judge looks like.

The Transitional Child: Sandra's Story

Sandra is an 11 1/2 year old fifth-grade student. She describes herself as an excellent student and aspires to be an airline pilot. Sandra is the younger child of an intact family. She has an older brother. Her mother is a homemaker, and her father is a commercial airline pilot.

Sandra discussed the issue of the inequalities in current hiring practices that perceive men as more competent than women for certain jobs. Although she is aware of this, she believes she can achieve her goal of entering a traditionally male occupation if she acquires the proper education and training, and perseveres in her goal.

Familial Patterns

Parental Expectations

Sandra was confident her parents would be supportive of her in pursuing her chosen career path. Sandra perceived that her parents' expectations for her are that she be happy and successful in whatever field she selects.

A pilot because she knows I love flying and she loves me, so she would want me to have a job that I would be happy with.

A pilot because he is and he would want me to take after him. But if he knew I didn't want to be one, he wouldn't pressure me into being one. He said that to me.

Sandra's parents are in traditional roles; she stays home and he has a gender-traditional occupation. However, they have not expressed an occupational preference for her or her brother. They have primarily stressed that Sandra select something which she enjoys doing and do her best. . Sandra felt her parents would also be accepting of a non-traditional occupation for her older brother.

He wouldn't mind. He'd just want us to be happy and he wants us to succeed in life and he wouldn't mind.

Communication

Most of the communication regarding work occurred within a familial context. Sandra was quite aware of what her father's job entailed and often questioned him when he worked at home. She talked about him preparing bids and planning his trip to calculate the mileage.

Well, like where is he going to go. He does bidding, so he does where you are going to go and then he does how is he going to get there. He has these maps.

During his absences from the home Sandra's father communicates with the family over the telephone and keeps them informed regarding his activities.

Yeah, because we talk to him on the phone and we ask him where he is and what he did during the day.

Traditions

Like Jake, Sandra had a sense that her father would be very happy if she followed in his footsteps. Her connectedness to her father as her role model is quite evident in her discussions.

He likes it, he thinks it is really good because I'm taking after him.

I have a lot of confidence, because my dad says I have a lot...cause he's a captain, he's like really good.

Sandra further qualifies her aspiration as something that she perceives to be challenging and fulfilling. She also is aware of the risks involved, but feels confident that she would be able to handle that as well as a male peer would.

It looks complicated, but it also looks fun and I would rather find out more about it because it looks like fun.

Well there is only one way of fixing it and that's the same way how a woman would fit it, so I don't think any kind of person would act differently.

In discussing values, Sandra placed the safety of others as a priority over money.

And the money is too, because you have to live with money. But I think the important thing is getting people there safe. And getting yourself there safe.

Because if they crash, you crash since you are in the same plane.

Rehearsal

Sandra has had the opportunity to acquire a sense of what is involved in being a pilot through her discussions with her father. She has also helped on family trips by reading the maps and working out the mileage. Sandra found visits to the cockpit exciting and often flies on family trips.

Sandra sees the relevance of her school subjects to her occupational aspiration and is aware that she needs to continue to do well in her studies. She is also determined and confident that she can do it and that nothing will stand in her way.

Well my dad, because I've been up there in the cockpit and it looks really fun.

Yeah, I know how to read maps cause I do it with my dad in the car and I'm pretty god at math. I just have to keep on learning and I will remember and I'll do the stuff that I need to do to keep on learning and I'll get out there.

The people hiring think it's better if you are a man so they can do the job better. But it's not true. They probably would give the boy a better advantage. But I wouldn't stand for it.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

Summary

This research project was driven by three primary areas of investigation. First, it sought to discover the perceived gender characteristics of selected occupations held by this group of children. For these children the assignation of gender characteristics to occupations was a reflection of the underlying views they held of the meaning and character of masculinity and femininity. Whether or not an occupation was perceived to possess the inherent qualities of masculinity or femininity was the primary criteria for the gender assignation of that occupation.

The attribute of rationality and the ability to engage in intense activities requiring sustained concentration were perceived as male qualities. Women were considered more emotional and were placed in occupations with a nurturing component. Contrary to men who seek challenges, women were perceived to prefer repetitive work, to be organizers, and to be people and data oriented. These findings are congruent with the current literature (Kendall & Miller,

1983;, Wesley & Wesley, 1977; Vetter et al., 1979; Hayes, 1986).

