ABSTRACT

SIX, EIGHT, AND TEN YEAR OLD CHILDREN'S
VIEWS OF OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

By

Ruth F. Scheresky

The subject of this research was children's percep-
tions of occupational roles that are traditionally stereo-
typed by society. More specifically, the differences among
the views of children as they varied with age, gender, and
location regarding their acceptance of occupational roles
for men and for women were explored.

The sampled population for the study included three
school districts, each representative of the location fac-
tor: rural, suburban, and central city. A stratified ran-
dom sample was taken to generate groups of fifteen boys and
fifteen girls at the ages of six, eight, and ten years, at
each of the locations: rural, suburban, and central city.
The total number in the sample was 270 children.

The individual interview, using an instrument in
which photographs played the significant part, was the
method selected to measure the occupational role percep-
tions of the children. The measure, including fifteen
occupations which are stereotyped by society in general,

compared each subject to the traditional stereotypic views. For each occupation, the response could be one of three choices: male, female, or both. A stereotypic response received a score of "1"; a response of either the opposite sex choice of the stereotypic answer or the response "both" received a scores of "0." Interpretation of the score resulted in degree of stereotyping; the higher the score the more stereotyped the subject.

It was hypothesized that there would be no significant differences among the factors of age, gender, and location in the responses of the children regarding their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

The three-way analysis of variance used for statistical analysis of the data revealed no significant differences, resulting in the following conclusions:

1. The degree of stereotyping was high among all subjects. Children perceived occupations as the role of one sex or the other, according to traditional stereotypic views.

2. Age had little or no effect on the child's acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

3. Location, whether rural, suburban, or central city, had no significant effect upon the child's acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

4. The number of years children had spent in school did not appear to lessen the degree of stereotyping that was done.

SIX, EIGHT, AND TEN YEAR OLD CHILDREN'S

VIEWS OF OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

By

Ruth F. Scheresky

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Dedicated

to

My Parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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PROLOGUE

        The little girl put the stethoscope around her neck
and said, "We can't play hospital unless we have a doctor."
        "Carol," I asked her, "why can't you be the doctor?"
        "The doctor has to be a boy!" All the girls agreed.
    .   "Carol," I persisted, "your mother is a doctor."
        "But she really is a mother. A daddy has to be the
doctor."
        David ran up. "I'll be the doctor." He grabbed
the stethoscope. David's mother is also a doctor.
        Everyone in the doll corner was satisfied. The dra-
matic play they call "Michael Reese" (named after a local
hospital) could continue.

                                Vivian Paley
                                "Is the Doll Corner a
                                Sexist Institution?"
                                School Review 81 (1973):
                                569.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this dissertation is children's
perceptions of occupational roles that are traditionally
stereotyped by society. Specifically, the interest is in
exploring the differences among the views of children as
they vary with age, gender, and location regarding their
acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

In this "age of antidiscrimination agencies and
affirmative action programs,"[1] with interest in and pres-
sures from the Women's Liberation Movement running higher
than ever before, a look at elementary school age chil-
dren's views regarding sex roles in occupations is in
order.

Because the school is an important socializing
agent of the child, the study can help the educator to be
aware of the degree of stereotyping that the elementary
school child is doing and, if necessary, changes can be
made in the learning environment to avoid the continuance
of sex-role stereotyping.

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[1]R. Healy and D. Lund, "Chapter 622: One State's
Mandate," Inequality in Education 18 (1974): 36.

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Background

American children are growing up within the most rapidly changing culture of which we have any record in the world, within a culture where for several generations each generation's experience has differed sharply from the last, and in which the experience of the youngest child in a large family will be extraordinarily different from that of the first born. . . .[2]

Margaret Mead's statement, made almost a quarter of a century ago, is still applicable today. One of the areas affected significantly by change in a culture is the area of sex roles. Psychologists Stone and Church wrote, "We have already, many times over, changed our conceptions of sex roles, . . . , and will almost certainly have to change them again."[3] Brown indicated significant changes have taken place within a single generation concerning traditional conceptions of what is masculine and what is feminine.[4] Another author, Rogers, said the current status of sex roles in our culture is in a state of flux; it is not clear.[5] Evidence indicates the gap between the sexes is narrowing.

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[2]M. Mead, "The Impact of Culture on Personality Development in the United States Today," Understanding the Child 20 (1951): 17; cited by I. J. Gordon, Human Development (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 131.

[3]L. J. Stone and J. Church, Childhood and Adolescence, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 148.

[4]D. G. Brown, "Sex-Role Development in a Changing Culture," Psychological Bulletin 55 (1958): 232.

[5]D. Rogers, Readings in Child Psychology (Belmont, Ca.: Brooks/Cole, 1969), p. 221.

The most basic category in which human beings, regardless of race, creed, or culture, are placed is the category of sex: male or female.[6] The psychological and behavioral differences associated with the obvious biological differences between boys and girls and men and women are perhaps even more important for individual adjustment than are the biological differences.

To be genuinely happy, in almost all cultures it is essential that biological maleness or femaleness be accompanied by psychological and social maleness or femaleness.[7] However, psychological and social maleness or femaleness does not allow for the traditional stereotypic views of maleness and femaleness.

The Women's Liberation Movement has applied considerable pressure regarding sex discrimination in all aspects of our society. Evidence of the high interest in the Movement is indicated by the enormous volume of writing and speaking it has generated. Feminist articles on sex roles have received extensive print and broadcast publicity.

This is the age of antidiscrimination agencies and affirmative action programs.[8] Schools are under attack

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[6]B. R. McCandless, Children Behavior and Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), p. 448.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Healy and Lund, loc. cit.

for promoting sexism. Chapter 622,[9] a measure outlawing
discrimination based on sex in the public schools of the
state of Massachusetts, was the first anti-sex discrimina-
tion legislation of its kind in the country. This legis-
lation was passed in August 1971; it came into being at a
time when interest in and concern about sex-role stereotyping
and the public schools was just beginning to be expressed.

> The first broadly circulated report on sexism and
> public school policies and practices appears to have
> been <u>Dick and Jane as Victims</u>, a study of children's
> readers done by women in Princeton, New Jersey (who
> later organized themselves as Women on Words and
> Images), first published in 1972. Studies of school
> systems were done that same year in Ann Arbor ("An
> Action Proposal to Eliminate Sex Discrimination in
> the Ann Arbor Public Schools," March, 1972), and New
> York City ("Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools").
> Following these, a number of women's groups, teacher
> groups and individuals came out with collections of
> materials, studies and action plans for eliminating
> sex-role stereotyping in the schools. . . .[10]

Children begin to learn about sex roles very early
in their lives, probably before they are eighteen months
old, and certainly long before they enter school.[11] These
roles are learned through relatively simple patterns that
most of us take for granted. Some of these patterns are:
throwing boy babies up in the air and roughhousing with
them, as opposed to cooing over girl babies and handling

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[9]Ibid., pp. 36-46.

