GENDER STEREOTYPES IN ELEMENTARY READING TEXTBOOKS: DICK AND JANE REVISITED

by

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(ABSTRACT)

The objective of this study was to determine whether gender stereotypes are present in elementary reading textbooks published during the 1980s, and how the extent of stereotyping compares with textbooks published during the last two decades. Both manifest and latent content analyses were performed on a random sample of stories drawn from 4th and 5th grade reading textbooks. Chi-square analyses were performed to determine whether significant changes have occurred with regard to gender stereotypes over the last three decades, controlling for publishing company and sex of author. Five different publishing companies, randomly selected from a list of thirteen publishers approved for use by the Virginia Board of Education in 1988, were represented in the sample.

The manifest content was analyzed by comparing the number of male and female characters, number of female and male main characters, types of occupations held by male and female characters, number of females and males in illustrations, and the race of characters. The latent content was analyzed by comparing the sex of characters most likely to exhibit each of seven different gender stereotyped traits. The latent content was further analyzed by looking for gender stereotyped themes and quotes,

and non-traditional themes and quotes in stories.

Chi-square tests of significance showed that there was a significant increase in the number of female characters between the 1960s and 1980s, but not between the 1960s and 1970s, not between the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the significant increase, male characters outnumbered female characters in each decade. HBJ was the only publisher with a near 50%-50% distribution of female and male characters. Both male and female authors were found to use more male characters in stories, but female authors used male characters less than male authors. Stories co-authored by a male and a female had the least inequitable distribution of male and female characters.

Among characters who had occupations, only 15% were female. Male characters were significantly more likely to have traditional male occupations and female characters were significantly more likely to have traditional female occupations. With regard to gender-stereotyped traits, there seems to be an increasing flexibility in the female role, with more females displaying traditionally male traits, but no corresponding flexibility was found in the male role. Limitations and theoretical implications of the study are discussed in the conclusions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Although theoretical perspectives vary, those who study inequality agree that the United States is a gender-stratified society, in which women have lower status socially, economically, and politically, relative to men of the same age, race, and class. This social system of structured inequality based on gender is referred to as patriarchy. Although scholarly analysis of gender stratification has flourished in recent years, many questions remain concerning the causes, maintenance, and consequences of patriarchy.

Patriarchy is based upon the social construction of gender.[1] Feminist sociologists assert that gender and gender stereotypes[2] learned early in childhood contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of

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[1] Gender refers to the different traits, behaviors, and patterns of interaction which a society expects from its members according to biological sex.

[2] Gender stereotypes refer to the socially shared belief that certain qualities can be accurately attributed to an individual based only on biological sex.

patriarchy. Therefore, much research examines the ways in which gender-appropriate behavior is learned, focusing on such agents of socialization as family, education, the media, and peers. One line of research is concerned with the impact of elementary school textbooks. Numerous studies done in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated that elementary school textbooks contained clear messages about gender appropriate behavior (Stefflre, 1969; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada & Ross, 1972; Women on Words & Images, 1972; Frasher & Walker, 1975). Research also demonstrates that gender-stereotypic curriculum materials lead to gender-stereotyped attitudes, while curriculum materials which do not contain gender stereotypes lead to less gender stereotyped attitudes (Ashton, 1973; Flerx, Fidler & Rogers, 1976; Schau & Scott, 1984).

Since the first studies of textbooks were done, many social improvements for women have occurred. For example, in the mid 1960s, only 38% of women were in the labor force, but by the mid 1980s, 53% of all women were in the labor force. Groups such as the National Organization of Women (NOW), and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) have helped women to overcome a great deal of legal and social discrimination. Also, improved methods of birth control have given women greater control over their reproductivity.

However, gender inequality has certainly not disappeared. For example, the vast majority of women are employed in low prestige, low income jobs such as secretary, elementary school teacher, bookkeeper, cashier, and office clerk (Sapiro, 1986). Women in 1986 earned 65% of the male dollar which is not an improvement over the 66% they earned in 1946. In addition, the recent Supreme Court ruling on abortion is viewed

by many as a threat to women's control over their reproductivity.

It seems apparent then, that societal ideas about the appropriate roles and behaviors for women are in a state of flux. This study will examine textbooks from the 1980s to determine what kinds of images of women and men they contain, and how they compare with textbooks published during the 1960s and 1970s. More specifically, it seeks to determine whether the social improvements for women are being reflected in the most recent textbooks through a decrease in gender inequality and gender stereotypes, or if gender inequality and gender stereotypes are still reflected in textbooks.

1.2 Feminist Theory

An interest in the mechanisms which act to maintain gender inequality is central to feminist theory. While sociological theory, in its most basic sense, is "a wide-ranging system of ideas that deals with the centrally important issues of social life" (Ritzer, 1983), feminist theory brings the awareness that the theoretical explanations for the ways in which women's social lives have been constructed have never been adequate. Their experiences have always been "peripheral" and have been described and explained by men rather than by women themselves (Keohane, Rosaldo & Gelpi, 1981).

Chafetz identifies several ways in which feminist theory is different from most sociological theory. First, gender is viewed as much more than an individual characteristic. It is seen as one of the major principles affecting the ways in which societies are organized. Second,

gender relations are seen as problematic. They are believed to be related to "social inequities, strains, and contradictions" (Chafetz, 1988:5). Finally, gender relations are not viewed by feminist theorists as unchangeable. They are believed to be a product of sociocultural and historical forces.

Feminist theories are often seen as more explicitly political than mainstream social theories in that they strongly advocate social change. However, it should be remembered that all social theories have political ramifications, regardless of whether or not they are explicitly stated. According to Gouldner, different social theories have:

> "...different consequences for the individual's ability to pursue certain courses of action in the world...thus...a social theory takes on political meanings and implications quite apart from whether these were knowingly intended or recognized either by those who formulated or those who accepted it (1970)."

According to Chafetz (1988:5) the "acid test" of whether a theory can be classified as feminist or not depends on its ability to "be used (regardless of by whom) to challenge, counteract, or change a status quo that disadvantages or devalues women".

1.3 Liberal Feminist Theory

There are currently many varieties of contemporary American feminist thought,[3] and this study relies on liberal feminism. Liberal philosophy grew out of the rapid social change which occurred with the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism (Tong, 1989). As the absolute

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[3] The varieties of feminist theory include Marxist, liberal, radical, socialist, psychoanalytic, neo-Freudian, existentialist, and postmodern.

authority of monarchs came into question, ideals such as liberty, independence, individual rights, and human reason were emphasized. Many social thinkers of the time, such as Mary Astell, John Stuart Mill, and Mary Wollstonecraft also began to question the absolute authority of men over women (Jaggar, 1983).

John Stuart Mill's "The Subjection of Women" and Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women are classics in the liberal feminist tradition. They argue that women's subordination is based on a set of traditional and legal constraints which keep women from participating and succeeding in the public sphere (Tong, 1989). This is basically a theory of exclusion. Because women are believed to be less capable then men, both intellectually and physically, they are excluded from all institutions in the public realm, such as economics, politics, and government. This policy of exclusion impedes the development of women to their full potential.

According to liberal feminists, women should not suffer any systematic disadvantages based solely on their biological sex. Thus, the goal of liberal feminism is to change laws and traditions which disadvantage women, so that men and women may have an equal opportunity to compete for access to desired social and material resources. According to Tong (1989), while liberal feminists are concerned that men and women compete on an equal basis, they are not necessarily concerned that men and women receive equal rewards for competing. Liberal feminists do not believe that "gender justice" requires rewards for both the successful and the unsuccessful.

Liberal feminists argue that gender inequality is maintained by the

sexual division of labor and the systematic socialization of children into gender-appropriate roles which maintain and perpetuate the sexual division of labor (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley, 1988). The sexual division of labor divides social activity into the public and private spheres. Men occupy the highly-valued public sphere while women occupy the under-valued private sphere. Through early and continuous socialization, girls and boys are prepared to move into appropriate male and female adult roles and to occupy appropriate spheres.

According to Mill (1869), laws and social institutions produce artificial constraints which inhibit the development of both men and women, and cause women to appear to be inferior to men. Such thinking leads liberal feminists to the conclusion that "there is no such thing as male and female nature: there is only human nature and that has no sex" (Jaggar, 1983). Therefore, a great deal of feminist research has attempted to demonstrate that many of the observed differences between men and women widely believed to be innate, are actually the result of "sex role conditioning" (Jaggar, 1983). Much research has also documented the ways in which children are taught appropriate gender activities through parents, peers, media, schools, toys, and so on (Lever, 1976; Lewis & Weinraub, 1979; Constantinople, 1979; Cahill, 1983).

To the liberal, the best way to effect social change is to enlighten people through the elimination of prejudice, allowing for the unhampered development of human reason. More specifically, liberals view education as the most effective tool for social change (Sapiro, 1986). Therefore, liberal feminists regard the educational system as an appropriate place

to promote equality between women and men. Liberal feminism can be seen as informing such legislative acts as Title IX and the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA).

An examination of gender stereotypes in elementary school textbooks exemplifies both the liberal feminist concern with sex role conditioning and the belief in education as the key to social change. Liberal feminists argue that in contemporary society, women are believed to be ideally suited for certain occupations, such as teaching or nursing, and less capable of performing other tasks, such as preaching or governing (Tong, 1989). They believe that if the prejudice in early textbooks, reflected by the use of stereotypes, is eliminated, girls and boys will realize that both men and women are capable of performing a variety of tasks and roles. Thus, by increasing the range of choice available to men and women, human freedom will be facilitated. This will enable women to function more independently and render them less likely to appear inferior to men.

Liberal feminism is the basis of much popular writing on women and women's rights, and is also the basis of the platform of the National Organization of Women (NOW). While this variety of feminist thought is the one most popularly conceived of as "feminism", it is actually a minority position within contemporary academic feminist theory (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley, 1988).

1.4 Learning Stereotypes: Childhood Socialization

The liberal feminist concern with childhood gender-role

socialization and sex-typing is derived from social learning theory. According to social learning theory, sex-typing is the process of acquisition of gender stereotyped behaviors. First the child learns to discriminate between gender stereotyped behavior patterns, then he or she learns to generalize these patterns to new situations. Finally, the child learns to perform gender stereotypical behavior (Mischel, 1966).

Observational learning from both live and symbolic models (i.e. books and television) is the first step in acquiring sex-typed behavior (Mischel, 1966). Thus, children identify with same-sex others and imitate their behavior (Bandura & Walters, 1963). With regard to textbooks, children rehearse symbolically the episodes described in textbook stories (Child, 1960). The characters in these stories provide children with models of appropriate gender behavior. Likewise, Cahill (1983) argues that children model the behavior of same sex others, including characters in books, in an attempt to confirm their gender identity.

The consequences which occur the first time a child performs sex-typed behavior determine whether or not the behavior will be repeated again in other situations (Mischel, 1966). If the behavior is reinforced it is likely that the child will continue to perform it and similar behaviors:

> Boys and girls discover that the consequences for performing such behaviors are affected by their sex, and therefore soon perform them with different frequency. These reinforcement consequences are both direct and inferred, and most sex-typed behaviors need not be performed by the child in order for him [or her] to learn that they have differential consequences for the sexes (Mischel, 1966:60).

One problem with social learning theory however, is that it presents

a somewhat "oversocialized" explanation of gender development. The child is not simply a passive recipient of gender-cues. According to Kohlberg (1966), gender development depends on the child's active structuring of his or her experience. Symbolic interactionists, like Spencer Cahill (1980; 1983), have attempted to expand upon a social learning theory view of gender acquisition by focusing on the child as an active participant in the development of his or her gender identity.

According to Cahill, "Every social interaction poses a test of the child's gender identity. Because this identity is positively valued, the child will attempt to elicit gender-identity-confirming responses from others" (1983:6). One way that children avoid the "pitfalls" of trial and error learning is by modelling the behavior of same-sex others. Thus, both social learning theorists and symbolic interactionists agree that an important mechanism for developing gender identity is imitating the behavior of same-sex others, including characters found in children's textbooks.

1.5 Content of Gender Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes consist of two groups of often opposite behaviors, characteristics, attitudes, and activities. One group is believed to be appropriate for males, the other for females. These differences are believed to be innate or "God-given." Before elaborating further on how gender stereotypes originate, however, it is first necessary to describe these stereotypes.

Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972)

developed a questionnaire to assess individual perceptions of "typical" masculine and feminine behavior. Over one hundred college men and women responded to the questionnaire. A high amount of agreement was found among respondents about the characteristic differences between women and men. The results of a factor analysis indicated two general themes, competency and warmth-expressiveness. Within each of the two themes, feminine and masculine characteristics were conceptualized as polar opposites. For example, with regard to the competency cluster females were believed by respondents to be "not at all aggressive", "not at all independent", "very emotional", "very submissive". Males, on the other hand were characterized as "very aggressive", "very independent", "not at all emotional", "very dominant".

With regard to the warmth-expressiveness cluster, females were believed by respondents to be "very talkative", "very gentle", "very neat in habits", and "appreciative of art and literature". Males, however, were believed to be "not at all talkative", "very rough", "very sloppy in habits", "not appreciative of art and literature". The researchers concluded that the stereotypic items which were highly valued for males reflected competency, while those highly valued for females reflected warmth-expressiveness.

In her paper on conflict within and between genders, Rosenblum (1986) describes a similar dichotomy in gender stereotypes. She argues that the central feature of contemporary American gender definitions is the differentiation between caring and autonomy. Expectations for behavior and attitudes of females reflect the theme of caring, while expectations for behavior and attitudes of men reflect autonomy.