Gender role socialization was found to be the underlying factor in the definition of gender appropriate occupations. According to Wesley and Wesley (1977) gender role socialization differentiates the abilities, interests and aptitude suitable for different jobs for women and men. The socialization process perpetuates rigid gender roles that constrain or limit occupational choices to those considered gender appropriate. The larger social systems (family, schools, media) reinforces these gender inequities (McGoldrick, Anderson & Walsh, 1989).

Although, in general, a view of gender appropriate occupations was pervasive, some children were discovered to be in a transitional stage, moving towards a less traditional view of occupations. Opposite sex parental role models influenced these children's views and career aspirations.

The second question posed by this study was the investigation of the ways the occupational patterns within the families of these children relate to their perceptions of occupational gender characteristics.

The occupational patterns of these children's families were traditionally sex-typed. Fathers held traditionally male occupations, and mothers held traditionally female

occupations.

All the boys in this group aspired to traditionally male occupations, mirroring their fathers' sex-typed occupations and maintaining a traditional male occupational pattern. However, not all of these girls aspired to traditionally female occupations. Several of the girls in this study broke away from their mothers' traditionally female occupations, and aspired to non-traditional occupations.

The third area of investigation for this study was to explore in what ways the occupational preferences of these children relate to their perceptions of occupational gender characteristics.

The boys in this study selected occupations which were congruent with their underlying views of masculinity. They believed that they had the freedom to select a female occupation but were reluctant to do so. They referred to the social censorship of their male peers as a deterrent to such a decision.

Although they felt they could enter a female occupation, they excluded girls from occupations perceived to be masculine because it would be considered unfeminine to do so.

These girls chose not only traditional, but also non-traditional occupations for themselves. They articulated

the social views and common practices which reinforce the stereotyping of gender appropriate occupations. However, they also expressed the unfairness of such views and practices and aspire to those occupations, fully aware that they would be at a disadvantage. These girls nonetheless were undeterred.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was not explanatory, but rather to discover what issues are relevant to the phenomenon under study. This study revealed that for these children sex-role stereotyping apparently began prior to the fifth-grade. These boys continue to maintain a stereotypical view of occupations and aspire to traditionally male occupations, much like their fathers. Some of these girls, however, are moving away from a stereotypical view of occupations and aspire to non traditional occupations. It would appear that gender plays a role in how these students conceptualize occupations.

The discovery of the impact opposite-sex parental role models play in promoting the transition towards a more flexible view of occupations in some of these children is interesting in view of the rising numbers of single parent households. If opposite-sex parental role models contribute

to a more flexible view of occupations, children raised in single-parent household could possibly be occupationally disadvantaged. It could be speculated that the unavailability of opposite-sex parental role models in female headed households could influence girls' movement into less stereotypical views of occupations and perpetuate the restriction of choices for them. On the other hand, boys raised in male headed households could also be influenced in their views of the occupations available to them and perhaps neglect to consider traditionally female occupations as career options.

With the changing shifts in society that affect the family unit, it is interesting to speculate on how the views these children hold on gender appropriate occupations will affect society as a whole. Society as a whole loses when individuals, because of gender, fail to realize their full potential. The contributions of all individuals through diversity enrich the work place. Change at the political level must occur to ensure that individuals are given equal opportunities.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study discovered the core archetypical views of some girls and boys regarding the gender characteristics of

occupations. Of greater significance was the discovery of a variability that contributed to a transitional stage for children who were moving towards a more non-traditional view of occupations.

The purpose of this study was to discover and not to explain the findings. The explanation for the discovery of the link between opposite-sex parental role models and this movement away from a more stereotypical view of occupations was beyond the scope of this paper.

It is recommended that further research be conducted to discover and explore the antecedents for variability. Additional research in different settings would also be beneficial. It would be helpful to speculate on the meaning of this transition and how it affects the future of society in view of the changing family systems such as single parenthood.

Implications for Practitioners

The information garnered from this research study has strong implications for practitioners who work with elementary students. To expand occupational options and choices, a direct and indirect approach to services is recommended.

At an indirect level, the social systems that affect

the child need to be addressed. The misconception of career development as career choice needs to be clarified. An emphasis on the relevance of career development for the elementary student needs to be developed.