[10]Ibid., p. 45.

[11]F. Howe, "Sexual Stereotypes Start Early,"
<u>Saturday Review</u> 54 (1971): 76.

them delicately; choosing sex-related colors and toys for children from their earliest days; and encouraging boys to be physically active while expecting girls to be quieter and more docile.

Public education plays a substantial role in sexual stereotyping. Many writers believe the school has become one of the major elements in the socialization of American children.[12] One of the functions of the schools is socialization into age-sex roles.[13] It is true schools reflect the society they serve. Schools function to reinforce the sexual stereotypes that children have been taught by their parents, friends, and the mass culture we live in.[14]

Levy and Stacey stated that the elementary school promotes sex stereotyping through various aspects of the curriculum, the organization of the classroom, the structure of the school, teacher behavior with children, and the extracurriculuar milieu. The authors further claimed:

> Schools exist in part to perpetuate various roles
> which maintain our sexist society . . . schools do
> "make a difference" in that they remain effective

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[12]D. Gottlieb, "Children in America: A Demographic Profile and Commentary," in Children's Liberation, ed. D. Gottlieb (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 17.

[13]N. K. Denzin, "Children and Their Caretakers," in Children's Liberation, ed. D. Gottlieb (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 134.

[14]Howe, op. cit., p. 77.

agents of social control, perpetuating the existing class, racial, and sexual divisions in our society.[15]

Thus, in fact, it can be assumed that through development and education a child learns broadening concepts of what one can accept in regard to the role of men and women.

Purpose of the Study

The present research was undertaken to explore the differences among the stereotypic views of children: among ages, between boys and girls, and among children in rural, suburban, and central city schools. Specific aspects of the research are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Importance of the Study

The educational system remains a primary agent for socialization, reflecting the society it serves.[16] Burton stated, "A basic tenet of our society is that all Americans should have equal opportunity to pursue interests, develop talents and grow to full potential."[17] In our society a conflict occurs between the ideal the society

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[15]B. Levy and J. Stacey, "Sexism in the Elementary School: A Backward and Forward Look," Phi Delta Kappan, October 1973, p. 105.

[16]Howe, loc. cit.

[17]G. Burton, "Sex-Role Stereotyping in Elementary School Primers," A position paper prepared for the Montgomery County Chapter of the National Organization for Women (1974), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

endorses and the actual practice of the society regarding this equality. Burton continued, "It becomes the duty of the school to hold true to the basic ideal, to cease reflecting deviations, and to take positive steps to correct and to reshape the 'reality.'"[18]

A study of stereotypic views of children may provide a basis for evaluating various aspects of the educational system so that the opportunity to become a fully developed human being can be a reality to all.

Children become more aware of occupations as they grow older. This study may reveal whether older children are more predisposed to sex-role stereotyping of occupations than are younger children. An evaluation of the educational process could determine the factors that may contribute to sex-role stereotyping at the various age levels or a lack of sex-role stereotyping.

The study may also help determine whether location is a major factor in the degree of sex-role stereotyping of occupations by elementary school children. Results may indicate whether the influence of rural, suburban, and central city environments is a factor in the child's sex-role socialization process.

The gender of the child is another factor to consider when studying the perceptions of sex roles in

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[18]Ibid.

occupations. Both boys and girls must be aware of the opportunities available to them as human beings not to be limited by sex. The study can have implications regarding the planning of career education in school curriculum.

Statement of the Problem

The research described here addressed the following questions: Does age level determine to some degree the acceptance of certain occupational roles for both sexes? Are boys or girls more predisposed to stereotype occupational roles according to sex? Do the rural, suburban, and central city factors make for differences in viewing the sexes in certain roles? To answer these questions, hypotheses were formulated, a population for the research identified, and a methodology selected, using an instrument developed by the researcher.

The Population and Sample

The sampled population for the study included three school districts, each representative of the location factor in the research: rural, suburban, and central city.

A stratified random sample was taken to generate groups of fifteen boys and fifteen girls at the ages of six, eight, and ten years, at each of the location factors: rural, suburban, and central city. The total number in the sample was 270 children.

Definition of Terms

Stereotype: "An exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category."[19]

Ages of children: Six year olds are those children whose sixth birthday fell between December 1, 1973, and November 30, 1974, inclusive; eight year olds are those children whose eighth birthday fell between December 1, 1973, and November 30, 1974, inclusive; ten year olds are those children whose tenth birthday fell between December 1, 1973, and November 30, 1974, inclusive.

Urbanized area: The area consisting of a central city, or cities, and the surrounding closely settled territory.[20]

Central city: A city of 50,000 inhabitants or more,[21] consisting of the population of the city named in the title of the urbanized area;[22] central city is not synonymous with the "inner city" concept.

Suburban: The surrounding closely settled territory of a central city in an urbanized area.

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[19] G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday, 1958), p. 187.

[20] Dictionary of Economic and Statistical Terms (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Nov., 1972), p. 69.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 62.

Rural: That area not included in an urbanized

area; can consist of "a farm and/or non-farm population."[23]

Central city school: A school in a school dis-

trict located in a central city.

Suburban school: A school in a school district

located in a suburban area.

Rural school: A school in a school district

located in a nonurban area.

Sampled population: The six, eight, and ten year

olds in the selected schools; "it is the population for

strict statistical inference."[24]

Target population: The group to which a general-

ization is made, or "the primary population of interest";[25]

the six, eight, and ten year olds in the Midwest region.

Stratified random sample: Sample randomly drawn

from each stratum or subpopulation.[26]

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this

study:

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[23]Ibid., pp. 64, 69.

[24]M. J. Slakter, Statistical Inference for Educa-
tional Researchers (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1972),
p. 50.

[25]Ibid.

[26]G. Sax, Empirical Foundations of Educational
Research (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968),
p. 135.

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant difference among the responses of the six year old, eight year old, and ten year old children in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant difference between the responses of boys and the responses of girls in relating their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant difference among children from rural, suburban, and central city schools in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Limitations of the Study

The following limitations are noted in regard to the study. The study is limited by the influence the interviewer may have had on the subjects' responses, the interviewer being a female. The study was conducted by the researcher alone. The use of only one interviewer precludes statistical verification of interviewer reliability. The absence of such verification constitutes a limitation of the study. The study is further limited to those children willing to participate in the study.

Summary

In this chapter, a brief introduction to the study was made; the background, purpose, and importance of the

study were discussed; and the specific problem to be addressed by the study was defined: Are there differences among the stereotypic views of children among ages, between boys and girls, and among children in rural, suburban, and central city schools? The sample and definition of terms were presented. Hypotheses of interest were then specified, and the limitations of the research noted.

In the following chapter, literature and research relevant to the present study are examined. The design of the study, including the methodology and the development of the instrument, is presented in Chapter III, as well as the analysis of the pilot data. In Chapter IV the analysis and the discussion of the research data are presented. The final chapter incorporates a summary, conclusions, implications of the study, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER II

SOCIALIZATION AND SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING:

A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

AND RESEARCH

"As the twig is bent . . ." has long been part of

Western folklore. Scientific data now support this view.