Chafetz (1978) compiled a list of gender role stereotype traits by

asking students of both sexes the question: "what kinds of words and phrases do you think most Americans use to characterize males as compared to females?". Physically, males were described as virile, athletic, and strong while females were weak, helpless, dainty, and unathletic. Sexually, males were described as aggressive and experienced, females as either virginal and inexperienced or seductive and flirtatious. Intellectually, masculine traits included logical, intellectual, rational, and objective; feminine traits with regard to intellect were scatterbrained, frivolous, shallow, and inconsistent.

1.6 The Costs of Gender Stereotypes

Stereotypes persist in American society today, and are problematic because they are not equally valued. The literature shows that men and masculine characteristics are more highly valued in our society than are women and feminine characteristics (Broverman et. al. 1972; Polk & Stein, 1972; Poole & Tapley, 1988; Rachkowski & O'Grady, 1988; Ragins, 1989).

To demonstrate the differential value of masculine and feminine traits, Polk and Stein (1972) asked students to form same-sex groups and discuss the disadvantages of their gender role and the advantages of the other. Some of the disadvantages perceived by males of their own gender role were "can't show emotion", "pressure to succeed", and "liable to draft". They perceived advantages of the female role to be "able to show emotions", "alimony and insurance benefits" and "object of courtesy".

Some of the disadvantages perceived by females of their own gender role were "limited job opportunities", "legal and financial

discrimination" and "sexual double standard". Some advantages of the male role listed by females were "greater job opportunities", "no babies", and "no domestic work".

Although males and females clearly perceive the gender roles to have different advantages and disadvantages, Polk and Stein (1972) concluded that the most impressive finding of their study was the length of the lists made by the students. Females perceived more disadvantages linked to the feminine role than males perceived linked to the masculine role. Likewise, males perceived more advantages associated with the male role than females perceived with the feminine role. This study demonstrates that both women and men perceive the male role as the most socially desirable.

In a study linking mental health and sex roles, Broverman et. al. (1972) concluded that characteristics found to be more socially desirable by laypeople were the same characteristics that professionals believed to be indicative of mental health. A double standard of mental health was found to exist for men and women. "The general standard of health (adult, sex-unspecified) is actually applied to men only, while healthy women are perceived as significantly less healthy by adult standards" (Broverman, et. al., 1972:71).

In a modification of the Broverman, et. al. (1972) study (Poole & Tapley, 1988), psychologists were asked to rate the appropriate behavior of healthy men and women in the home environment and in the work environment. They found a significant effect of environment, with ratings closer to the pole traditionally labeled masculine in the work environment.

According to Women on Words and Images (1972), a Princeton-based research group, psychologists have begun to realize the damage done to women by such narrowly defined roles. In a statement to the American Psychological Association, the Association of Women Psychologists said:

> Psychological oppression in the form of sex role socialization clearly conveys to girls from the earliest ages that their nature is to be submissive, servile, and repressed, and their role is to be servant, admirer, sex object and martyr...the psychological consequences of goal depression--the negative self-image, emotional dependence, drugged or alcoholic escape--are all too common[4]

The female role is not only socially and psychologically costly, but economically costly as well. Chafetz (1978) attempted to determine the costs and benefits of the stereotyped gender roles in achieving the most successful positions in the economy and society. Using occupational prestige as a measure of success, she examined the stereotyped traits which would be either helpful or harmful in obtaining and performing well in the most prestigious occupations in the United States. While fifteen stereotypical feminine traits were found to be harmful, only two stereotypical masculine traits were found to be harmful in these occupations. On the other hand, while seventeen masculine traits were classified as helpful, only seven feminine traits were similarly classified. Chafetz (1978) concludes that individuals who try to conform to the stereotypical female role will not be equipped to compete in the world of social and economic privilege, power and prestige.

Perhaps the greatest cost of gender stereotypes is that they limit

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[4] Quoted in Women on Words & Images (1972), from printed "Statement, Resolutions and Motions" presented to the American Psychological Association at its convention in Miami, Florida, September, 1970 by the Association of Women Psychologists.

the career aspirations and choices for girls and women. There is evidence that girls as young as six and seven years of age are aware of these limitations (Looft, 1971; Adams & Hicken, 1984). When asked what they wanted to be when they grew up and then what they actually expected to be, Looft (1971) found that boys named more than twice as many occupations as girls. The most frequent occupations given by boys were football player and policeman, while for girls it was nurse or teacher. One young girl responded to the first question that she would like to be a doctor, but when asked what she expected to be, she said "I'll probably have to be something else, maybe a store lady (1971:366)."

This study was replicated in 1981 to determine how social changes associated with the feminist movement, women's labor force participation and female role models had affected children's vocational choices (Adams & Hicken, 1984). They found that girls in the 1980s are aware of a greater number of occupational choices than they were in the 1970s, and are interested in professional occupations. However, girls who are interested in the most prestigious and highest paying professions (e.g. doctor, lawyer) did not expect to be able to fulfill these aspirations. Adams and Hicken (1984) conclude that children's occupational aspirations are profoundly influenced by gender stereotypes.

1.7 Stereotypes as Justification for Gender Inequality

As explained earlier, even though gender stereotypes present such an unequal picture of men and women, they persist and are believed by many to be innate differences. To better understand the persistence of these

stereotypes, it is first necessary to understand how they originate. How do we come to believe that women and men naturally have different characteristics and abilities when these stereotypes are actually socially constructed? The answer to this question is that gender stereotypes do have some basis in reality. Gender stereotypes are a reflection of the social structural system of gender inequality. According to Chafetz:

> [Gender] stereotypes arise when males and females play very different social roles in the economy and family. In turn, they reinforce that division of labor by specifying different competencies for each sex. ...ideological and religious pronouncements relevant to gender--the roles, rights, obligations, statuses of women and men--will reflect the social structural status quo. If women are severely disadvantaged relative to men, the dominant religion or ideology of that society will tend to justify that disadvantage by defining it as right and proper in terms of a larger principle such as God, the masses, or the nation-state (1988:71).

In Sex Roles and Social Structure, Holter (1970) argues that any system of stratification based on ascription must meet three conditions if it is to survive. First is the evidence or belief in in-born individual differences in abilities. Second is the belief in differentiation as natural or sacred. Third, there must be evidence or the belief that the system increases efficiency (1970). Thus, gender stereotypes can be viewed as a part of the overall belief system which allows the system of stratification based on gender to survive.

The importance of belief in gender differences for maintaining the system of gender stratification was also recognized by Fox (1977). She argued that the United States is characterized by a system of "normative restriction" which controls the behavior of women. From the time they are born, females internalize self-regulatory values and norms concerning

appropriate behavior for "nice girls". According to Fox:

> ...the nice girl value construct also keeps women out of men's way. By limiting women's power and degree of participation in the public world, by channeling women into certain jobs, by limiting the expression of female sexuality, and by providing a ready justification for punishment, the nice girl construct can be seen to facilitate the hegemony of men in a sex-stratified world (1977:817).

Such beliefs in gender differences serve to "insulate women from a clear understanding of political and economic relationships (Kerber & DeHart-Mathews, 1987)."

Those who benefit from the system of inequality (i.e. male and female members of the patriarchal ruling class) have a vested interest in legitimating and maintaining it. They view demands for equality as a rejection of cherished values and norms rather than an effort to remove discrimination and expand options for men and women (Kerber & DeHart-Mathews, 1987). Once the system is legitimated, those who are disadvantaged (i.e., those women and men who are not members of the patriarchal ruling class) come to accept it and are therefore, less likely to challenge the status quo (Chafetz, 1988).

> "Many women who believe they have lived useful and admirable lives by traditional rules see feminist attacks on traditional sex roles as an attack on a way of life they have perfected--and hence an attack on them personally (Kerber & DeHart-Mathews, 1987)."

Therefore, gender stereotypes can be viewed as both reflecting and continually re-creating gender stratification.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Effects of Gender Stereotypes in Children's Books

While the negative effects of gender stereotypes have been described above, it is necessary to explore the specific effects of gender stereotypes in children's textbooks. Fortunately, several studies have been conducted which do just that (Ashton, 1983; Kacerguis & Adams, 1979; Schau & Scott, 1984). In one study (Ashton, 1983), children were read either sex-stereotypic on nonstereotypic books. They were then able to choose between female-stereotypic toys (doll and china set), male-stereotypic toys (truck and gun), and neutral toys (ball and peg board). They found that females exposed to nonstereotypic books played less with female stereotypic toys, and females exposed to stereotypic books played more with stereotypic toys. A similar pattern was reported for boys.

Similar findings were reported by Flerx, Fidler, and Rogers (1976). One-hundred and twenty-two children participated in an experiment designed to examine the effectiveness of symbolic models in modifying sex role stereotypes. As a pre-test, the children were shown a boy and girl

doll, and then a mother and father doll. The experimenter described a variety of behaviors and activities and asked the children which doll would do these things. For example, with the girl and boy doll, the experimenter asked things such as "Who will grow up to be a Daddy?" or "Who is afraid of a bug?" The children responded by pointing to either the boy or girl doll, or both.

The next phase of the experiment was the literature presentation. The children were randomly divided into two groups. Non-stereotypic storybooks were read to one group and stereotypic storybooks were read to the other. Each group was read to thirty minutes per day for five days. The post-test was conducted exactly like the pre-test. Nine types of sex role stereotypes were selected by the researchers as dependent measures. The first two types concerned beliefs about relative intelligence of males versus females, while the last three types concerned children's and parents' work activities.

The children exposed to egalitarian stories expressed fewer sex role stereotypes than children exposed to traditional stories on measures of children's and parents' work activities. A significant group by sex interaction was found for beliefs about children's intelligence. The egalitarian treatment was more successful in reducing sex role stereotypes among females than among males. Flerx, et. al. (1976) concluded that symbolic models in books are important not only in the development of sex-typed attitudes in children, but also in changing those stereotypes.

A synthesis of the available research regarding the effect of gender characteristics of instructional materials on students from preschool

through college age yielded four generalizations (Schau and Scott, 1984). First, use of gender-specified language forms, explicitly including both sexes, results in "gender-balanced" associations. Use of male generic language frequently results in male associations. Second, although students often prefer materials with same-sex main characters, they do not reject "sex-equitable" material.[5] Third, sex-equitable materials do not decrease comprehension.

Fourth, and most relevant to this paper, exposure to sex-equitable material results in more flexible sex role attitudes for both males and females. Degree of attitude change is directly related to the amount of exposure. For example:

> both females and males who were exposed to sex-equitable materials about occupations, such as stories about female firefighters or male nurses, were less sex typed than control groups in their job attributions about potential sex distributions in most of those jobs, such as women becoming firefighters or men becoming nurses (1984:185).

Therefore, the overall conclusion of this research on sex-stereotyped and non sex-stereotyped instructional materials is that they do have an impact on children's ideas of the appropriate activities, behaviors, beliefs and values for males and females. In fact, these studies have found that replacing traditional stereotyped books with more egalitarian books actually decreases children's acceptance of gender stereotyped beliefs.

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[5] Sex-equitable material is defined by the researchers as material that reflects "the presence of females in the world, their contributions, and the changing roles of both females and males" (1984:183).

2.2 Previous Examinations of Children's Books

Because many of the studies of the portrayal of male and female characters in textbooks have similar findings, only those most often cited will be described here. The first and foremost finding of many of these studies is the "invisibility" of female characters. (Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada & Ross, 1972; Frasher & Walker, 1975; Oliver, 1974; Schulwitz, 1977). Specifically, females were under-represented in titles, central roles, pictures and stories. Even when females were present they were often inconspicuous and nameless, giving children the impression that females are neither important, nor exciting (Weitzman, et. al., 1972).

Another common finding is a distorted image of the American working woman. Stefflre (1969) examined the marital, maternal and occupational status of adult female characters in primers and basic texts for the first through sixth grades. He found that practically all of the men worked outside the home, but few of the women did. Women were either married or they had paid employment, but not both. In the readers he analyzed, women made up only 7 percent of the labor force when actually, at that time, they made up 37 percent of the labor force.

Similarly, Weitzman, et. al. (1972) found that no adult women in their sample of Caldecott Award-winning children's books had jobs or professions. This is an extremely unrealistic portrayal given that at the time of this study approximately forty percent of women in the U.S. were members of the labor force. Motherhood was portrayed as the full-time, life-long job for the adult female characters in these books.

Related to this is the image of adult women in general. Weitzman et. al. (1972) analyzed the adult female characters in the sample to determine the kind of role models they provided.
The activities of adult females were generally passive. Women who were active in leadership roles were often portrayed as mythical creatures (e.g. fairy godmothers).

A major focus of studies concerned with the image of the sexes presented in children's books was the general theme of stories. Women on Words and Images (1972) performed a content analysis on 134 different readers from fifteen different publishers in which they summarized the activities, behaviors and roles of male and female characters into different themes. They found that the themes of stories featuring male characters revolved around "active mastery." Male characters exhibited characteristics such as ingenuity, perseverance, strength, routine helpfulness, competitiveness, adventurousness, and autonomy.

The themes of stories featuring female characters, however, portrayed women as the "second sex." Female characters exhibited such characteristics as passivity, docility, dependence, incompetency, and they were often made fun of. Successful women were usually presented as exceptionally different from other women. Even kindness and virtue were found to be gender specific. When boys were "good" they were usually being civic-minded (e.g. repairing a damaged sidewalk) and didn't necessarily have to sacrifice anything. On the other hand, when girls were good, self-sacrifice or self-effacement of some kind was usually involved (Women on Words & Images, 1972).