Both parents and the educational system need to be aware of the subtle bias and covert messages we give children. In-service training and parent presentations and workshops can raise the level of awareness of these systems and promote the skills necessary to effect change that will empower children to make enlightened decisions in their lives.

At a direct level, practitioners can be the catalysts which will move children toward a lifetime of responsible decision-making. Through guidance presentations in the classrooms and small group and individual counseling which focus on the development of decision-making skills and raising the self-concept, counselors can assist children in developing a sense of empowerment so that they can better assume responsibilities and cope with frustrations.

Counselors can also take the initiative in developing and planning school-wide activities which focus on career awareness. Counselors can link those children who have limited access to role models, to adults and services in the community. In addition there needs to be a stronger emphasis on articulation between elementary and middle

school counselors in identifying students who would benefit from career counseling.

Career awareness and development need to be removed as isolated objectives and approached as life skills which are ongoing throughout the life span. Counselors can be active participants in the integrated curriculum approach and plan lessons with teachers which will instill in students the awareness of diversity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SURVEY FOR SAMPLE SELECTION

This is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Use your own words to answer the questions.

1. Check the adults with whom you live.

_____ 1. Mother
_____ 2. Stepmother
_____ 3. Father
_____ 4. Stepfather
_____ 5. Other _____

2. Does your mother/stepmother have a job?

_____1. Yes (Go to question 3)

_____2. No (Go to question 4)

3. What kind of job does she have? (Use your own words)

4. Does your father/stepfather have a job?

_____1. Yes (Go to question 5)

_____2. No (Go to question 6)

5. What kind of job does he have? (Use your own words)

6. What kinds of jobs do the other adults with whom you live have?

APPENDIX B

GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Sex of subject

2. Ethnic group of subject (best guess)

3. Age of subject

4. Who do you live with?
   _____ 1. mother
   _____ 2. stepmother
   _____ 3. father
   _____ 4. stepfather
   _____ 5. other (specify)

5. Does your mother/stepmother have a job or is she at home?

   a. If job, what kind of job does she have?

   b. How do you think she feels about what she does?

   c. Does she go to school?

6. Does your father/stepfather have a job or is he at home?

   a. If job, what kind of job does he have?

   b. How do you think he feels about what he does?

   c. Does your he go to school?

7. Do you have brothers or sisters? (If yes, list by sex and age).

8. Depending on age of sibling, ask one of the following questions: (do not ask about siblings under 8).

   a. What kind of work does your brother/sister do?

   b. Is s/he in school? What is s/he studying?

c. What kind of job do you think your brother/sister would like to have when s/he is older?

9. How do you like to spend your time? (or what are some things that interest you? hobbies?)

10. How do you feel about school?

11. What activities do you like best?

    a. What makes a subject fun, favorite, interesting?

12. What activities do you like the least?

    a. What makes it not be fun, interesting?

13. How well would you say you do in all your subjects? (Ask about art, music, and P.E.)

14. How far would you like to go in school? (Clarify/simplify as needed.)

15. If you had a magic wand and could make your dreams come true, what do you think your future occupation or job would be?

16. What do you really think you will be when you grow up? (Can be the same as above or different, if don't know; pick a job that you might like to have).

    a. What do you think you would like about that kind of work?

    b. What makes this job attractive? (Ask for all cited).

    c. What do people in that occupation do? (Ask for all cited).

    d. How far do you think you would have to go in school to become a (cited occupation)?

17. a. What makes you think you can do that job?

    b. How hard would you have to work to do that job? In school? On the job?

18. a. Do men do this now?

b. Do women do this now?

c. Should a man, a woman, or both do that job?

d. What makes you say that?

e. Do girls (boys) want to do this (job)?

f. What do girls (boys) want to do? Why?

19. a. When you were younger, what did you want to be?

b. What did you like about those occupations

c. What made you change your mind?

20. Do you think you will get married?

a. Since you plan to (e.g. get married) and (e.g. become a doctor) how do you think you will manage to do both of those things? (If necessary, ask inferential questions - who will stay with the children when they are young?, who will take out the trash?, who will earn most of the money?, etc.

21. What do you think your mother/stepmother would like you to be when you grow up? (occupation, family status, etc). If don't know, give examples of "might like".

a. How do you feel about that?

22. What do you think your father/stepfather would like you to be when you are grown up?

a. How do you feel about that?

23. What if your parents want you to be something different than what you want to be, what will you do? (What will happen)?