The origin of self lies in the early years.[1] Individuals

learn the skills that enable them to function in particu-

lar types of roles; they are not born with these skills.[2]

Gesell stated:

> Psychically, the child inherits nothing fully
> formed. Each and every part of his nature has to
> grow--his sense of self; his fears, his affections
> and his curiosities; his feelings toward mother,
> father, playmates, and sex; his judgments of good and
> bad, of ugly and beautiful; his respect for truth and
> property; his sense of humor; his ideas about life
> and death, crime, war, nature, and deity. All his
> sentiments, concepts, and attitudes are products of
> growth and experience. . . .[3]

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[1]I. J. Gordon, "The Beginnings of Self: The Problem
of the Nurturing Environment," in Exploring Human Develop-
ment, ed. H. W. Bernard & W. C. Huckins (Boston: Allyn &
Bacon, 1972), p. 261.

[2]A. E. Guskin and S. L. Guskin, A Social Psychology
of Education (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970), p. 98.

[3]A. Gesell, Infant Development (New York: Harper &
Brothers, 1952), p. 83.

The importance of the early years of a child's life cannot be emphasized enough. The concern in sex-role identity is the child's attitude toward himself, not sex-role stereotyping.

In this review of literature and research, two aspects are dealt with: (1) the socialization process of the child and (2) sex-role socialization and stereotyping.

The Socialization Process

Each individual is born into a society. The members of the society practice a way of life--a culture.[4] Elkin stated, "A child is born into a world that already exists."[5] "A child is shaped by the nuclear group into which he is born."[6] The culture of childhood, like all cultures, is learned, shared, and transmitted. "It is learned, but not necessarily taught."[7]

Socialization is defined as the process by which an individual learns the ways of a given society--the behaviors, values, and expectations of others--so that he can take on particular roles in society and function within

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[4] M. E. Goodman, The Culture of Childhood (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), p. 7.

[5] F. Elkin, The Child and Society (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 7.

[6] E. W. King and A. Kerber, The Sociology of Early Childhood Education (New York: American Book, 1968), p. 44.

[7] Goodman, loc. cit.

it.[8] Elkin felt socialization includes both learning and internalizing appropriate patterns, values, and feelings.[9] The child not only knows what is expected of him and behaves accordingly, he also feels that this is the proper way for him to think and behave.

Through the process of socialization, the phenomenon of the self-concept evolves. Just as individuals are not born with skills that enable them to function in particular types of roles, neither is the self-concept a biological phenomenon with which infants are born. It evolves from the social and environmental aspects of living. An awareness of an individual's own attributes through his experiences with people who surround him is acquired as early as the first weeks of life. The child reflects these experiences in his personality and behavior as he develops.[10]

Socialization is a function of social interaction.[11] The child's interaction with his family, beginning from birth, determines his idea of himself, an essential aspect

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[8]Guskin and Guskin, loc. cit.

[9]Elkin, op. cit., p. 4.

[10]King and Kerber, op. cit., p. 46.

[11]Elkin, op. cit., p. 5.

of his personality. One sees self only as reflected by the attitudes of the people around him.[12]

Elkin discussed three preconditions that are necessary for a child to become socialized: (1) There must be an ongoing society, the world into which he is to be socialized; (2) The child must have the requisite biological inheritance (e.g., if a child is feeble-minded or suffers from a serious mental disorder, adequate socialization becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible); and (3) A child requires "human nature," defined as "the ability to establish emotional relationships with others and to experience such sentiments as love, sympathy, shame, envy, pity, and awe."[13]

Culture and Socialization

From the beginning, boys and girls grow up in different, culturally determined emotional atmospheres. The uniqueness rooted in the biochemical composition of the individual is fostered by the nature of his cultural experience. The ongoing social environment into which a child is born allows for the first lessons in being a boy or a girl.[14,15] Stressing the importance of the awareness of

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[12]King and Kerber, op. cit., p. 45.

[13]Elkin, op. cit., p. 7.

[14]L. J. Stone and J. Church, Childhood and Adolescence, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 151.

[15]I. J. Gordon, Human Development, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 15.

what goes on around them, Gesell stated:

> . . . But we may grant, on the basis of objective
> signs, that even the young infant has a considerable
> degree of mental life. By the age of one month his
> behavior is too coherent, too integrated, and too
> personal in its individuality to be regarded as merely
> "subcortical." He manifests pleasure, pain, desire.
> He evidently senses comfort, discomfort, satiety,
> warmth. He responds to the touch of ministering hands;
> he heeds the human voice and face. . . . He is . . . an
> adaptive, changing, growing being--assimilative, explor-
> ative, and conscious on his plane of immaturity. He
> may well be capable of awarenesses which arise from
> processes of synthesis and integration. His "mind"
> is not larval. It is already in the making.[16]

Culture prescribes masculine and feminine beha-

viors.[17] These behaviors are not learned at any given age.

The Swiss psychologist, Piaget, defined learning as "a

process provoked by external situations (a psychological

experiment, a teacher, some exigency of the environment)

and limited in scope."[18] The child learns "a single

structure," or solves a single problem. Such learning is

subordinate to development; "Development is the essential

process and each element of learning occurs as a function

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[16]Gesell, op. cit., p. 57.

[17]P. H. Mussen, J. J. Conger, and J. Kagan, Child
Development and Personality (New York: Harper & Row, 1974),
p. 398.

[18]J. Piaget, "Cognitive Development in Children:
The Piaget Papers," in Piaget Rediscovered: A Report of
the Conference on Cognitive Studies and Curriculum Develop-
ment, ed. R. E. Ripple and V. N. Rockcastle (Ithaca: Cornell
University, School of Education, March 1964), pp. 6-48;
cited by M. Almy, E. Chittenden, and P. Miller, Young
Children's Thinking (New York: Teachers College, 1967),
p. 20.

of total development, rather than being an element which explains development."[19]

The crucial fact for Piaget seems to be that this "set" or attitude must come from within. What is learned at any given point is, at least in part, determined by what has gone on before--not merely by what the child has experienced, but more by the elements to which he has paid attention. "Every instruction from without presupposes a construction from within."[20]

Beginning of Socialization

Socialization is a process that begins immediately upon the child's entrance into the world. There are many statuses and roles, some general and some specific, in which a person is involved.

A status may be defined as a position in a social structure. A person has many statuses, some of which include age status, sex status, religious status, and nationality status. To each status is attached a role or a pattern of expected behavior. "Role implies not only a knowledge of the expected behavior but also culturally appropriate values and feelings."[21]

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[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid., p. 21.

[21]Elkin, op. cit., p. 19.

Thus, a child is born with a status determined by his sex. The role of that status, then, is the part that is learned through social interaction within a given society, or through the process of socialization.