Many of these studies also found that the activities of males and

females were usually quite different (Weitzman, et. al, 1972; Women on Words & Images, 1972; Frasher & Walker, 1975; Oliver, 1974). In general, males were found to be active while females were found to be passive. Boys had a greater variety of pursuits, while girls were often portrayed as prizes or rewards for male adventurousness. Female characters were more often found indoors than their male counterparts, often serving or preparing to serve male members of their families. Female characters were often described by their relationship to male characters. Numerous other studies documenting the unrealistic and stereotypical portrayal of women in textbooks were conducted from the mid to late 1970s (Oliver, 1974; Frasher & Walker, 1975; Schnell & Sweeney, 1975; Schulwitz, 1977).

Some of these studies have been criticized on methodological grounds. For example, the Weitzman et. al. study has been criticized by Davis (1984) for failure to consistently specify unit of analysis, generalizing without the support of tests for statistical significance, not providing operational definitions for many of their measures or indication of coder reliability.

Another problem with these studies is that they often mix results obtained from basals and supplementary readers. Basal readers are designed for developmental reading instruction while supplementary readers are designed for corrective or remedial reading instruction. Therefore it is probably not appropriate to mix these data. Nevertheless, given the consistent pattern of findings across numerous studies, it is probably safe to conclude that gender inequality was pervasive in the books examined.

2.3 Development of Guidelines for Equal Representation of the Sexes

In the mid 1970s, many elementary reading textbook publishers created guidelines for the improved treatment of women in textbooks (Rupley, Garcia & Longnion, 1981). These guidelines were created, in part, as a response to the passage in 1972 of Title IX, the major federal law prohibiting sex discrimination in education. Title IX was passed in 1972 and put into effect in 1975. It states:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (Schmuck, et. al., 1985:96).

The 1975 regulations that interpret Title IX specifically prohibit discrimination or the denial of benefits on the basis of sex in admissions, recruitment, educational programs or activities, facilities, course offerings, counseling or appraisal, financial assistance, marital or parental status, athletics, and employment (Schmuck, et. al., 1985).

Also in 1972, a law was passed authorizing the National Institute of Education (NIE). One major objective of the NIE is to provide assistance in the achievement of gender equality within education. Specifically the NIE's job is to learn how to advance equal educational opportunities (Schmuck, et. al., 1985). Under the NIE, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has supported studies of bias and fairness in textbooks.

In June 1973, the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination filed a suit against the Kalamazoo Public School System. According to Hester (1975), the suit charged that a set of Houghton Mifflin elementary school reading textbooks used in the classroom discriminated against females and,

therefore, violated Title IX. This was the first suit of its kind to be filed with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The suit charged that eighty percent of the leading characters in the Houghton Mifflin reading series were boys and men, that the pronoun "she" was not used in the series until the third volume, and that women were portrayed "predominately as mothers, nurses, librarians, storekeepers..." (Hester, 1975).

As mentioned above, many of the best-selling textbook publishers issued "guides" at this time suggesting alternatives for authors and editors to consider when writing or approving material for textbooks. The first of these was issued in 1972 by Scott, Foresman and Company. In their Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks, they state:

> Sexism refers to all those attitudes and actions which relegate women to a secondary and inferior status in society. Textbooks are sexist if they omit the actions and achievements of women, if they demean women by using patronizing language, or if they show women only in stereotyped roles with less than the full range of human interests, traits, and capabilities.

In 1973, Ginn and Company made the following statement:

> ...The company is obviously concerned about the needs of its customers and intends to handle these needs with fairness and a sensitive regard for cultural, ethnic, regional, and racial differences...all its programs [will] be promoted and presented in an open sensitive manner with no recourse to exploitation or multi-ethnic, racist, or sexist themes.

The McGraw-Hill Book Company issued their guidelines in 1974:

> Specifically these guidelines are designed to make McGraw-Hill staff members and McGraw-Hill authors aware of the ways in which males and females have been stereotyped in publications; to show the role language has played in reinforcing inequality; and to indicate positive approaches toward providing fair, accurate, and balanced treatment of both sexes in our publications...Women and men should be treated with the same respect, dignity, and seriousness. Neither should be

> trivialized or stereotyped, either in text or in illustrations. Women should not be described by physical attributes when men are being described by mental attributes or professional position. Instead both sexes should be dealt with in the same terms. References to a man's or woman's appearance, charm or intuition should be avoided when irrelevant.

According to Britton and Lumpkin (1977), the Macmillan guide, issued in 1975, provided insights into the ways in which textbooks become "subliminal persuaders":

> These children are not simply being taught mathematics and reading; they are also learning--sometimes subliminally--how society regards certain groups of people. In the case of that young girl or minority child, they might deduce from their reading that they are somehow second class citizens, and that one type of person has less value than another.

Holt, Rinehart, and Winston had the same kind of message in their guidelines of 1975:

> Because educational materials influence the development of the attitudes students carry into adult life, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston consider it important that the values and societal roles suggested in instructional materials be positive ones, and that they be as free as possible from bias, stereotypes, and career-role restriction.

During June of 1974 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare proposed guidelines to govern the enforcement of sex discrimination. However, the original guideline requiring schools to re-evaluate all texts in order to remove "sexist" statements was dropped because it was believed that it would interfere with First Amendment guarantees of free press and speech (Britton, 1975). Thus, while many publishers created "nonsexist" guidelines voluntarily, they could not be enforced mandatorily.

After the passage of Title IX, a variety of laws were passed to provide positive incentives and assistance for achieving sex equity,

including the law approving the establishment of NIE. During the Reagan administration, however, funding and Executive Department support for these programs decreased by about thirteen million dollars (Klein, et. al., 1985). Federal funding for sex equity was at its height in 1980. At this point in time it made up about 0.2% of the Education Department budget (Schmuck, et. al., 1985). The Reagan administration recommended no funding for the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA), and eliminated the Women's Research Team and the Minority and Women's Program in NIE. Thus, it is apparent that women's equity in education is no longer a government priority.

2.4 Comparative Examinations of Textbooks

After the "first wave" of studies which determined that gender stereotypes were present in textbooks, numerous studies were done comparing "old" textbooks with "new" textbooks (Britton, 1975; Britton & Lumpkin, 1977; Stewig & Knipfel, 1975; Marten & Matlin, 1976; Kyle, 1978; Graebner, 1981; Rupley, Garcia & Longnion, 1981; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Scott, 1981; Williams, Williams & Malecha, 1986). The purpose of these studies, much like this one, was to determine whether or not any changes in the representation of men and women had occurred.

The general conclusion of this research was that while girls and women had a better chance of being main characters in stories, they still seemed to be stuck in the home, in traditional occupations and involved in stereotypical activities. Even the increase in female main characters was minimal. For example, in the sample analyzed by Britton and Lumpkin

(1977), pre-guideline texts (published between 1958 and 1970) had female main characters in about 14 percent of their stories while post-guideline texts had female main characters in about 16 percent of their stories. Marten & Matlin (1976) found their investigation of the new female main characters to be disappointing. Many of them were "tomboys" who could not fit comfortably into either a male or female role.

Many of these "second wave" studies found that mothers still rarely worked outside the home. In the study done by Kyle (1978), only one mother out of the whole sample had a career. She concludes that improvements are still needed in these textbooks, particularly in the portrayal of adults.

One study that did find some improvement was done by Rupley, Garcia and Longnion (1981). They analyzed readers that were published from 1976-1978 in comparison to those published prior to the creation of guidelines. Their results show a trend toward equality in the number of female and male main characters in stories. It is unfortunate, however, that they do not describe any of the activities and/or occupations of these characters.

In a more recent study, Williams, Williams and Malecha (1986) compared gender visibility at three points in time. Much like the results of the Rupley et. al. (1981) study, they found the number of male and female characters in 1980-1985 sample of books to be nearly equal. This study did, however, examine the activities and occupations of the characters. They still found few women depicted as members of the labor force, and their overall description of the female characters was "colorless", while male characters were almost always independent and

active. According to Williams et. al.(1986):

> ...the most telling finding is the near unanimity in conformity to traditional gender roles. Not only does Jane express no career goals, but there is no adult female model to provide any ambition. One woman in the entire 1980s [sample]...has an occupation outside the home, and she works as a waitress at the Blue Tile Diner.

A major problem with all of these studies, except Williams et. al. (1986), is that they don't allow enough time for changes in textbook content to occur. Because publishers did not develop guidelines until the mid 1970s, it seems unreasonable to expect major changes before the late 1970s, or even by 1980. Many of these studies analyzed books used in the period 1973-1979 as post-guideline books. However schools often use books for about five years before replacing them. Because this study analyzes books with copyright dates in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, it provides a better representation of the trend of gender stereotypes in elementary reading textbooks before, during, and after the implementation of nonsexist guidelines.

Chapter 3

HYPOTHESES

As described earlier, liberal feminist theory maintains that by changing or creating laws, and through changes in education we can begin to dismantle the system of gender inequality. Laws such as Title IX and publishers guidelines to eliminate the unfair treatment of women in textbooks were designed for such a purpose. Therefore, if liberal feminist theory is accurate, we would expect to find fewer stereotypes in the most recently published textbooks, and to find the number of male and female characters to be nearly equal. The specific stereotypes to be examined will be described in the attributes section of the Methods Chapter.

However, it has been explained that these guidelines are largely voluntary, and that funding for programs designed to promote equity in education has been seriously curtailed in recent years. Despite many attempts, both successful and unsuccessful, to promote equality between the sexes, liberal feminists recognize that the system of gender stratification has proven to be firmly entrenched in our society and fairly resistant to change. It has also been demonstrated how, from a

liberal feminist perspective, gender stereotypes both justify and reinforce structured inequality based on sex. Therefore, because gender stratification is still an important principle of social organization, one would not expect to see gender stereotypes completely eradicated from textbook stories. Nor would one expect to see equal numbers of male and female characters in the stories.

In this study, I expected to find fewer gender stereotypes in more recently published stories than in the older stories, however, I expected to find some gender stereotyped behavior. I also expected the number of male and female characters to be approaching equality, but I expected that male characters will still outnumber female characters.

Chapter 4

METHODS

4.1 Description of Sample

Elementary school reading textbooks used in grades four and five were analyzed. Textbooks used in the later grades were chosen because the stories in them are longer than the stories in textbooks used in earlier grades. Therefore, textbooks used in later grades had more text for analysis. The copyright dates of the books in the sample range from 1964 to 1989.

The five publishers used in the study are Ginn, Macmillan, Holt, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (HBJ), and Houghton-Mifflin. These five publishers were selected from a list of thirteen publishers whose reading textbooks were approved, during the 1988-89 school year, for use in public schools in Virginia by the Virginia Board of Education. Originally, five publishers were selected at random from the list of thirteen. However, it proved to be difficult to obtain the selected books, especially those that were out of print. Therefore, additional publishers were chosen at random until the desired number of books was

obtained.

Because of the difficulty in obtaining older textbooks, only one textbook from the list of approved publishers with a copyright date in the 1960s could be found. While this is not a representative sample of textbooks from that decade, the review of literature has presented ample documentation of the existence of gender stereotypes in textbooks during that period. Five textbooks from the 1970s and five from the 1980s were analyzed.

Thus, the total sample consists of eleven books. Because analyzing every story in each of the eleven books would yield an unmanageable number of characters, ten stories were randomly selected from each book for analysis. This yielded a total sample of 110 stories. Appendix C contains a list of the books and stories analyzed.

4.2 Coding

Four coders, including the researcher, analyzed the stories in the sample using a codesheet developed and pre-tested by the researcher. There were two female and two male coders. The coders were trained by the researcher, and the codesheet was again pre-tested during the training session. The sample was divided among the four coders. Reliability was checked by having all coders code the same five stories. Except for the researcher, the coders did not know which of the stories were reliability checks.

4.3 Analysis

Content analysis typically takes one of two forms. Manifest content analysis refers to the coding of the surface content of a document (Babbie, 1979; Holsti, 1969; Jones, 1985). This usually involves counting the number of times certain words or phrases appear in a document or other form of communication. According to Babbie (1979), this method allows for a high degree of reliability and precise specification of variable measurement. On the other hand, the validity of manifest content analysis is typically not as high as the validity of latent content analysis. Latent content analysis focuses on the underlying meaning of the material (Babbie, 1979). While latent content analysis offers increased validity, reliability is decreased due to the difficulty in specifying how variables will be measured.

Using both manifest and latent content analysis is recommended as a way to avoid the sacrifice of either validity or reliability when performing content analysis (Babbie, 1979; Holsti, 1969). A major strength of this study is that it does combine both manifest and latent content analysis. The manifest content was examined by analyzing demographic characteristics of characters including sex, race, and occupation. Behavioral attributes, and the extent to which story themes and quotes were either sex-stereotyped or non-traditional were analyzed in order to examine the latent content of the readers.

4.3.1 Number of Characters and Main Characters

The existence of gender inequality and gender stereotypes in elementary reading textbooks can be determined by a variety of methods.

One such method is the comparison of the number of male and female characters. This comparison was made within the entire sample, and then separate analyses were done, controlling for the decade in which the story was published, the publisher, and the sex of the story's author. The same comparisons and analyses were also done for main characters.