24. What other adults whom you know could influence the decision of what you will do?

25. What do you think your best friend should be?

a. That do you think your best friend would like you to be when you are grown up?

b. How do you feel about that?

26. Pick a child of opposite sex that student mentions. What should this child be?

27. What are some things about your job that will be important to you?

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL LETTER OF CONSENT

Dear Parents/Guardians:

I have had the privilege of being your child's school counselor for the past five years. During that time I have also been working on my doctorate. One of the requirements in my program of studies is the completion of a research study.

This letter is to respectfully request your permission to include your child in that study. The purpose of the study is to gather some general and demographic information about fifth grade students' occupational aspirations. The information will be helpful to educators and counselors in planning effective programs for elementary school students.

I will conduct an individual interview with your child during the school day at a time that is regularly reserved for Guidance activities. The identity of all the children will be confidential. In reporting the results of the study the identity of all the children will be protected.

Please feel free to call me at 791-3141 if you have any questions. I would appreciate it if you would complete and return this form at your earliest convenience. Thank you for allowing your child to be a part of this study.

Sincerely,

Joy Phillips,
Counselor

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT

I consent for my child _____ to participate in a study of fifth grade students' occupational aspirations. I understand that my child will be interviewed and audio taped for the purpose of gathering demographic and general information regarding his/her occupational aspirations. The tape recordings will be used to eliminate note-taking and to facilitate in the processing of the data. The tape recordings will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

I further understand that my child's identity and the information he/she furnishes will be confidential. The study will not identify any child as the source of any particular information.

_____
Parent/Guardian

_____
Date

APPENDIX E

RESEARCH ASSISTANT'S CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT

Title of the Study:

Sex-role Stereotyping in Fifth Grade Students: A Qualitative Study of Occupational Preference

Primary Researcher: Joy E. Phillips

Confidentiality Pledge:

I understand that the information being collected in this study is strictly confidential. I further understand that if I recognize the voice of the participant whose tape I am transcribing, or in any way become aware of his/her identity, I will keep that identity confidential.

_____ _____

Signature Date

APPENDIX F

Parental Occupations

Mothers	Fathers
Homemakers (6)	Electrician (3)
Secretary (5)	Military Officer (3)
Teacher (3)	County Employee
Laboratory Technician (2)	Furniture Refinisher
Daycare Provider	Construction (2)
Schoolbus Driver	Federal Government
Sales	FBI Agent
Teller	Machinist
	Property Management
	Construction Sales
	Police Officer
	Shipping Clerk
	Maintenance

VITA

Joy E. Phillips

EDUCATION

Ed.D., 1993, College of Education, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Major Area: Counselor Education
Dissertation: Sex-role Stereotyping in Fifth Grade Students: A Qualitative Study of Occupational Preference

M.Ed., 1986, College of Education, George Mason University
Major Area: Agency Counseling

B.A., 1984, University of Maryland
Major Area: Psychology

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Clinical Experience

Elementary School Counselor, Prince William County School System, Manassas, Virginia

Associate, Center for Counseling and Development, Fairfax, Virginia

Director of Guidance, Linton Hall Military School,Bristow, Virginia

Mental Health Intern, Community Mental Health Services, Dumfries, Virginia

Mental Health Volunteer, Community Mental Health Services, Manassas, Virginia

Teaching and Supervision

Adjunct Professor, Psychology, Northern Virginia Community College, Woodbridge, Virginia

Supervisor, on-site, Practicum students, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Supervisor, Practicum students, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Presentations and Workshops

Presenter, Benedictine Pastoral Center, Human Development and Motivation

Presenter, Prince William County Schools, Parent workshops on communication, Manassas, Virginia

Leader, Prince William County School, Active Parenting Workshops

Lecturer, Prince William County Schools, Multicultural Education, Manassas, Virginia

Lecturer, School of Business, Northern Virginia Community College, Woodbridge, Virginia

Honors and Awards

Blue Cross Blue Shield Grant

Nominated for the Washington Post Agnes Meyer Outstanding Teacher Award, 1991, 1992

Who's Who in the South and Southwest

Who's Who in American Professional Women

Professional Memberships

American Counseling Association

Virginia Counselors Association

Virginia School Counselors Association

Virginia Elementary School Counselors Association

Phi Delta Kappa, Northern Virginia Chapter

Prince William County Multicultural Advisory Committee