Socialization and Identification

Psychologists such as Gordon,[22] Mussen, Conger, and Kagan,[23] and Gewirtz and Stingle[24] referred to identification as a process by which a person views himself as being like another and then behaves accordingly; the process by which roles and attitudes are learned. These roles and attitudes become a basic part of the core of the child's self and are fairly stable elements in the way he will feel and behave throughout life, since they are learned early in life in a close interpersonal setting.[25] The early childhood period is the period of the greatest intensity of identification, of the greatest need to identify.

Regarding sex identification, Ira Gordon wrote, "A major task of early childhood consists of identification with one's own sex--learning the appropriate male or female

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[22]Gordon, Human Development, op. cit., p. 84.

[23]Mussen, Conger, and Kagan, op. cit., pp. 395-396.

[24]J. L. Gewirtz and K. C. Stingle, "Learning of Generalized Imitation as the Basis for Identification," Psychological Review 75 (1968): 374-375.

[25]Gordon, Human Development, op. cit., p. 116.

adult role."[26] Identification is not ordinarily a con-
scious imitation process. The many highly significant,
complex patterns of personality characteristics, reactions,
motives, attitudes, personal idiosyncracies, and moral
standards appear to be acquired by the child spontaneously,
without direct training or reward--without anyone's "teach-
ing" and without the child's intending to learn.

Gordon stated that "parent behavior in the first
six years of life influences the child's identity and the
standards he will set for typical sex-related behavior."[27]
The stability of an individual's behavior over time is
determined by the major factor of the individual's own
desire to make his behavior agree with the culture's defi-
nition of sex.

Two kinds of processes by which children acquire
attitudes, values, and patterns of social behavior were
discussed by Bandura.[28] First, learning can occur on the
basis of direct tuition or instrumental training. In this
form of learning, parents and other socializing agents are
explicit about what the child is expected to learn. The
attempt to shape behavior is through reward and punishing

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[26]Ibid., pp. 114-115.

[27]Gordon, "The Beginnings of Self," op. cit., p. 260.

[28]A. Bandura, "The Role of Modeling Processes in Per-
sonality Development," in Readings in Child Behavior and
Development, ed. C. S. Lavatelli and F. Stendler (New York:
Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972), p. 334.

consequences. Although Bandura felt a certain amount of a child's socialization takes place through such direct training, most of the personality patterns are acquired primarily through the second process--the child's active imitation of parental attitudes and behavior. Most of these attitudes and behavior patterns the parents have never directly attempted to teach.

At this time there is no firm evidence that males and females are destined by nature for the arbitrary roles and characteristics assigned to the two sexes in this or any other culture.[29] Baller and Charles believed that only in late childhood is there any physiological reason for different behavior between males and females.[30] However, our culture insists that boys and girls behave differently, learn different sex roles. The differences in the sex roles are discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter.

Socialization and Maturation

Maturation is closely related to socialization. Biological maturation underlies the social development of the child. In a suitable environment the biological organism follows a systematic and orderly pattern in the

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[29]Mussen, Conger, and Kagan, op. cit., p. 398.

[30]W. R. Baller and D. C. Charles, The Psychology of Human Growth and Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), pp. 352-353.

development of neural, muscular, and glandular tissue. A
person, regardless of the amount of training given, must
be biologically ready before he can function in given
ways.[31]

Elkin interpreted Jean Piaget's work as showing
the relevance of maturation to socialization.[32] There are
distinct lines of development, and quite early in a child's
life social factors combine with physiological development
to permeate the child's ways of thought and perception of
the world. The assumption that the child's mind is not an
immature form of the adult mind underlay Piaget's research.
Rather, "the child thinks in a world of his own, a world
inherently and distinctly different from that of the adult."

Socialization and Play

Through mimicry, a universal type of play, and par-
ticularly the mimicking of adult activities, through
observation and imitation of that world, the culture of
childhood comes to include versions of adult values as
well as of adult roles.[33] As a part of identifying, chil-
dren devote many hours to role-playing. In this activity,
a child "acts out" the behavior he perceives to belong to
certain roles. This is essential to his development.[34]

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[31]Elkin, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[32]Ibid., p. 22.

[33]Goodman, op. cit., p. 133.

[34]Gordon, Human Development, p. 117.

Age and Identification

During the preschool years, most parents pay attention to the sex appropriateness of their children's behavior.[35] Even though the identification process is subtle, the very young child's perceptual abilities are quick to grasp the obvious physical characteristic of sex differences. Children learn about sex roles very early in their lives, probably before they are eighteen months old, certainly long before they enter school.[36] By the age of four years, a child has already divided the world into male and female people. The question of boy-girl differences has already been raised.[37,38]

Goodman stated that the three year old in any society knows his identity as a boy or girl, and is rapidly learning what is considered appropriate behavior for boys and girls, for men and women.[39] However, games are played or chores performed quite willingly for another two years or so, which in his culture are generally the domain of the opposite sex. At the age of three or earlier, the child

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[35]Mussen, Conger, and Kagan, loc. cit.

[36]F. Howe, "Sexual Stereotypes Start Early," Saturday Review 54 (1971): 76.

[37]King and Kerber, op. cit., p. 66.

[38]D. G. Brown, "Sex-Role Development in a Changing Culture," Psychological Bulletin 55 (1958): 233.

[39]Goodman, op. cit., p. 27.

is likely to be curious about sex organs. He learns to
sex-classify the people around him on the basis of body
structures. But, according to psychologists Stone and
Church, "at age four, even those children who know about
genital differences between boys and girls regard them as
secondary to styles of coiffure or dress in determining
sex and sex differences." To illustrate their point, they
added this story:

> One four-year-old, visiting a family new to the
> neighborhood, observed their small baby creeping
> about the sunny lawn in the nude. Reporting on the
> new family to her mother, she was asked whether the
> baby was a boy or a girl and replied, "I don't know.
> It's so hard to tell with their clothes off."[40]

The processes of identifying and role-taking, begun
during earlier stages of self-development, continue through
middle childhood, the period of growth from about six to
about twelve years. The child is extending his concept of
self as "male" or "female," primarily through his relation-
ships with his peers. "The peer group is the locus of much
of the role-taking that occurs during these years." The
role of the "other" now involves the child's peers, in
addition to his parents.[41]

Havighurst said middle childhood is characterized
by the child being thrust "out of the home and into the
peer group, the physical thrust into the world of games and

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[40]Stone and Church, op. cit., p. 165.

[41]Gordon, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

work requiring neuromuscular skills, and the mental thrust
into the world of adult concepts, logic, symbolism, and
communication."[42] The individual has worked out his partic-
ular style and his level in all three areas by the end of
this period--middle childhood.