4.3.2 Gender Stereotyped Traits

Another method for uncovering the existence of gender stereotypes is to determine whether certain stereotypical behaviors and attitudes are attributed to characters of the appropriate sex in the stories. Nine gender-stereotyped behavioral categories or traits were identified. These categories are Passivity, Mishaps, Feeling and Expressing Emotion, Physical Appearance Concerns, Expected Helpfulness, Rewarded Helpfulness, Activity, Victimizing and Humiliating others, and Creativity/Industry. Each of the categories was operationally defined, and examples for each were given. The coders were given copies of the definition sheet to read prior to coding, and were encouraged to refer to it frequently when analyzing stories. After the coders indicated the existence of one of the behaviors on the codesheet, they went back to the text and highlighted and numbered their example. This allowed for the identification of qualitative examples of the behavioral categories. The coders noted only whether or not the behavior was exhibited by characters. They did not record the frequency with which the behavior occurred.

The categories, their operational definitions, and the expected direction of the findings were adapted from a similar study done by Women on Words & Images (1972). For the sake of brevity, only a short

definition of each category will be provided here; however, the complete category definition sheet is found in Appendix A.

The first five traits were expected to be attributed to females more often than males. Passivity was defined as submitting, obeying or conforming without resistance or question. Mishaps refer to any unfortunate accident of a minor nature. Feeling and expressing emotion refers to any indication that a character is feeling or expressing emotion. Any indication that a character is concerned about the way they look was placed in the physical appearance concern category. Finally, routine drudge work which does not usually receive rewards, praise, thanks, or "moral points" was categorized as Expected Helpfulness.

The last four traits were expected to be attributed to males more often than females. Rewarded Helpfulness, as opposed to expected helpfulness, was defined as elective helpfulness for which one does receive praise and "moral points." Activity was defined as any kind of physical activity, or anything involving physical exertion. The category Victimizing and Humiliating Others refers to actions or statements which cause others to become upset, angry, or lose self-respect. Creativity/Industry refers to anything which results from originality of thought or expression.

Chi-square tests were performed to determine whether the relationship between each of the seven attributes and the character's sex was statistically significant. The analysis was done for the entire sample, and then separate analyses were done controlling for decade, publisher, and sex of author.

4.3.3 Occupations

Evidence of gender stereotyping can also be found by examining the kinds of occupations held by characters in textbooks, and by examining how these kinds of occupations vary by sex. Therefore, all occupations or paid jobs held by characters were recorded. There were 65 different occupations mentioned in the sample. This includes some "fantasy" occupations such as jester, wizard, princess, and troll.

The occupations were then collapsed into three categories, traditional male, traditional female, and gender-neutral. The category into which an occupation was placed was determined by a 1987 U.S. Census listing of occupations in which 79% or more of the employees are female, and by Sapiro's occupational distribution of the labor force by race and sex (1986). An analysis of the percentage of female and male characters in each of the three occupational categories was done for the entire sample, and then repeated controlling for decade, publisher, and sex of author. A list of all occupations cited and the categories into which they were placed is in Appendix B.

4.3.4 Gender Stereotyped Themes and Quotes

The major recording unit and unit of analysis in this portion of the study is the individual character. However, another important way to look for gender inequality in textbook stories is through an examination of their general themes. Thus, any thematic elements or quotes in the stories expressing gender inequality or non-traditional gender roles were also noted. In these cases, the entire story is the unit of analysis. In all cases, the context unit is the entire story.

A description of sex-stereotyped themes or quotes, and non-traditional themes or quotes was included on the behavioral category

definition sheet. Sex-stereotyped themes include attributing a characteristic to all members of a sex, reference to any limitations based on sex, and gender specific and hyphenated word forms.

Non-traditional themes include the depiction of characters engaging in activities not traditionally considered appropriate for their sex, and non gender specific word forms. Numerous examples of each of the two kinds of themes were also included. Again, the complete definitions can be found in the appendix. The analysis was done for the entire sample first, and then controls were instituted for decade of publication, publisher, and sex of author were controlled for.

4.3.5 Illustrations

For each story, the number of males and females in the first ten illustrations was recorded. As most stories did not have more than ten illustrations, this gave almost complete coverage of illustrations. The illustrations were grouped first by decade of publication, then by publisher, and finally by sex of author. The mean difference between the number of males and number of females in illustrations within each of the three groupings was examined and a t-test of significance was performed.

4.3.6 Publisher

In each of the analyses described above, one analysis was done controlling for publisher. This was to determine whether different publishers varied with regard to the amount of gender inequality present in their textbooks.

4.3.7 Sex of Author

Similarly, the sex of story author was controlled for in each of the analyses. For each story, the sex of author was recorded as either male,

female, or male and female. No co-authors of the same sex were found in this sample. Also, when the sex of the author could not be determined by the first name, it was treated as missing data. The sex of authors was examined to determine whether variation in amounts of gender inequality in stories could be attributed to the author's sex.

Chapter 5

RESULTS

5.1 Number of Characters and Main Characters

The easiest and most obvious way for reading textbooks to convey the idea that females and "feminine" tasks are secondary to, or less important than males and "masculine" tasks, is to make textbooks characters be predominantly male. Previous studies of textbooks have documented the "invisibility" of female characters. The results of this study support those earlier findings.

5.1.1 Decade of Publication

In the total sample, there were 202 male characters and only 107 female characters. The difference in the number of male and female characters has decreased over the last three decades. Only 15% of all characters in stories with copyright dates in the 1960s were female. In stories with copyright dates in the 1970s, 32% of characters were female, and in stories with copyright dates in the 1980s, 40% of characters were female. Despite this increase in female characters over time, male characters in reading textbook stories still outnumber females characters

in each decade.

Table 1 about here

There was a statistically significant change in the distribution of female and male characters between the 1960s and the 1980s (chisq=4.63, p<.03), but not between the 1960s and 1970s nor between the 1970s and 1980s.

5.1.2 Publisher

In order to determine whether the relationship between the decade in which a story was published and the number of male and female characters is affected by the publisher, separate analyses of the number of female and male characters were done for each publishing company used in the sample.

All publishers except Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich (HBJ) had a greater proportion of male than female characters in their stories. Only 45% of characters in stories published by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich were male. Sixty-eighty percent of Ginn characters, 67% of Macmillan characters, 64% of Holt characters, and 73% of Houghton-Mifflin characters were male. The relationship between textbook publisher and the sex of characters appearing in stories was significant, with HBJ being the publisher with the most equitable distribution of female and male characters, and Houghton-Mifflin being the publisher with the least equitable distribution. However, it should be noted that HBJ was the publisher with the fewest characters in the sample.

Table 1 about here

An examination of the changes in the distribution of female and male characters over the three decades was also done for each of the five publishers in the sample. Ginn was the only publisher in the sample for which a textbook published during the 1960s could be obtained. A statistically significant change in distribution of female and male characters was found in stories published by Ginn ($p<.05$). Only 15% of characters in stories published during the 1960s were female. By the 1970s, females comprised 33% of all characters in Ginn stories, and in stories published during the 1980s, 46% of all characters were female.

Data from the 1970s and 1980s were available for the other four publishers. No statistically significant change in the distribution of male and female characters over the last two decades was found for any of these publishers. Females comprised 25% of characters in 1970s stories, and 38% of characters in 1980s stories published by Macmillan. In textbooks published by Holt, 34% of characters were female in 1970s stories and 39% were female in 1980s stories. Females made up 23% of characters in stories published by Houghton-Mifflin during the 1970s, and 31% of characters in stories published during the 1980s.

While a statistically significant change in the distribution of female and male characters was not found for stories published by HBJ, these stories were the only ones in which female characters outnumbered males in both decades. Females comprised 56% of all characters in 1970s stories and 55% of all characters in 1980s stories. It should be remembered, however, that the sample of stories drawn from textbooks published by HBJ was smaller than the samples drawn from the other publisher's textbooks.

Thus, the only statistically significant change in distribution of female and male characters occurred in the sample which compared stories from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. This leads to the conclusion that while significant changes were made with regard to sex distribution between the 1960s and 1980s, few changes have occurred between the 1970s and 1980s.

Table 2 about here

5.1.3 Sex of Author

Another variable which could affect the relationship between the decade in which a story was published and the number of female and male characters is the sex of the story's author. Therefore, separate analyses were done for stories written by males, stories written by females and stories co-authored by a female and a male.

This analysis shows that authors of both sexes use more male than female characters, with 72% of characters in male-authored stories being male, and 61% of characters in female-authored stories being male. Fifty-eight percent of characters in stories co-authored by a male and a female were male. However, the relationship between the sex of the author and the number of female and male characters in stories was not found to be significant, leading to the conclusion that the sex of the author does not significantly impact upon the number of male and female characters used in stories.

Table 1 about here

5.1.4 Race and Gender: Double Jeopardy

An important theme of current feminist theory is the intersection of race, class, and gender (Hooks, 1984; Tong, 1989). In an analysis not reported here, the intersection of race and gender in textbook stories was explored (there was no way to determine the social class of characters). Non-white characters were found to compose 37% of the sample. The four specific minority groups examined were blacks, hispanics, native americans, and asian americans. Only hispanic characters were more often female than male, with 54% of all hispanic characters being female. Females comprised 39% of all black characters, 33% of all native american characters, 30% of all asian american characters, and 37% of all white characters.

Thus, when compared with males characters of the same race, white females fared worse with regard to representation than black and hispanic characters. However, the fact that non-white characters are found in textbooks with less frequency than white characters, combined with the fact that females of all ethnic groups, except hispanic, are found with less frequency in textbooks leads to the conclusion that non-white females are placed in double jeopardy with regard to representation in elementary reading textbooks. In other words, while females of all races tend to be underrepresented in textbook stories, non-white females are depicted with even less frequency than white females.

Table 3 about here

Because there were so few non-white characters in the sample, race was not controlled for in the rest of the analyses.

5.2 Main Characters

The above analyses show that, although female characters have become more prevalent in reading textbook stories over the past three decades, they are still outnumbered by male characters in each decade. Thus far, the sex of all characters has been examined. However, it is equally important to know the sex distribution of main characters. It is possible that the slight increase in female characters is due to the addition of female supporting characters, without a similar addition of female main characters. Therefore, the distribution of male and female main characters was examined.

The analysis of main characters in this sample shows that 63% were male and only 37% were female. However, no significant relationship was found between the sex of a character and whether that character was the main character of the story or a supporting character. Twenty-four percent of all male characters were main characters, and 27% of all female characters were main characters. Thus, males were slightly more likely to be supporting characters than main characters, while females were slightly more likely to be main characters than supporting characters. However, it should be noted that there were more male characters of both kinds.

Table 4 about here

5.2.1 Decade of Publication

An analysis of the change in percentage of female and male main characters over the last three decades showed that the percentage of male

main characters has steadily decreased, while the percentage of female main characters has steadily increased. In the sample of stories published during the 1960s, 86% of main characters were male. In the 1970s sample, 62% of main characters were male, and in the 1980s sample, 59% of main characters were male.

The percentage of males and females who are main characters was closer to equality in the stories published during the 1970s. In the 1960s sample, 12% of males and 3% of females were main characters. In the 1970s sample, 47% of males and 48% of females were main characters, and in the 1980s sample, 41% of males and 48% of females were main characters.

While these results seem to indicate a clear trend toward an increase in female main characters, statistical analyses indicated that the change was not significant between the 1960s and 1980s, nor the between the 1960s and 1970s, nor between the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, while the number of female main characters seems to be increasing, there seems to be no significant relationship between the decade in which a story is published and the sex of its main character.

Table 5 about here

5.2.2 Publisher

The relationship between textbook publisher and sex of main character was statistically significant (chisq=11.45, $p<.05$). Again, all publishers except HBJ had a greater proportion of male main characters than female main characters. Seventy-two percent of main characters in stories published by Ginn, 82% of main characters in stories published by

Macmillan, 65% of main characters in Holt stories, 23% of characters in HBJ stories, and 68% of characters in Houghton-Mifflin stories were male. The number of male and female characters in stories published by Holt was closer to 50%-50% than any other publisher.

Table 5 about here

5.2.3 Sex of Author

The relationship between author's sex and the sex of main characters was also found to be statistically significant (chisq=8.46, p<.01). Both male and female authors used more male than female main characters in their stories. Fifty-four percent of characters in stories written by female authors were male, and 83% of characters in stories written by males were male.

Table 5 about here

In sum, although the number of female characters in stories has increased over the last three decades, the change was not significant, and male characters outnumbered female in each decade. The distribution of female and male characters varied significantly by publisher, with HBJ being the only one to feature more female than male characters. The distribution also varied significantly by sex of author. Male authors, female authors and, male and female co-authors all used more male main characters, but female authors used male main characters less often than male authors.

5.3 Gender-Stereotyped Traits

Different expectations for men and women with regard to temperament, attitudes, and ability to perform certain tasks, is central to the continuation of gender stratification. Elementary reading textbooks can teach such expectations to children by attributing some characteristics or behaviors to females almost exclusively, and by attributing other characteristics and behaviors to males almost exclusively.

The nine gender-stereotyped attributes examined were passivity, mishaps, emotion, physical appearance concerns, rewarded helpfulness, expected helpfulness, activity, victimizing and humiliating others, and creativity/industry. Four of these attributes were found to be significantly related to the sex of characters. These were passivity, emotion, expected helpfulness, and physical appearance concerns.

5.3.1 Female Stereotypes

Passivity was defined as submitting, obeying, or conforming without resistance or question.[6] It was expected that female characters would display passivity with greater frequency than male characters. The findings supported this hypothesis. Only two percent of the male characters analyzed were passive while seventeen percent of the female characters were passive (chisq=23.30, $p<.001$).

Table 6 about here

An example of a passive female character can be found in the story

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[6] Again, the complete definitions of each attribute used in coding can be found in Appendix A.