Sex-Role Socialization and
Sex-Role Stereotyping

Socialization occurs in many settings, and in
interaction with many people. Organized groups, such as
family, church, school, and peer group, and settings, such
as the mass communication media, are spoken of as agencies
of socialization.[43,44] Each agency socializes the child
into its own patterns and its own values. Each agency also
helps to socialize the child into the larger world, for
each is a surrogate of wider social and culture-orders,
and its impact extends beyond its own organizational
limits.[45]

Cultural trends affect all agencies. Currently,
as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Women's Liberation

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[42]R. J. Havighurst, "The Developmental Tasks of
Middle Childhood," in The Psychology of the Elementary School
Child, ed. A. R. Binter and S. H. Frey (Chicago: Rand
McNally, 1972), pp. 12-13.

[43]Elkin, op. cit., p. 45.

[44]T. N. Saario, C. N. Jacklin, and C. K. Tittle,
"Sex Role Stereotyping in the Public Schools," Harvard
Educational Review 43 (1973): 387.

[45]Elkin, loc. cit.

Movement is proclaiming its message about the propagation

of sexism in schools. Not only is the subject of sexism

a concern of the Women's Liberation Movement, it is also

becoming a major concern of people interested in child

development. There is growing awareness of the damage

done to individual growth by channeling people into narrow

roles according to sex.[46]

Stereotype Defined

Allport defined stereotype as "an exaggerated

belief associated with a category. Its function is to

justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that cate-

gory."[47]

In the article, "Decoding the Messages," sex-role

stereotypes were defined as "the beliefs we hold about the

'right' way for girls to act or the 'right' way for boys

to act." Further, it was stated that these beliefs are

"part of our basic value system."[48]

The Michigan Women's Commission stated the follow-

ing concerning sex stereotyping:

> Sex stereotypes arise from the belief that cer-
> tain abilities, traits, and interests usually occur
> only in men and boys and other abilities, traits,

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[46]C. Jacobs and C. Eaton, "Sexism in the Elementary
School," Today's Education, December 1972, p. 20.

[47]G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York:
Doubleday, 1958), p. 187.

[48]"Decoding the Messages," The Awareness Game 6
(1973): 8.

and interests occur only in women and girls. These
stereotypes are grounded in ignorance and fear and
unreasonably restrict the rights of individuals to
make their own life choices. They are particularly
destructive to children, because they profoundly
influence their level of self-esteem, choice of occu-
pation, and means of self-expression.[49]

Howe defined sexual stereotypes as assumed differences,

social conventions or norms, learned behavior, attitudes,

and expectations.[50]

Effects of Sex-Role Stereotyping

As a result of sexism, both boys and girls are

limited in developing to their full human potential.

Men are victimized, as are women, by sex-role stereotypes.[51]

Sexism places "a higher value on male characteristics and

values," placing men in a "superior" position. This

dichotomy, however, prevents all concerned from attaining

full humanity, for sexism predetermines people's choices

in life on the basis of sex, without regard to individual

differences.[52]

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[49]Sex Discrimination in an Elementary Reading Pro-
gram (Lansing: Michigan Women's Commission), p. 1.

[50]Howe, op. cit., p. 77.

[51]S. Tobias, "The Case for Women's Studies," 51%
Minority Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women
(Washington, D.C.:   National Education Association, August
1972), p. 21.

[52]"From a Parent's Perspective," Sexism in Education,
3rd ed. (Minneapolis: The Emma Willard Task Force on Edu-
cation, 1973), p. 20.

Personality traits are stereotyped according to
sex. Not only at home but at school, girls tend to get
the message to be dependent, passive, quiet, and "good."
They are rewarded for conforming behavior. This type of
behavior promotes the inhibition of negative feelings,
viewed as a concomitant of the charge to women to be
accommodating. Females are expected to yield to others'
requirements or demands. The male has greater freedom in
this area; negative feelings can emerge.[53]

In contrast, home expectations of boys differ from
those of school, which creates different pressures.
Traits of aggression, independence, and achievement are
encouraged in the home; obedience and quietness are expected
at school. Boys who can reconcile and live up to the dual
standards tend to become high achievers and "successful
chauvinists." Those who are unable will often "rebel,
act out, or become low achievers and unsuccessful chauvin-
ists."[54]

In a study entitled "Sex-Role Pressures and the
Socialization of the Male Child," Hartley interviewed
eight to eleven year old boys; her results supported the

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[53]J. Mosher et al., "Masculinity and Femininity,"
51% Minority Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women
(Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August
1972), p. 31.

[54]B. Levy and J. Stacey, "Sexism in the Elementary
School: A Backward and Forward Look," Phi Delta Kappan
October 1973, p. 107.

hypothesis that boys in our culture are under greater pressure to conform to stringent sex role norms than are girls. A boy who is labeled a "sissy" is more ostracized than a girl who is considered a "tomboy." The boy who aspires to female pursuits is thought to be engaged in a kind of a "status slumming." It is the smart girl, however, who wants to do boy things.

Furthermore, the boys in the study indicated they had to be able "to fight in case a bully comes along, run fast, play rough games, take care of themselves, and know what girls don't know." They said grown-ups expect boys to be noisy, get dirty, get into more trouble than girls do, and not be cry-babies. They saw men as "strong, able to protect women and children in emergencies, able to support their families, and be in charge of things." The boys' concept of the female role was that girls "stay close to the house, play quietly, keep clean, and be gentler than boys, and they cry when they are scared or hurt." Adult women were seen as "indecisive, afraid of many things, tired a lot, staying home most of the time, squeamish, and not very intelligent."[55] Thus, with such ludicrous exaggeration of the woman's role, the young boy pressures himself to become an athletic he-man and to suppress his tender feelings.

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[55]R. Hartley, "Sex-Role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child," Psychological Reports 5 (1959): 457-468.

Sexism has its effects beyond those on the child in the classroom. A look at the population and the world of work reveals that 51 percent of the population is female, and women make up 40 percent of the labor force. Women work because of economic need; they are single, divorced, deserted, widowed, or married to men earning less than $7,000 a year.[56] Women are concentrated in low-paying, dead-end jobs, resulting in the average woman worker earning less than three-fifths of what a man does, when both work full time the year round.[57]

Bem and Bem cited three basic reasons why women work at jobs rather than pursuing careers. These were discrimination, sex-role conditioning, and the presumed incompatibility of family and career.[58] Women do not pursue challenging or even well-paying careers because of the "homogenization" of America's women, a consequence of the sex-role ideology. The majority of America's women become full-time homemakers; of those who work, 78 percent end up in dead-end jobs as clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, or sales clerks. The authors pointed out

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[56]E. D. Koontz, "Education for Survival," Non-Sexist Education for Survival (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1973), p. 7.

[57]"Have You Heard???" Sexism in Education (Minneapolis: The Emma Willard Task Force, 1973), p. 6.

[58]S. L. Bem and D. J. Bem, "Training the Woman to Know Her Place," an article prepared for the Pennsylvania Department of Education (Pennsylvania Dept. of Education, Division of Pupil Personnel Services, 1973), pp. 3-7.

that the role of homemaker is not necessarily inferior,
but that in spite of their unique identities, the majority
of America's women end up in virtually the same role.

It is important that a child develop a healthy
"self." Sex identity and role behavior are inseparable
from the development of the self.[59] Binter and Frey
emphasized the importance of recognizing and acquiring
behaviors appropriate to one's sex.[60] But if, for a girl,
learning the "proper" sex role restricts the right of
making her own life choices, this certainly is not devel-
oping the best self-concept, or allowing for a means of
self-expression.

In a fluid world, with a constantly shifting diver-
sity of activities that can be pursued by both men and
women, outmoded sex-based stereotypes have no place. Such
stereotypes "check both boys and girls from giving free
rein to their hopes and dreams."[61] Olds further stated
sex-biased stereotypes hold boys and girls "from following
their own talents and inclinations, and keep them from
realizing their true potential as human beings."[62]

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[59]Elkin, op. cit., p. 55.

[60]A. R. Binter and S. H. Frey, The Psychology of the
Elementary School Child (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972),
p. 294.

[61]S. W. Olds, "Giving Children the Freedom to Be
Themselves," The Awareness Game 6 (1973): 9.

[62]Ibid.

The Family as a Sex-
Socializing Agency

As brought out previously, the socialization of a
child begins immediately upon entrance into the world.
Thus, the first and most important socializing agency is
the family. Even though many of the functions that were
once considered routine for the family have been taken over
by other agencies, the family remains the major agency of
socialization.[63]

The process of sex stereotyping begins early.
Lewis discussed the preoccupation parents have with the
sex characteristic of the unborn child--from discussing
their preference for the sex of the unborn child and pro-
viding names as a function of the sex of the child, to the
responsiveness of mothers to the activity of the fetus in
a sex-appropriate fashion.[64] For instance, an active,
kicking fetus that moves a great deal is interpreted as a
sign that the child is more likely to be male than female.
Although parents have other concerns, such as physical and
mental health, their attitude toward the fetus usually
centers on specific characteristics of sex. Lewis felt
this concern may be reflective "of a cultural need, con-
cern, and/or value system."

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[63]Elkin, op. cit., p. 47.

[64]M. Lewis, "Parents and Children: Sex-Role Develop-
ment," School Review 80 (1972): 230-232.

The channeling process of sex stereotyping begins
at birth, when the parents are told the sex of their child.
If it's a boy, certain expectations are held. The parents
might speculate about what their son will become--a chemist,
a doctor, a newspaper editor, an artist. The choice of
career is his, meeting his individual needs and abilities.
If the child is a girl, however, the parents don't bother
to do much guessing. Individuality becomes irrelevant if
the child is a female, for there seems to be one activity
to which most females are channeled--that of housewife.[65]

Parents' treatment of their children is an important
factor in the creation of sex stereotyping. Comparing the
life of a young boy to that of a young girl, a critical
difference emerges: a girl is treated more protectively.
She is subjected to more restrictions and controls. A boy
receives greater achievement demands and higher expecta-
tions.[66]

Colors serve as announcements to the world of how
the new infant is to be treated. A blue world surrounds
the infant boy; around the baby girl everything is pink--

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[65]N. Frazier and M. Sadker, Sexism in School and
Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 82; citing
S. Bem and D. Bem, "We're All Nonconscious Sexists," in
Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs, ed. D. J. Bem
(Monterey, Ca.: Brooks/Cole, 1970).

[66]Ibid., p. 84.

from ribbons to stuffed animals, to the clothes she
wears.[67,68]

A great deal of "appropriate" sex-role behavior is
learned as the child rummages through the toy box. Toys
are differentiated between the sexes as children begin to
grow. Looking at a trade catalogue of a toy manufacturer,
one observes substantial differences between the toys aimed
at boys and girls.[69,70]

Roles are learned through relatively simple pat-
terns that most of us take for granted. Energetic and
physical activity for boys is encouraged, just as it is
expected that girls are to be quieter and more docile.[71]
Parents evaluate a child's behavior by the criterion of the
sex of the child; thus, boys are allowed, even expected,
to be naughtier than girls. Aggression defines masculinity.
Girls are expected to be soft and emotional.[72]

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[67]Ibid., p. 83.

[68]H. H. Franzwa, "Working Women in Fact and Fiction,"
Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 104.

[69]C. Cannan, "Female From Birth?" The Times Educa-
tion Supplement 2956 (January 14, 1972): 20.

[70]Howe, op. cit., p. 76.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Cannan, loc. cit.

McNeil discussed aggressive responses by school-age children, categorizing them into physical or cognitive manners of expression.[73] Physical expression included fighting, kicking, pushing, throwing stones, bullying, and teasing. Name calling, ridicule, sarcasm, swearing, threats, commands, and criticism were listed as cognitive manners of expression. Developmental studies indicate that as mental age and language competencies increase, overt physical actions as a primary mode of expressing hostility and anger decrease. Girls learn to disguise their anger feelings more rapidly than do boys, using more subtle modes such as gesture and language. Probably the most important variables in effecting this difference between boys and girls are the sex-role expectations as designated by the culture. For example, the admonition given to girls is, "good little girls don't fight."

Feshbach and Feshbach pointed out that the generalization that males are the more aggressive of the two sexes does not hold for all forms of aggressive behavior.[74] Considerable evidence shows that boys are more physically aggressive than girls. The findings are less consistent

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[73]E. B. McNeil, "Patterns of Aggression," in The Psychology of the Elementary School Child, ed. A. R. Binter and S. H. Frey (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 275.

[74]N. Feshbach and S. Feshbach, "Children's Aggression," in The Young Child, ed. W. W. Hartup (Washington, D.C." National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1972), p. 293.

when other forms of aggression are measured. Whereas boys are more likely to hit than are girls, girls are more likely to scold or insult another child.

Differences in play between boys and girls are not merely expected, but actively encouraged. Only very young boys may be allowed to play with their sisters' dolls without ridicule or remonstrance. Rarely are boys given dolls of their own, although stuffed animal toys may be allowed. Girls enjoy playing with toy trucks, cars, and train sets but are rarely given these as gifts.[75]

Older girls particularly are discouraged from participating in physically aggressive activities. The label "tom-boy" is given to those girls who do not conform to the quieter, gentler, less aggressive activities expected of them. Boys are labeled "sissy" if they avoid rough games, or prefer reading or playing the piano.[76]

The common assumption is that children's games are one of the ways in which boys and girls learn appropriate sex-role behavior in their own society. Their perceptions of behavior appropriate to their own sex are reflected in the differences between the games chosen by boys and girls.[77]

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[75]S. Millar, The Psychology of Play (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 194.

[76]Ibid., p. 195.

[77]B. G. Rosenberg and B. Sutton-Smith, "Revised Conception of Masculine-Feminine Differences in Play Activities," The Journal of Genetic Psychology 96 (1960): 165.