"The Turtle Net" (Gudmundson, 1974) which describes the adventures of a brother and sister, Ebbie and Laurel, who row out to check their father's fishing traps and find a large turtle caught in a fishing net. Ebbie takes the lead throughout the adventure. In fact, the job of checking the fishing nets was originally assigned to him, but he decided to ask his sister to go along with him. When they find the turtle, the brother and sister are puzzled about how to get it into the boat. Ebbie says, "I wonder how we can manage. It takes two men to get a turtle into a dinghy." Laurel tells Ebbie, "You be like Father when he gives orders on the fishing boat, tell me exactly what to do, and I'll try to carry out the orders."

Mishaps were defined as any accident of a minor nature. Female characters were expected to have more mishaps than male characters. No statistically significant relationship between mishaps and sex was found. Nine percent of male characters, and 10% of female characters experienced mishaps.

Table 6 about here

"Amy's Capital Idea" (James & Barkin, 1989) is a story which illustrated such a minor accident. Amy Collado decides to make and sell terrariums at the Saturday swap meet in order to earn enough money to go on a camping trip at the end of the summer. Amy learns the basics of running a business, however, after an unfortunate mishap, Amy's expenses are more than she estimated:

> As the afternoon wore on, Amy sold six, then seven, then nine of her terrariums. She was feeling happy but tired when she stepped backward and suddenly heard a crash. One of the three remaining terrariums had smashed to the ground! 'Oh, no!' Amy

> cried as she stared at the mess. Even the plants were beyond repair. When Amy got home, she began to enter the day's expenses and sales.

Emotion was felt or expressed by 19% of males and by 28% of females (Fisher's exact test $p<.05$), which supports the expectation that more female than male characters would express emotions.

Table 6 about here

Not only did female characters express emotions more frequently than male characters, but the kinds of emotion females expressed tended to be different than the kinds of emotion males expressed. For example, two of the stories in the sample dealt with heroic figures from American history. One tells the story of Paul Revere (Fritz, 1989), the secret agent who rode between Boston and Philadelphia delivering the message that English soldiers planned to make war on America. The other tells the story of Phoebe Fraunces (Griffin, 1983), a young black woman sent to the home of George Washington to help with the household chores while acting as a spy attempting to determine the identity of a person planning to assassinate General Washington.

Both Paul Revere and Phoebe Fraunces faced life-threatening situations, but their responses to these situations were quite different. Paul Revere seemed to be determined and brave throughout his ordeal. One of the most dangerous scenes in this story is one in which Paul must get to a trunk full of important papers and hide it before the English find it:

> "They walked right through the American lines, holding onto the trunk. They were still holding on when a gun was fired, then there were two guns, then many guns firing back and forth. Paul did not pay any attention to who was firing or who fired

> first. He did not stop to think that this might be the first battle of a war. His job was to move a trunk to safety, and that's what he did."

On the other hand, Phoebe Fraunces expressed fear and nervousness throughout her ordeal:

> "All afternoon, as she went about her chores, Phoebe worried...By the time dinnertime arrived she was almost sick with fear. She was in the kitchen with Pompey getting ready to serve the plates when a voice behind her made her jump.

Even after Phoebe had identified the would-be assassin and saved General Washington's life, she was still frightened:

> "Minutes after that, Sam Fraunces [Phoebe's father] burst into the room. Phoebe was still standing by the window, shaking. He ran to her and held her tightly. Phoebe clung to him, burying her face in his shoulder.

More female than male characters were expected to express concern of some kind about their physical appearance. This was indeed the case, as four percent of female characters expressed physical appearance concerns, and no male characters expressed similar concerns (chisq=7.65, $p<.003$). For example, in the story

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Table 6 about here

"Anna's New Beginning" (Little, 1989), Anna, a young girl, is unhappy with the idea of having to wear glasses:

> "'Oh, Anna, you look just like an owl,' Frieda laughed, not meaning any harm. The wonder left Anna's face instantly. She turned away from her family and stumped off up the stairs to her alcove where none of them could follow without permission. Papa, though, came up alone a minute or two later....But Anna remembered Frieda's laughing words. How she hated being laughed at! 'Do I have to wear them Papa?' she blurted."

It should be pointed out that, although a statistically significant relationship was found between sex and physical appearance concerns, only

a very small percentage of female characters in the sample expressed such a concern.

Expected helpfulness, which consists of routine drudge work and the performance of services which do not ordinarily get rewarded, was expected to be more often attributed to female than male characters. Again, the findings supported this expectation. Expected helpfulness was displayed by 6% of males and 15% of females (chisq=5.97, p<.007).

Table 6 about here

For example, in "The Tunnel" (Hamilton, 1983), Thomas Small's mother does a great deal of disciplining Thomas for his adventures, while Thomas' father is simply amused by them. Mrs. Small is also expected to wait on Thomas:

> "'Thomas, you frightened me!' Mrs. Small said. She had recovered enough to take her eyes from the tunnel and sit down beside Thomas at the table... [Suddenly] she jumped up, remembering Thomas hadn't eaten, and quickly fixed his plate. Then she seated herself as before."

5.3.2 Male Stereotypes

Rewarded helpfulness was defined as helping behavior which receives praise and "moral points." It was expected that male characters would display rewarded helpfulness more frequently than female characters. However, this was not the case. Seven percent of male characters, and 11% of female characters displayed rewarded helpfulness. The relationship was not statistically significant.

Table 6 about here

Sara Ida Becker, the main character in "Shoeshine Girl" (Bulla,

1989), provides an example of a female character displaying rewarded helpfulness:

> "The customer came. He was from the pet store up the street. He said, 'That was a nice story about you' 'What was a nice story?' she asked. 'Haven't you seen it? It's right here.' He showed her the paper. There on the front page she saw the words: SHOESHINE GIRL KEEPS STAND OPEN. There was a story about her and Al. It told how Al was struck by a car--how ten-year-old Sarah Ida Becker was keeping the stand open while Al was in the hospital."

An example of a male character displaying rewarded helpfulness can be found in the story "The Lizard Letdown" (McDonnell, 1989). This is a story about Leo, a boy who wants the chameleon he saw in the pet store window. However, Leo does not have enough money to buy the chameleon so he earns the money through rewarded helpfulness:

> 'Want me to rake for you, Mrs. Rider?'...Mrs. Rider peered at him closely. Then she smiled, and her stern expression thawed. 'Very well, Leo. Let's say two dollars for the front and back yards, and another dollar if you'll bring in a supply of firewood from the garage and pile it neatly by the wood stove in the den. I like to keep warm when I read.' Leo quickly agreed. Three dollars. With this week's allowance he'd have enough to buy that chameleon on Saturday.

Active characters were those engaging in any kind of physical activity. It was expected that more male than female characters would be active. The findings were in the predicted direction, but the relationship was not statistically significant. Thirty six percent of males were active, and 29% of

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Table 6 about here

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females were active (chisq=1.61, $p<.10$).

Pecos Bill, the main character in the story "Pecos Bill and the Mustang" (Felton, 1974), provides a good illustration of an active

character. This is the story of how Pecos Bill got his first horse, the Famous Pacing Mustang of the Prairie, and became the first cowboy:

> Pecos Bill dropped his quirt and sprang from the mountain lion to the back of the Famous Pacing Mustang of the Prairies! No one had ever been astride the mustang before. The mustang jumped and bucked and twisted and turned. But Pecos Bill kept his seat. 'Yippee!' Bill yelled. The mustang ran and kicked. Bill stayed on. The mustang reared and pawed the air. Bill could not be thrown off.

"Sod-Shanty Pioneers" (Johnson, 1979) is the story of the McCance family who moved west during the late 1800s. Grace was a small child when the family moved, but she proved to be very active:

> Grace was not yet six years old when her father gave her the job of herding the cows he had bought. It was lonesome work and she wanted something to keep her mind and hands busy...When Grace was six, she had a chance to go to school for three months, walking three miles each way...Once she stepped on a nail, injuring her foot. Even when she couldn't walk, Grace kept busy. She pounded bits of broken dishes and old buffalo bones into a grit that the chickens needed.

Actions or statements which intentionally cause others to be upset, angry, or lose self-respect were designated as victimizing and humiliating others. Male characters were expected to victimize and humiliate others more often than female characters. The findings did not support this prediction. Three percent of male characters and 4% of female characters victimized and humiliated others (chisq=.015, $p<.451$).

Table 6 about here

"Jack and the Three Sillies" (Chase, 1974) is a story which contains examples of females who victimize and humiliate others:

> So Jack had to tell his wife how unruly her cow had acted and how he had to keep on swappin' till he got that rock...'I never saw such a silly man in all my life [she said]. I'll bet there's no man in this whole world has got less sense than you...I'm goin' to leave you this minute!...And I'm not goin'

> to come back to ye neither, unless I find three men as silly as you are.' So she kept on travelin', and one day she saw an old man and an old woman in a field. The old man was hitched up to a plow and the old woman had hold of the plowlines. She'd flap the lines and whack 'em on the old man's back. 'Get up there!' she'd holler, and the old man would heave on the plow.

Although Mark Twain is an admired and respected writer, the story "Mark Twain? What Kind of Name is That?" (Quackenbush, 1989) is full of examples of victimizing and humiliating others. According to the story:

> Sam loved telling jokes and playing tricks. He claimed that he couldn't remember what his first lie was, but he told his second lie when he was only nine days old. He had pretended that a diaper pin was sticking him, and he'd hollered as loud as he could. this brought him extra loving attention--until his trickery was found out.

Sam's trickery continued as a boy:

> During the day, Sam and Tom would include some of their friends in their mischief. One of the things they did was to roll boulders down a hill. One time a huge boulder narrowly escaped crushing a wagon and driver.

As a young man, Sam worked as an assistant to his brother who owned a newspaper. Even then, Sam continued his victimizing and humiliating behavior:

> One time when his brother was away, Sam thought of a way to get more readers for the paper. He asked the nosiest people in town to tell him all the gossip. Then he printed what they said. This did increase business and pleased the readers--all except those whose names appeared in the "hot" items.

The category creativity/industry was used to refer to originality of thought or expression. Male characters were expected to display creativity and industry more often than female characters. However, the results of this analysis show that male and female characters were equally as likely to display this kind of behavior. Twenty percent of male characters and 20% of female characters displayed creativity and industry.

Table 6 about here

An illustration of a female character displaying creativity/industry can be found by returning to the story "Amy's Capital Idea" (James & Barkin, 1989). As described earlier, Amy's goal is to earn enough money to go on a camping trip. In trying to figure out how to do this, we find that Amy is very creative:

> Danny [suggested], 'How about making birdhouses like the one you made last summer? People would buy those.' [Amy] said, 'It took me almost all summer to make that birdhouse. I'll never make enough money that way.' Dandy said, 'I see what you mean. But how about that hand-painted scarf you made? That didn't take any time at all.' 'Oh, Dandy, no one's wearing those anymore. There's no demand--I couldn't even give them away!'

Finally, Amy comes up with the idea of making terrariums:

> On her way to the library to look for a book on how to make money, Amy passed the pet store. dozens of empty glass fishbowls were stacked everywhere. 'Those are just like the bowl I used to make Mon's terrarium,' Amy said to herself. 'I wonder if I could make more terrariums and sell them?'

The story "Off the Beaten Path" (Faber, 1970) describes the childhood of Robert Frost. This story demonstrates a male character who displays creativity and industry:

> He did chores for farmers and delivered parcels for the storekeeper in the village. He even worked in a small local shoe factory. In the fall of 1888, when Rob was fourteen, he entered high school. He did so well that soon he was the top student in his class...He joined the debating club and he played ball with the boys. He wrote some stories about school events for the high school newspaper. At the same time, he found his mind searching, searching for something--and yet he could not say what it was. Then one afternoon, as he was walking from school to have supper with his grandfather, he had a hint. Out of the storm and darkness he felt within him, a few words came clearly to his mind...sixteen-year-old Robert Frost wrote his first poem.

5.3.3 Variation by Decade of Publication, Publisher and Sex of Author

Separate analyses were done for each of the attributes to determine whether decade of publication, textbook publisher or sex of author had a significant impact on the sex of characters displaying the nine attributes. No statistically significant relationship was found between any of these three independent variables and the sex of characters displaying the nine attributes.

In sum, all five of the female stereotyped traits, and two of the male stereotyped traits (rewarded helpfulness, and victimizing and humiliating others) were attributed more often to female characters, while only one of the male stereotyped traits (activity) was attributed more often to male characters. Two of the traits (mishaps and creativity/industry) were attributed to male and female characters with almost equal frequency. These findings did not vary by decade of publication, publisher, or sex of author.

5.3.4 Reliabilities

Five stories were coded by all coders in order to serve as a reliability check. The data gathered by each coder for number of male and female characters, number of male and female main characters, and gender-stereotyped traits were correlated. Correlations were done between coder one and two, coder one and three, coder one and four, coder two and three, coder two and four, and coder three and four. The six separate correlations were averaged resulting in an average overall correlation of .85.

5.4 Occupations

Ninety-one characters had traditionally male occupations including riverboat pilot, editor, king, butcher, and doctor. Thirteen characters had traditionally female occupations including telephone operator, librarian, school teacher, princess, and maid. Photographer, college student, and author were among some of the neutral occupations held by thirteen of the characters in the sample.

The most striking finding from the analysis of occupations is that only 19 of the 107 female characters in the sample had some kind of paid employment, while 98 of the 202 male characters were employed. Thus, while nearly half (49%) of the male characters were employed, only 18% of the female characters were employed.

The kind of occupation a character had was found to be significantly related to his or her sex. In the total sample, of employed characters, 84% of male and 47% of female characters had traditionally male occupations. Five percent of males and 42% of females had traditionally female occupations. An equal percentage of male and female characters held neutral occupations.