Along with imitation of a model, through which a child identifies appropriate sex behaviors, is the direct communication that an activity is specifically for a girl or a boy.[78] Liebert, McCall and Hanratty reported a study on first-grade children investigating toy preferences, whereby they experimentally manipulated the sex-typed information for two groups of toys.[79] After being told that a group of toys was preferred by their own sex and that a second group was preferred by the opposite sex, the children were asked to choose the toys they preferred. The results of the study showed that when children were told which toys their own sex preferred, they matched preferences. Knowledge of what the opposite sex preferred did not influence their preferences. The conclusion drawn from the study indicated that same-sex labels are more effective in influencing toy preference than are opposite-sex labels.

Montemayor attempted to extend the positive relationship found between sex label and choice of toy or task to a behavioral index of performance level.[80] A game that was labeled either sex-appropriate, sex-neutral, or sex-inappropriate was played by children six to eight years old.

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[78]R. Montemayor, "Children's Performance in a Game and Their Attraction to It as a Function of Sex-Typed Labels," Child Development 45 (1974): 152-156.

[79]R. Liebert, R. McCall, and M. Hanratty, "Effects of Sex-Typed Information on Children's Toy Preferences," Journal of Genetic Psychology 119 (1971): 133-136.

[80]Montemayor, loc. cit.

Measures of performance and attractiveness of the game
were obtained. The results of the study indicated perfor-
mance was highest when the game was labeled sex-appropriate,
intermediate when no sex label was given for the game, and
lowest when the game was labeled sex-inappropriate for both
boys and girls. The appropriate and neutral label condi-
tions were similar for attractiveness, and both were higher
than the inappropriate condition.

School as a Sex-Socializing Agency

The social world of the child expands rapidly upon
school entrance.[81] The school has as a principal function
the socialization of youth.[82] This function is to "educate
the young," transmitting certain basic knowledge and skills
of the culture.[83] Schools function to reinforce the sexual
stereotypes that children have been taught by their par-
ents, friends, and the mass culture in which we live.[84,85]
Denzin wrote: "Another function of the schools is

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[81]R. E. Hartley and F. P. Hardestly, "Children's
Perception of Sex Roles in Childhood," The Psychology of the
Elementary School Child, ed. A. R. Binter and S. H. Frey
(Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), pp. 347-348.

[82]Saario, Jacklin, and Tittle, loc. cit.

[83]Elkin, op. cit., p. 57.

[84]Howe, op. cit., p. 77.

[85]Saario, Jacklin, and Tittle, loc. cit.

socialization into age-sex roles. Girls must be taught how to be girls and boys must learn what a boy is."[86]

Gottlieb believed "the major element in the socialization of American children has become the school."[87] According to statistical reports, more and more children are attending school for longer and longer periods of time.

Schools do "make a difference," in that they "remain effective agents of social control, perpetuating the existing class, racial, and sexual divisions in our society."[88] Sexism permeates aspects of the curriculum, classroom organization, the structure of the school, teacher behavior with children, and the extracurricular milieu. Boys and girls are taught lessons in sexual equality throughout their schooling experience. These lessons are overt as well as being more subtle.[89]

Although school is one facet of a child's world that contributes to stereotyping, the messages transmitted to the child in school carry much weight. A large portion

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[86]N. K. Denzin, "Children and Their Caretakers," in Children's Liberation, ed. D. Gottlieb (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 134.

[87]D. Gottlieb, "Children in America: A Demographic Profile and Commentary," in Children's Liberation, ed. D. Gottlieb (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 17.

[88]Levy and Stacey, op. cit., p. 105.

[89]M. Sadker and D. Sadker, "Sexism in Schools: An Issue for the 70's," The Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors 37 (1974): 69.

of a child's life is spent in the classroom, approximately 10,000 hours by the time he graduates from high school.[90,91]

Phil Jackson, in Life in Classrooms, underscored how great an influence, in terms of time, the elementary school actually has:

> Aside from sleeping, and perhaps playing, there is no other activity that occupies as much of the child's time as that involved in attending school. Apart from the bedroom (where he has his eyes closed most of the time) there is no single enclosure in which he spends a longer time than he does in the classroom. From the age of six onward, he is a more familiar sight to his teacher than to his father, and possibly even to his mother.[92]

Frazier and Sadker continued on the elementary school:

> Another remarkable thing about elementary school is that children are forced to be there. Only two other institutions--prisons and mental hospitals-- are so thoroughly compulsory in nature. Of course, this is not to suggest that conditions are similar to those in prisons and mental hospitals. The authors, however, do mean to point out the one factor the three have in common: in each, human beings are forcefully institutionalized.[93]

It is readily apparent that the elementary school is a place where many child-hours are spent. Here children are exposed to a variety of stimuli; they cannot escape from these stimuli, regardless of how much they want to.

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[90]Jacobs and Eaton, loc. cit.

[91]Frazier and Sadker, op. cit., p. 80.

[92]Ibid.; citing Phil Jackson, Life in the Classrooms.

[93]Frazier and Sadker, loc. cit.

Awareness of the symbolism and hidden messages inherent in the structure of the school has been heightened in the last decade by educational reformers and critics. Students learn much more than reading, writing, and arithmetic within the confines of the classroom. Schools function as sorting and classifying mechanisms. Schools foster and amplify such questionable personality traits as passivity, conformity, and dependency. Factors such as curriculum materials, testing materials, programmatically prescribed curricular patterns, teacher behavior, counseling practices, peer group influences, and many other instructional factors convey multiple messages to children.[94]

The standard elementary curriculum contains the element of reading. The child's first contact with school is likely to leave a lasting impression. Since learning to read is the principal task of the early years at school, the contents of the books with which children spend so much time needs attention in regard to sex stereotyping in the schools.

Reading texts convey many subtle messages to the young school child regarding role assignment. Through textbooks children learn about role models and expectations. This is influential in the life planning of pupils and is a major supplement to the children's home experiences.

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[94]Saario, Jacklin, and Tittle, loc. cit.

Most children are exposed to a reading textbook every day.
Even a child who is unable to read will experience in the
classroom group discussion of the stories and other mate-
rial in the texts. Whatever overt and covert messages the
book contains penetrate children's minds early and often,
whether by passive reception or active involvement.[95]

> A study of 144 elementary school textbooks made
> by the New Jersey Chapter of the National Organiza-
> tion for Women (NOW) showed that boys were the focus
> of 881 stories, whereas only 344 of the stories cen-
> tered around girls. Similarly, adult males were
> featured in 282 stories, women in only 127. There
> were 131 biographies of famous men, 23 of women.
> Time after time, the report declared, girls were por-
> trayed as passive, dependent, and incompetent; boys
> as active, self-reliant, and successful.[96]

Similar studies analyzing reading series in terms
of sex stereotyping and career roles have confirmed the
findings of the New Jersey Chapter of the National Organi-
zation for Women. The studies referred to include those
of Britton,[97] the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in
the Public Schools,[98] and one by Women on Words and Images.[99]

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[95]Sex Discrimination in an Elementary Reading Pro-
gram (Lansing: Michigan Women's Commission), p. ix.