Table 7 about here

5.4.1 Decade of Publication

In the sample of stories published during the 1960s, 15 male characters were employed but no female characters had paying jobs. Thirteen of the employed male characters had traditionally male jobs, and two had traditionally female jobs. Statistical significance tests were not performed on this sample because no female characters had occupations.

In the 1970s sample, 85% of male and 15% of female characters were employed. Eighty percent of the employed male characters, and 57% of employed female characters had traditionally male occupations. Three percent of employed male characters and 43% of employed female characters had traditionally female occupations. Eighteen percent of employed male characters and no employed female characters had gender-neutral occupations.

In the 1980s sample, 78% of male and 22% of female characters had occupations. In all three decades, females were significantly more likely to be employed in traditionally female occupations, and males were significantly more likely than females to be employed in traditionally male occupations. Because of the small size of many of the cells in this analysis, statistical significance tests could not be performed.

Table 8 about here

5.4.2 Publisher

The sex of characters in each of the three types of occupations was also analyzed by publisher. Eighty-two male and nine female characters were employed in traditionally male occupations. Some variation by publisher in the percentage of female and male characters in traditionally male occupations was found, but again, because 50% of the cells contained expected counts of less than five, the chi-square test of significance could not be performed. In stories published by Ginn, 92% of characters employed in traditionally male occupations were male. Ninety-five percent of characters with traditionally male occupations in stories published by Macmillan were male. In stories published by Holt,

85% of characters with traditionally male occupations were male. In stories published by HBJ, 56% percent of characters with traditionally male occupations were male, and in stories published by Houghton-Mifflin, 100% of characters in traditionally male occupations were male. Thus while the distribution of male and female characters in traditionally male occupations does vary by publisher, it should be noted that all publishers used stories in which more male than female characters had traditionally male occupations.

Table 8 about here

Although 91 characters had traditionally male occupations, only 13 characters had traditionally female occupations. Five of these characters were male and eight were female. Therefore, nearly half of the characters with traditionally female occupations were male. Again, there were too few characters in traditional female occupations for statistical tests to be performed. Traditionally female occupations were held by 67% of male and 33% of female characters in stories published by Ginn. There were no characters with traditionally female occupations in stories published by Macmillan. An equal number of male and female characters held traditionally female occupations in stories published by Holt. Traditionally female occupations were held by 75% of male and 25% of female characters in stories published both by HBJ and Houghton-Mifflin.

Male characters again outnumbered female characters in those occupations categorized as gender-neutral. There were eleven male characters and two female characters with this kind of occupation.

Macmillan was the only publisher to use female characters with gender-neutral occupations.

5.4.3 Sex of Author

The relationship between sex of author and the sex of characters in traditionally male, traditionally female, and gender-neutral occupations was also examined, but no statistical significance tests were performed. All authors wrote stories with more male than female characters in traditionally male and gender-neutral occupations, and all authors wrote stories with more female than male characters in traditionally female occupations.

In sum, the analysis of occupations showed that while 49% of male characters were employed, only 18% of female characters were employed. Although the percent of employed female characters increased slightly from none in the 1960s sample, to 22% in the 1980s sample, the percent of employed male and female characters is far from equal. The type of occupation a character was employed in was found to be related to their sex, with males in traditionally male occupations, and females in traditionally female occupations. Because of the small size of the sample of employed characters, statistical tests could not be performed to determine whether there was significant variation by publisher or sex of author.

5.5 Sex Stereotyped Themes and Quotes

In addition to analyzing the number of characters in stories and the extent to which gender stereotyped behaviors and attitudes are attributed

to specific characters, gender stereotyping in elementary reading textbooks can also be found by analyzing the themes of stories. The entire theme or certain scenes within the story sometimes reflect a stereotypical attitude toward the sexes.

5.5.1 Decade of Publication

While the percentage of stories containing sex-stereotyped quotes or themes has decreased over the last three decades, this decrease was not statistically significant. Seventy-one percent of the stories from the 1960s sample, fifty-four percent of the stories from the 1970s sample and forty-two percent of the stories from the 1980s sample contained some sex-stereotyped element. Thus, nearly half of the stories in the 1980s sample contained sex-stereotyped quotes or themes.

Table 9 about here

5.5.2 Publisher

The percentage of sex-stereotyped quotes and themes did vary by publisher, but the relationship was not found to be significant. Forty-three percent of stories published by Ginn, 50% of stories published by Macmillan, 47% of stories published by Holt, 35% of stories published by HBJ, and 72% of stories published by Houghton-Mifflin contained sex-stereotyped quotes and themes. Therefore, about half the stories printed by all the publishers except HBJ contained sex-stereotyped or themes.

Table 9 about here

5.5.3 Sex of Author

Similarly, a significant relationship was not found between an

author's sex and the percentage of stories with some sex-stereotyped element. Forty-eight percent of stories written by male authors, and 48% of stories written by female authors had some sex-stereotyped quote or theme. However, only 33% of stories co-written by a male and female contained stereotypical quotes or themes. Thus, stories co-written by authors of both sexes seem to be less stereotyped than those written by either a male or a female author alone.

Table 9 about here

An example of a story with a gender-stereotypical theme is "The Feather of the Northman." Thirteen year-old Donald MacDermott must prove his "manhood" during a journey down the Columbia River with a group of trappers. Donald is, at first, "homesick and afraid" and must endure the teasing of the other "woodsmen." Finally, Donald is able to overcome his fear and become accepted as one of the men by boasting about his hunting ability. He "...carried his heavy pack like a man." In the end, Donald learned :

> "...that it was not unmanly to feel fear and to be lonely. It was unmanly only to let fear and loneliness conquer one."

Similarly, "The Seven Stars" is a legend about a man who sends his six sons off into the world to "...learn a trade...[and] grow up to be men of some account." The sons decide to rescue:

> "...the king's beautiful young daughter [who] was captured by a troll. The king promised that the one who could rescue her should have her for his wife and half the kingdom for a wedding present."

The legend describes the sons' eventually successful attempt to rescue the princess. The princess, who is the only female character in the

story, seems rather helpless in the rescue mission, able only to sit inside a glass mountain and cry.

Even when textbook stories seem to be making an effort to portray women in a non-stereotypical fashion, some stereotypical quote or scene seems to sneak in. "Riding the Pony Express" is a story about Sally Mason, who is the sister of Randy Mason, a pony express rider. When Randy gets hurt trying to foil a hold-up, Sally must take the mail to the next stop:

> "'Ride for all you're worth into Placerville. Turn the mail over to Rogers at the station.' 'You're hurt!' said Sally. "I can't leave you here in this mud.' 'You're to do as I say," Randy ordered.

After Sally makes a hard two hour ride, she arrives at the Pony Express station:

> "'I'm Sally, Randy Mason's sister,' said Sally, sliding out of the saddle. 'There was a hold-up. Randy's hurt and can't ride. The money's sewn inside the saddle, and the mail is in the blanket." Sally felt slightly dizzy and her knees were trembling. She could hardly stand. With a practiced hand, the rider slid the saddle onto his fresh horse. He fastened the blanket behind his saddle, leaped upon the horse, and whirled away in a clatter of hoofs. He waved. 'You did all right for a girl!' he shouted back to her. 'Riding' for the Pony Express'"

Although the percentage of stories containing sex-stereotyped themes and quotes has decreased over the last three decades, the change was not statistically significant. Forty-two percent of the stories in the 1980s sample contained some sex stereotyped element. The appearance of sex stereotyped themes and quotes was unrelated to publisher or sex of author.

5.5 Non-Traditional Quotes and Themes

So as not to present a completely negative view of elementary reading textbooks, the existence of non-traditional quotes and themes was also analyzed. A non-traditional quote or theme was defined as one which shows people engaging in activities or pursuits which are not considered to be traditionally appropriate for their gender. This includes the use of non-gender-specific word forms such as chairperson, garbage collector or mail carrier. (See Appendix A).

5.5.1 Decade of Publication

The percentage of stories containing non-traditional quotes and themes was not found to be significantly related to the decade in which the story was published. None of the stories in the 1960s sample contained non-traditional quotes and themes. Fifty-two percent of stories in the 1970s sample, and 48% of stories in the 1980s sample contained a non-traditional element. The large increase in stories with non-traditional elements between the 1960s and 1970s may be due to the fact that the 1960s sample was much smaller than the 1970s and the 1980s sample.

Table 10 about here

5.5.2 Publisher

The percentage of stories containing non-traditional quotes and themes did not vary significantly by publisher. Fourteen percent of stories published by Ginn, 25% of stories published by Macmillan, 47% of stories published by Holt, 29% of stories published by HBJ, and 33% of stories published by Houghton-Mifflin contained non-traditional quotes or themes.

Table 10 about here

5.5.3 Sex of Author

The variation in percentage of non-traditional stories by sex of author was not found to be statistically significant. Sixty-seven percent of stories co-written by a male and female author contained some non-traditional element. Only 23% of stories written by male authors and 33% of stories written by female authors contained a similar element.

Table 10 about here

One story with a non-traditional theme was "Sarah, Plain and Tall." Sarah is a woman from Maine who answers an ad placed in the newspaper by a pioneer who has recently lost his wife and needs a new wife to help him care for his two children. Throughout the story, Sarah and Papa are shown sharing household duties:

> "We ate Sarah's stew, the late light coming through the windows. Papa had baked bread that was still warm from the fire" (MacLachian, 1989).

Sarah and Papa even work together to repair the roof:

> "Papa, looking worried [said], 'I have to fix the house roof. A portion of it is loose. And there's a storm coming.' 'We,' said Sarah. 'What?' Papa turned. 'We will fix the roof,' said Sarah. 'I've done it before. I know about roofs. I am a good carpenter. Remember, I told you?' There was thunder again, and Papa went to get the ladder. 'Are you fast?' he asked Sarah. 'I am fast and I am good,' said Sarah. And they climbed the ladder to the roof, Sarah with wisps of hair around her face, her mouth full of nails, overall like Papa's. Overalls that were Papa's..." (MacLachian, 1989).

Forty-eight percent of stories in the 1980s sample contained non-traditional themes. This is an improvement over the 1960s sample, which contained no stories with non-traditional themes, but is not an

improvement over the 1970s sample in which 52% of the stories contained a non-traditional theme. THe percentage of stories containing non-traditional themes was found to be unrelated to publisher, and sex of author.

5.6 Illustrations

The number of males and females in the first ten illustrations in each story was recorded. The mean difference between the number of males and the number of females in illustrations was examined by decade, by publisher, and by sex of author. A t-test was performed in each of these cases to determine whether the difference was significant.

5.6.1 Decade of Publication

Stories published during each of the three decades had more males than females in illustrations and this difference was statistically significant in the 1960s ($T=3.61$, $p<.001$), the 1970s ($T=7.03$, $p<.001$), and the 1980s ($T=2.65$, $p<.05$).

5.6.2 Publisher

There were more male than female characters in illustrations in stories by all five publishers. This difference was statistically significant for Ginn ($T=3.65$, $p<.001$), Macmillan ($T=2.63$, $p<.01$), Holt ($T=5.26$, $p<.001$), and Houghton-Mifflin ($T=6.20$, $p<.001$). The only publisher for which the difference between number of males and females in illustrations was not significant was HBJ.

5.6.3 Sex of Author

The difference in number of males and females in illustrations was

also examined testing for the effect of the sex of the story's author. There were significantly more males than females in illustrations in stories written by males ($T=6.95$, $p<.001$) and females ($T=3.49$, $p<.001$), but not in illustrations in stories written by a male and female team of authors.

In sum, there were significantly more males than females in illustrations in each of the three decades. There were significantly more males than females in illustrations from each publisher except HBJ. Finally, there were significantly more males than females in illustrations in male-authored stories, but not in female-authored stories or stories authored by a team of female and male authors.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

The findings of this study support the general hypotheses outlined earlier in the paper. While there has been a trend in recent decades toward an egalitarian portrayal of female and male characters, many of the changes did not prove to be statistically significant. A statistically significant change in the number of male and female characters in stories was found only between the 1960s and the 1980s. This may be due to the fact that many publishers created guidelines for non-sexist portrayal of women in textbooks. However, male characters still outnumber female characters in stories published during the 1980s, and female characters still display stereotypical attitudes and behaviors such as passivity.

While the greater number of male characters is one major piece of evidence for the continued existence of gender inequality in elementary reading textbooks, another important piece of evidence comes from the analysis of characters' occupations. It was expected that male

characters would have traditionally male occupations and female characters would have traditionally female occupations. While this was the case, the most important finding from the analysis of occupations is that employed males outnumber employed females by five to one. Although women comprise 53% of the total labor force, female characters comprise only 16% of the labor force in elementary reading textbook stories. This is an extremely inaccurate depiction of women and their role in society.

Another interesting finding comes from the analysis of main characters. It was expected that males would more often be main characters and females would more often be supporting characters. However, females and males were almost equally as likely to be main characters as supporting characters. In fact, females were slightly more likely to be main characters than supporting characters. From these results, one might expect to find a nearly equal number of female and male main characters. On the contrary, only 37% of main characters in this sample were female. This was, at first, a quite perplexing finding. It makes more sense, however, when one recalls that only 35% of all characters in the sample were female. There were more male than female characters of both kinds. Thus, despite the fact that females have a greater likelihood of being main characters rather than supporting characters, the reader of elementary textbook stories will still find more male than female main characters.

The greater number of male than female characters in the sample has a similar effect on the relationship between character attribute and character sex. For example, with regard to creativity, 20% of male characters and 19% of female characters displayed creativity/industry.

Thus, one might conclude that creative male and creative female characters appear in textbook stories with equal frequency. However, there were actually 32% more male creative characters than female creative characters in the sample. Therefore, despite the equal percentage of female and male creative characters, readers of textbook stories are being exposed to more male than female creative characters.

The analysis of gender-stereotyped attributes shed light on another interesting trend taking place in the textbooks. It was expected from previous research that four of the traits (expected helpfulness, activity, victimizing and humiliating others, and creativity/industry) would be attributed to males more often, and five (passivity, mishaps, emotion, physical appearance concerns, and rewarded helpfulness) would be attributed to females. However, seven of the traits were more likely to be attributed to females, and only one (activity) was more likely to be attributed to males. (One trait was equally as likely to be attributed to females as males). This is evidence that the female role in textbooks has become more flexible, with females displaying more of the traits and behaviors that were previously attributed to males. While this trend toward a less restrictive role for females is positive, there are two drawbacks associated with it.

First, no corresponding opening up, or flexibility, was found in the male roles of textbook characters. In other words, we did not see more male than female characters displaying stereoptypical female traits. Thus, while the female role is becoming less restrictive, the male role is not. Textbooks still seem to be presenting the message that it is <u>not</u> all right for males to express emotion, help with the routine drudge

work, be passive, or display any other stereotypically female traits or behaviors.

This leads directly to the second drawback. By making it seem acceptable for females to exhibit male traits, but unacceptable for males to exhibit female traits, this trend reinforces the patriarchal idea that male traits are more valuable than female traits.

While a great deal of evidence was found to support the hypothesis that gender stereotyping still exists in reading textbooks, there is some evidence of increasingly non-traditional story themes or elements. While 42% of stories in the 1980s sample contained some gender-stereotyped element, 48% of the same sample contained some non-traditional element. This finding illustrates the state of flux in which gender roles exist today.

The analyses in which publisher was controlled for, generally seemed to show that HBJ had a more equitable distribution of female and male characters (both supporting and main); in fact, this was the only publisher whose stories contained more female than male characters. Also, statistical tests showed that HBJ was the only one of the five publishers whose illustrations did not contain a significantly greater number of males than females.

Male authors, female authors, and teams of female and male authors all seem to use more male than female characters (both supporting and main) in their stories. However, stories which were co-authored by a male and a female writer seemed to have the least inequitable distribution of female and male characters.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study which need to be addressed. First, the difficulty in obtaining older textbooks led to an availability bias in the sample. It was originally planned to randomly select five textbook publishers from the list of thirteen that had been approved by the Virginia Board of Education. Then, three textbooks produced by each publisher would be analyzed with one textbook representing each of the three decades. Textbooks published during the 1960s proved especially difficult to obtain. They were not available from the publishers because they had been out of print for quite some time. When schools adopt a new textbook series they often give the old textbooks to students, or donate them to a library.

It is not believed, however, that the availability bias caused serious problem for the study. While the sample of stories from the 1960s was small, ample evidence of the extent of gender stereotyping and gender inequality in textbooks published during that period can be found in the studies reviewed earlier in the paper.

Four coders were used instead of one in this study, in order to increase the reliability of the findings. All coders knew the purpose of the study, which may have caused some bias in the findings based on expected outcomes. However, I felt it necessary for the coders to be somewhat sensitive to issues of gender stereotyping and gender inequality in order to be able to identify all instances of it in the textbook stories. Also, I believe that even if the coders had been blind to the nature of the study, they would have figured it out, given the categories

on the codesheet.

6.3 Directions for Future Research

The results of this study suggest several avenues for further research. First, this study has demonstrated the need to continually analyze and evaluate curriculum materials. As I began this study, I was often told that gender stereotyping was no longer prevalent in textbooks. However, the results of this study do not support that conclusion. It is important for anyone committed to feminist goals to keep abreast of the messages regarding gender which are implicit in any agent of socialization.

Second, reading textbooks make up just one small portion of curriculum materials. The extent of gender stereotyping in other kinds of curriculum materials needs to be analyzed as well. In addition, curriculum materials comprise only a small portion of all indirect socialization agents. Other important socializers for children include television, music, and movies. These kinds of socialization agents need to be examined as well, to determine the kinds of messages they present about males and females.

The intersection of race, class, and gender was mentioned earlier as a current theme in feminist theory. Most of the literature reviewed for this study focused only on gender. There is another body of textbook content analysis literature which focuses only on race. I believe a thorough content analysis with a large sample would be able to bring out the subtle interactions between gender and race and possibly even class.

This is a third avenue for further research.

Finally, a more qualitative analysis of textbooks could prove to be very illuminating. For example, it was expected that all authors would attribute mishaps to female characters. However, female authors were found to attribute mishaps more often to female characters while male authors were found to attribute mishaps more often to male characters. A more qualitative analysis could describe the kinds of mishaps attributed to male and female characters. Women on Words & Images (1972) found that female characters tended to experience mishaps as a result of incompetence or stupidity, while male characters experienced mishaps as a result of boisterousness and adventurousness.

Similarly, it was demonstrated that not only were female characters more likely than male characters to feel and express emotion, but the kind of emotions they expressed tended to be quite different. A more qualitative analysis would be able to tease out such subtle, but important, differences between female and male characters.

6.4 Discussion

Earlier in the paper it was explained that, from a liberal feminist perspective, one of the major foundations upon which gender stratification rests is the systematic socialization of children into gender-appropriate roles which reinforce and maintain the sexual division of labor. Curriculum materials have been shown to be one such agent of socialization (Child, 1960; Weitzman, et. al, 1972; Schau & Scott, 1984). Because gender stratification is still prevalent in American society

today, it was expected that gender inequality would be present in elementary reading textbooks.

The findings of this study show that the message given to children by recent textbooks is, indeed, one of gender inequality despite attempts to eradicate such messages. The socialization children receive from these textbooks is still channeling them into narrowly-defined, traditional gender roles. Thus these findings lend support to the liberal feminist argument that children are taught gender-appropriate behavior through such indirect sources as the elementary school reading textbooks. Liberal feminist theory postulates further that gender-socialization legitimates and maintains the system of gender stratification.

Although these findings support liberal feminist theory, the limitation of this theoretical perspective needs to be pointed out. While eliminating stereotypical portrayal of the sexes from textbooks and other media is an important and necessary task in the elimination of gender stratification, it is not enough to promote real change in gender relations. A more complex solution than education and re-socialization is necessary to end the system of social stratification based on gender.

Another related problem with liberal feminism brought to light by this study is that it leads to a kind of complacency (Sapiro, 1986). In the beginning of this research, it was often suggested that a study such as this one was somewhat redundant and unnecessary. Research had already been conducted demonstrating the existence of gender stereotyping in textbooks, and measures have been taken to eliminate it. Liberal feminism can often lead to the belief that there is little we can do

about the status of women other than educating ourselves about gender stereotypes and sexism.

According to Sapiro (1988), this is the kind of argument which has often been used against feminism during the past century:

> It seems that each generation feels that the battles for equality have been won and that the only thing that holds women back is women's own lack of initiative (1986:52).

To avoid such a "blame the victim" attitude, the existence of gender stereotypes in agents of socialization needs to be continually checked for, documented, and brought to public attention, especially in cases where measures have been taken to eliminate gender stereotypes. Thus, as long as gender inequality continues to exist, studies such as this one will never be redundant or unnecessary.

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TABLE 1. NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS IN STORIES

	Male	Female	Chisq.
DECADE			
1960	17 (85.0%)	3 (15.0%)	1960-1980 chisq=4.63, p<.03
1970	97 (67.8%)	46 (32.2%)	1960-1970 chisq=2.46, p<.12
1980	88 (60.3%)	58 (39.7%)	1970-1980 chisq=1.79, p<.18
			1960-1970-1980 chisq=5.46, p<.07
PUBLISHER			
Ginn	45 (68.2%)	21 (31.8%)	
Macmillan	35 (67.3%)	17 (32.7%)	
Holt	48 (64.0%)	27 (36.0%)	
HBJ	17 (44.7%)	21 (55.3%)	
H-M	57 (73.1%)	21 (26.9%)	chisq=9.57, p<.05
AUTHOR			
Male	67 (72.0%)	26 (28.0%)	
Female	89 (61.0%)	57 (39.0%)	
Male & Female	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)	chisq=3.31, p<.19

TABLE 2. CHANGES IN NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS OVER TIME CONTROLLING FOR PUBLISHER.

	Male	Female	Chisq
GINN			
1960	17 (85.0%)	3 (15.0%)	
1970	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)	
1980	12 (54.6%)	10 (45.4%)	chisq=4.519, p<.05
MACMILLAN			
1970	15 (75.0%)	5 (25.0%)	
1980	20 (62.5%)	12 (37.5%)	chisq=.87, p<.35
HOLT			
1970	29 (65.9%)	15 (34.1%)	
1980	19 (61.3%)	12 (38.7%)	chisq=.17, p<.68
HBJ			
1970	7 (43.8%)	10 (56.2%)	
1980	9 (45.4%)	12 (54.6%)	chisq=.01, p<.92
H-M			
1970	30 (76.9%)	9 (23.1%)	
1980	27 (69.2%)	12 (30.8%)	chisq=.59, p<.44

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS BY RACE

	Male	Female
Black	24 (61.5%)	15 (38.5%)
White	107 (69.9%)	46 (30.1)
Hispanic	6 (46.2%)	7 (53.8%)
Native Am.	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)
Asian	7 (70.0%)	3 (30.0%)
Other	24 (63.2%)	14 (36.8%)

TABLE 4. TYPE OF CHARACTER BY SEX OF CHARACTER

TYPE OF CHARACTER	MALE	FEMALE	CHISQ
Supporting	153	78	
	(75.7%)	(72.9%)	
Main	49	29	
	(24.3%)	(27.1%)	chisq=.30, p<.58

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE MAIN CHARACTERS IN STORIES

	Male	Female	Chisq.
DECADE			
1960	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	1960-1980 chisq=1.81, p<.18
1970	23 (62.2%)	14 (37.8%)	1960-1970 chisq=1.45, p<.23
1980	20 (58.8%)	14 (41.2%)	1970-1980 chisq=.08, p<.77
			1960-1970-1980 chisq=1.81, p<.40
PUBLISHER			
Ginn	13 (72.2%)	5 (27.8%)	
Macmillan	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	
Holt	11 (64.7%)	6 (35.3%)	
HBJ	3 (23.1%)	10 (76.9%)	
H-M	13 (68.4%)	6 (31.6%)	chisq=11.45, p<.02
AUTHOR			
Male	19 (82.6%)	4 (17.4%)	
Female	20 (54.1%)	17 (45.9%)	chisq=5.08, p<.02

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF FEMALE AND MALE CHARACTERS DISPLAYING GENDER STEREOTYPED TRAITS.

Presence of Gender-stereotyped Traits	Male	Female	Chisq.
PASSIVITY			
Absent	198 (98.0%)	89 (83.2%)	
Present	4 (2.0%)	18 (16.8%)	chisq=23.30, p<.001
MISHAPS			
Absent	184 (91.1%)	96 (89.7%)	
Present	18 (8.9%)	11 (10.3%)	chisq=.15, p<.69
EMOTION			
Absent	163 (80.7%)	77 (72.0%)	
Present	39 (19.3%)	39 (28.0%)	chisq=3.07, p<.08
PHYSICAL APPEARANCE			
Absent	202 (100%)	103 (96.3%)	
Present	0 (0.0%)	4 (3.7%)	chisq=7.65, p<.006
EXPECTED HELPFULNESS			
Absent	189 (93.6%)	91 (85.1%)	
Present	13 (6.4%)	16 (14.9%)	chisq=5.97, p<.02
REWARDED HELPFULNESS			
Absent	188 (93.1%)	95 (88.8%)	
Present	14 (6.9%)	12 (11.2%)	chisq=1.67, p<.20

Presence of Gender-stereotyped Traits	Male	Female	Chisq.
HUMILIATING OTHERS			
Absent	195 (96.5%)	103 (96.3)	
Present	7 (3.5%)	4 (3.7%)	chisq=.02, p<.90
CREATIVITY			
Absent	162 (80.2%)	86 (80.4%)	
Present	40 (19.8%)	21 (19.6%)	chisq=.001, p<.97

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION.

Type of Occupation	Male	Female	Chisq
Traditional Male	82 (83.7%)	9 (47.4%)	
Traditional Female	5 (5.1%)	8 (42.1%)	
Gender Neutral	11 (11.2%)	2 (10.5%)	chisq=22.32, p<.001

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF FEMALE AND MALE CHARACTERS BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION, CONTROLLING FOR DECADE OF PUBLICATION, PUBLISHER, AND SEX OF AUTHOR.

	Trad. Male		Trad. Female		Neutral		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
DECADE								
1960	13 (87%)	0 (0%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)	0 (0%)
1970	32 (80%)	4 (57%)	1 (3%)	3 (43%)	7 (17%)	0 (0%)	40 (100%)	7 (100%)
1980	37 (86%)	5 (42%)	2 (5%)	5 (42%)	4 (9%)	2 (17%)	43 (100%)	12 (100%)
PUBLISHER								
Ginn	24 (95%)	2 (8%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	2 (7%)	0 (0%)	28 (100%)	3 (100%)
Macmillan	20 (91%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (9%)	2 (67%)	22 (100%)	3 (100%)
Holt	11 (69%)	2 (67%)	1 (6%)	1 (33%)	4 (25%)	0 (0%)	16 (100%)	3 (100%)
HBJ	5 (63%)	4 (57%)	1 (13%)	3 (43%)	2 (25%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	7 (100%)
H-M	22 (92%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	3 (100%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	24 (100%)	3 (100%)
SEX OF AUTHOR								
Male Author	28 (88%)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	32 (100%)	4 (100%)
Female Author	34 (83%)	6 (50%)	2 (5%)	4 (13%)	5 (12%)	2 (17%)	41 (100%)	12 (100%)

TABLE 9. PRESENCE OF GENDER-STEREOTYPED THEMES BY DECADE OF PUBLICATION, PUBLISHER, AND SEX OF AUTHOR.

	Gender-stereotyped Themes Absent	Present	Chisq
Decade			
1960	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)	1960-1980 chisq=2.12, p<.15
1970	19 (46.3%)	22 (53.7%)	1960-1970 chisq=.77, p<.38
1980	25 (58.1%)	18 (41.9%)	1970-1980 chisq=1.17, p<.28
			1960-1970-1980 chisq=2.63, p<.27
Publisher			
Ginn	12 (57.1%)	9 (42.9%)	
Macmillan	8 (50.0%)	8 (50.0%)	
Holt	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.4%)	
HBJ	11 (64.7%)	6 (35.3%)	
H-M	5 (27.8%)	13 (72.2%)	chisq=5.50, p<.24
Sex of Author			
Male	16 (51.6%)	15 (48.4%)	
Female	22 (52.4%)	20 (47.6%)	
Male & Female	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	chisq=.25, p<.88

TABLE 10. PRESENCE OF NON-TRADITIONAL THEMES BY DECADE OF PUBLICATION, PUBLISHER, AND SEX OF AUTHOR.

	Non-Traditional Themes		
	Absent	Present	Chisq
Decade			
1960	7 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	1960-1980 chisq=2.86, p<.09
1970	27 (65.9%)	14 (34.1%)	1960-1970 chisq=3.37, p<.06
1980	30 (69.8%)	13 (30.2%)	1970-1980 chisq=.15, p<.70
			1960-1970-1980 chisq=3.35, p<.19
Publisher			
Ginn	18 (87.7%)	3 (14.3%)	
Macmillan	12 (75%)	4 (25%)	
Holt	10 (52.6%)	9 (47.4%)	
HBJ	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)	
H-M	12 (66.7%)	6 (33.3%)	chisq=5.52, p<.24
Sex of Author			
Male	24 (77.4%)	7 (22.6%)	
Female	28 (66.7%)	14 (33.3%)	
Male & Female	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	chisq=2.94, p<.23

APPENDIX A. STORIES AND TEXTBOOKS USED IN ANALYSIS

Ginn. 1964. Trails to Treasure. Grade 5

1. The Old Coach Road---poem
   Rachel Lyman Field

2. The Feather of the Northman
   Mary Jane Carr

3. Henry Can Fix It
   Anne Tedlock Brooks

4. Cottonwood Leaves---poem
   Badger Clark

5. Godfrey Gordon Gustavus Gore---poem
   William Brighty Rands

6. Robin Hood and the Sherrif
   An Old English Story

7. Forest Boat Song---poem
   Richard Clyde Ford

8. A Horse Afraid of His Shadow
   Frances Carpenter

9. Stars---poem
   Sara Teasdale

10. Riding the Pony Express
    Marion Garthwaite

Ginn. 1976. Tell Me How the Sun Rose. Grade 5

11. The Milestone Group
    Doris Gates

12. The Ice Age
    Patricia Lauber

13. Alarm in the Night
    Yoshiko Uchida

14. Tragedy of the Tar Pits
    Roy Chapman Andrews

15. The Seven Stars
    Mary C. Hatch

16. How Jahdu Found His Power
Virginia Hamilton

17. I Have Felt Lonely---poem
Arthur Jackson

18. Nature Cannot Be Changed
Charlotte and Wolf Leslau

19. Media Luna---poem
Federico Garcia Lorca

20. How the Milky Way Came To Be
Charlotte and Wolf Leslau

Ginn. Silver Secrets. 1989. Grade 4

21. The Mountain That Loved a Bird
Alice McLerran

22. Arthur's Thanksgiving Emergency
Daniel Manus Pinkwater

23. Dreams---poem
Langston Hughes

24. A Spooky Sort of Shadow---poem
Jack Prelutsky

25. Four Limericks
Edward Lear

26. The Day Nothing Happened
Robert H. Redding

27. Two Big Bears
Laura Ingalls Wilder

28. The Most Fearsome Thing
Japanese folk tale adapted by Yoshiko Uchida

29. Mika's Apple Tree
Clyde Robert Bulla

30. The Lizard Letdown
Christine McDonnell

Macmillan. Into New Worlds. 1970. Grade 6

31. An Adventure on the Ocean Floor
Jay Williams and Raymond Abrashkin

32. An Impossible Tale
Habib Katibah

33. The Story Machine---play
Isaac Asimov

34. Word---poem
Stephen Spender

35. The Language of Poetry

36. Unfolding Bud---poem
Naoshi Koriyama

37. Off the Beaten Path
Doris Faber

38. The Pasture---poem
Robert Frost

39. The White Horse---poem
Tu Fu

40. Suburb in the Sea
Robert Burnett

Macmillan. Bold Dreams. 1989. Grade 5

41. The Sun Dog
Clyde Robert Bulla and Michael Syson

42. The Adventure of Eustace
C.S. Lewis

43. Happy Nothingday to Me
Marilyn Z. Wilkes

44. All the Money in the World
Bill Brittain

45. Amy's Capital Idea
Elizabeth James and Carol Barkin

46. Paul Revere's Big Ride
Jean Fritz

47. Cindy and Jennifer
Patricia Curtis

48. Putting it Together: A Film Crew
George Ancona

49. Paramedics on Call
Kathy Pelta

50. The Search at Loch Ness
Daniel Cohen

Houghton-Mifflin. Kaleidoscope. 1974. Grade 4.

51. Billy's Bicycle
Marion Holland

52. Rudolph is Tired of the City
Gwendolyn Brooks

53. Jack and the Three Sillies
Richard Chase

54. The Owl's Big Eyes
Arthur C. Parker

55. Many Moons
James Thurber

56. Pecos Bill and the Mustang
Harold W. Felton

57. Damon and Pythias
Fan Kissen

58. The Case of the Champion Egg Spinner
Donald J. Sobol

59. Henry and the Night Crawlers
Beverly Cleary

60. The Turtle Net
Shirley Gudmundson

Houghton-Mifflin. Banners. 1983. Grade 4.

61. Girls Can Too!
Lee Bennett Hopkins

62. Thank You, Phoebe Fraunces
Judith Berry Griffin

63. A Modern/Ancient Cipher
Jane Sarnoff

64. Sneeze
Maxine W. Kumin

65. Iviahoca
Pura Belpre

66. The Tunnel
Virginia Hamilton

67. The Calf-Raising Contest
Bette Greene

68. The Clockmaker and the Timekeeper
Isabelle Chang

69. Swamplands
Delia Goetz

70. The Voyage of the Dawn Treader
C.S. Lewis

HBJ. 1979. Reaching Out. Grade 5
71. Sod-Shanty Pioneers
Dorothy M. Johnson

72. The Peddler's Pack
Charlotte MacLeod

73. Dolphin Days
Cynthia De Narvaez

74. Penguin Paradise
Edna M. Andreas

75. Giants in the Earth
Elizabeth K. Cooper

76. A Street of Games
Dina Brown Anastasio

77. Living Lights in Our World
Alvin and Virginia Silverstein

78. Curiosities from the Cliffs
Ruth Van Ness Blair

79. Start Your Own Theater
Karleen Schart Sabol

80. Daniel Villanueva
Al Martinez

HBJ. Crossroads. 1989. Grade 4.
81. The Talking Computer---play
Murray Suid

82. The Midnight Fox
Betsy Byars

83. Me and My Family Tree
Paul Showers

84. Until We Built a Cabin---poem
Aileen Fisher

85. Putting the Sun to Work
Jeanne Bendick

86. The Fallen Spaceman
Lee Harding

87. The Best Town in the World
Byrd Baylor

88. Anna's New Beginning
Jean Little

89. Dvora's Journey
Marge Blaine

90. Help! I'm a Prisoner in the Library
Eth Clifford

Holt. Banners. 1989. Grade 4

91. Slower Than the Rest
Cynthia Rylant

92. The Pet Parade
Farley Mowat

93. Nibby, the Cottontail Rabbit
Esther Kellner

94. Bunnicula
Deborah and James Howe

95. Sarah, Plain and Tall
Patricia MacLachian

96. The Legendary King Arthur
Linda Girard

97. Shoeshine Girl
Clyde Robert Bulla

98. Strange Partners
Anabel Dean

99. Encyclopedia Brown and the Case of the Hard-Luck Boy
Donald Sobol

100. Mark Twain? What Kind of Name is That?
Robert Quackenbush

Holt. 1977. Never Give Up! Grade 4.

101. Elisabeth, the Bird Watcher
Felice Holman

102. Mexicali Soup
Kathryn Hitte and William D. Hayes

103. The First and Last Annual Pet Parade
Mary Neville

104. The Case of the Silver Fruit Bowl
Donald J. Sobol

105. After the Party---poem
William Wise

106. George Washington's Breakfast
Jean Fritz

107. Flat Stanley
Jeff Brown

108. Tikki Tikki Tembo
Arlene Mosel

109. Never Make Fun---poem
Martin Gardner

110. Do You Have Time Lydia?
Evaline Ness

APPENDIX B. DEFINITIONS OF GENDER-STEREOTYPED TRAITS

1. ACTIVITY

Any kind of physical activity, or anything involving physical exertion. In action; doing or performing. Involves the movement of large muscles. Requires energy and vigor.

Examples: running, jumping, playing softball, riding a horse, working on the farm, practicing ballet.

2. PASSIVITY

A passive person is one who is acted upon instead of acting. One who submits, obeys, conforms without resistance or question. It is characterized by docility, being easily managed or taught, and dependency, which is the state of relying on something or someone for aid and support. This includes exhibiting mild, soft, spiritless behavior. Usually involves movement of small muscles.

Examples: Playing with dolls, watching others as they play baseball, being able to skate only when there is someone to lean on, being able to reach a jar only when someone brings a stepladder, listening to someone else describe their adventures.

3. EXPECTED HELPFULNESS

Kindness and helpfulness which is expected of an individual, as opposed to the kindness and helpfulness one elects to perform. This is usually composed of routine drudge work or service work. It is "taken for granted" helpfulness. One does not typically receive rewards, praise, thanks, or "moral points" for exhibiting this kind of helpfulness.

Examples: Making beds, taking out the garbage, washing dishes, settling an argument, caring for a sick child, disciplining children.

4. REWARDED HELPFULNESS

Kindness and helpfulness one chooses to perform rather than kindness and helpfulness which is expected of one. Individuals displaying this type of helpfulness usually receive rewards, praise, thanks, or "moral points" for this kind of helpfulness.

Examples: Helping an older person carry groceries, teaching a younger sibling to write, mending a bird's broken wing, teaching a child to ride a bike.

5. MISHAPS

An unfortunate accident of a minor nature. A mishap may be the result of incompetency, stupidity, curiosity, enthusiasm, or adventurousness.

Examples: Falling down and getting dirty, dropping a dish, getting lost in the woods, losing a library book.

6. FEELING AND EXPRESSING EMOTION

Any indication that a character is feeling or expressing an emotion such as anger, joy, sorrow, love or fear.

Examples: "Jim's heart pounded wildly", screaming when seeing a snake, refusing to climb down out of a tree when it's time for the family to move away, hugging the dog, kissing a child's bruised finger.

7. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE CONCERNS

Indication of concern over how one looks. Feeling or expressing a need to be considered attractive and well-groomed. Showing interest in clothing, hairstyles, body shape.

Examples: Hoping to have big muscles like the garbage collector, searching for an appropriate spring hat, expressing dismay over new braces, expressing concern that one will never grow and therefore always be short.

8. VICTIMIZING AND HUMILIATING OTHERS

Causing others to suffer or lose self-respect through a destructive or injurious action or statement. Cheating or deceiving another. Embarrassing another, especially in public. Being purposefully mean and cruel to another. Teasing another, not in a playful manner.

Examples: Laughing at younger sibling for playing a green kangaroo in the school play, teasing a friend who has braces, putting a tack in the teacher's chair.

9. CREATIVITY/INDUSTRY

Anything which results from originality of thought or expression. This requires the display of ingenuity and resourcefulness. Involves the ability to deal skillfully with new problems or situations. Also involves trying unusual or thoughtful approaches to problems. More likely to involve movement of small muscles than large muscles.

Examples: building walkie-talkies or soapbox racers, devising a plan to

outwit smugglers, making a TV commercial, fixing a bicycle.

10. SEX-BIASED QUOTES OR THEMES

Attributing a characteristic to all members of a sex (e.g., "boys are so noisy", "I didn't think a girl could be so clever"). Any limitation based on the mother or father role (e.g. "Whoever heard of anyone's mother building a sled?", "Daddies aren't supposed to bake cakes!") Gender specific and hyphenated word forms (e.g., poetess, lady-doctor, chairwoman, male-nurse, garbageman).

11. NON-TRADITIONAL QUOTES OR THEMES

Any quote or theme which shows people engaging in activities or pursuits which are not considered to be traditionally appropriate for their gender (e.g. A story about Sally Ride the astronaut, or a story in which the father routinely does the dishes or shares domestic responsibilities with the mother). Non gender specific word forms (e.g. chairperson, mail carrier, garbage collector)

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