[96]J. Hoyt, "Target: Sex Bias in Education," American
Education 10 (1974): 7.

[97]G. E. Britton, "Sex Stereotyping and Career
Roles," Journal of Reading 17 (1973): 140-148.

[98]Sex Discrimination in an Elementary Reading
Program, op. cit.

[99]Dick and Jane as Victims (Princeton, N.J.: Women
on Words and Images, 1972).

Implications from studies analyzing reading series in terms of sex stereotyping and career roles are broad. Role models are used in all societies to encourage self-development of their children as individuals and functioning members of the group. When the role models remain static, however, while society changes, their value as educational devices is lost. Instead they become psychological straightjackets that constrict individual development and preparation for life. Models deliberately building up the self-images of one group at the expense of another become viciously repressive. "If socialization has twin goals, to rear fit individuals as well as individuals who fit, the models presented in school readers can be faulted on both counts."[100]

Women psychologists are drawing attention to the great damage done to both men and women by our narrowly defined role models. In a statement to the American Psychological Association in September 1970, 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 consequence of goal depression in young women--the negative self-image, emotional dependence, drugged or alcoholic escape--are all too common. In addition, both men and women have come to realize the effects on men of this type of sex role stereotyping, the crippling

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[100]Ibid., p. 34.

pressure to compete, to achieve, to produce, to stifle emotion, sensitivity and gentleness, all taking their toll in psychic and physical traumas.[101]

The groundwork for a healthy adjustment to social change has to be laid in childhood. Readers are an important part of the groundwork. Changes in role models and behavior patterns they depict can have a great impact on the changing images children have of themselves. Few but the strong can function under a constant barrage of self-doubt and social disapproval. If we wish our children to avoid the destructive conflicts in social relationships which can be traced to the effects of sex role conditioning with its dehumanizing consequences for men and women alike, then we must begin now to reform the images with which they will form themselves.[102]

An example of overt sex typing is "Alpha One," a new phonics program for kindergarteners and first graders being used in an estimated 8,000 classrooms around the nation.[103] The program is used as a multi-media approach to reading instruction. It seems to teach more about sex roles, however, than it does about phonics. In this program, each letter of the alphabet is given a personality and a gender. The twenty-one consonants are male, known as "the letter boys"; the five vowels are female, each having something wrong with her. The sex-role message

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[101]Ibid., citing from printed "Statement, Resolutions, and Motions," presented by the Association of Women Psychologists to the American Psychological Association at its convention in Miami, Florida, September 1970.

[102]Dick and Jane as Victims, op. cit., p. 36.

[103]A. Kerins, "Vowels Are Seeking Lbrtn Frm th Cnsnnts," Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools (New York Chapter of the National Organization of Women, 1972), p. 21; cited by B. Levy and J. Stacey in "Sexism in the Elementary School: A Backward and Forward Look," Phi Delta Kappan, October 1973, p. 105.

portrayed through this language arts program could hardly be more harmful.

Aside from readers, math books, science books, and social studies texts continue the sex-stereotyping tradition. Especially in social studies texts, opportunities for sexism are enormous with such themes as the family, community helpers, and work.[104]

Not only do textbooks make for the perpetuation of sex-role stereotyping, but teachers also play an important part. Teachers tend to rate girls as more responsible than boys, but see the boys as possessing more leadership qualities.[105]

A study in which junior high school teachers were asked to select adjectives they felt described male and female students indicated the expectations teachers hold for boys and girls.[106] The following lists form a partial catalogue of sex stereotypes. Through a multitude of nonverbal ways, teachers transmit these sex-typed expectations to their pupils.

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[104] Levy and Stacey, op. cit., p. 106.

[105] U. Bronfenbrenner, "The Changing American Child--A Speculative Analysis," in Exploring Human Development, ed. H. W. Bernard & W. C. Huckins (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1972), p. 328.

[106] B. J. Kremer, "The Adjective Check List as an Indicator of Teachers' Stereotypes of Students" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1965), p. 64.

Adjectives Describing Female Students		Adjectives Describing Male Students	
appreciative	emotional	active	energetic
excitable	sensitive	adventurous	enterprising
cooperative	dependable	aggressive	loud
changeable	efficient	curious	independent
reliable	thorough	determined	inventive
		healthy	awkward

The phenomenon demonstrated by Rosenthal and Jacobson that one person's expectations can influence another's behavior is often referred to as the self-fulfilling prophesy.[107] It has a substantial effect on the development of children.[108]

Other messages are conveyed in a less subtle fashion. Studies by educational researchers examining the language of the classroom to determine the nature of verbal interaction have revealed that teachers speak to boys and girls in different ways. Boys receive more disapproval than girls. They receive eight to ten times more control messages--comments like "stop talking" or "listen to the instructions." Teachers are more likely to use harsh or angry tones when criticizing boys than when criticizing girls.[109,110]

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[107]R. Rosenthal and L. Jacobson, Pygmalion in the Classroom (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

[108]L. R. White, "Sex Role Stereotypes," Nonsexist Education for Survival (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1973), p. 5.

[109]Sadker and Sadker, op. cit., p. 70.

[110]Levy and Stacey, op. cit., p. 107.

Another classroom interaction pattern is that teachers talk to boys more about the subject matter and listen more to what they say. In short, boys receive more of the teacher's attention than do girls.[111]

Aside from the formal elementary curriculum and teacher behavior, which sexism permeates, other mechanisms of sex-role reinforcement include segregated classes and activities. Physical education and playground activities are frequently segregated. Certain activities, such as cooking and sewing, are encouraged primarily for girls; other activities, such as wood work and mechanical work, are encouraged for boys. In instrumental music, girls are encouraged to play the violin and flute, while percussion and brass are perceived as masculine. Assigned duties or jobs also teach sex roles: "Girls water the plants; boys move the chairs."[112]

Another way messages of sexual inequity or lessons about the inferior status of women in this society are transmitted to students is through the staffing patterns prevalent in the schools. Only five or six school districts have female school superintendents, despite the fact that the vast majority of teachers are women. A limited number of

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[111]P. Sears and D. Feldman, "Teacher Interaction With Boys and Girls," The National Elementary Principal, November 1966, pp. 30-37.

[112]Levy and Stacey, loc. cit.

senior and junior high schools are headed by women prin-
cipals.[113,114]

Statistics regarding women in the educational pro-
fession reveal that "three-fifths of the women professional
workers are teachers." Their participation in administra-
tive and supervisory positions is not representative of the
numbers of women in the profession.[115]

A national survey taken in 1970-71 revealed that
although 67 percent of all public school teachers were
women, only 15 percent of principals and .6 percent of
superintendents were female. The women administrators were
concentrated mostly in the elementary schools: 19 percent
elementary principals and 34 percent elementary assistant
principals. Only 3.5 percent of the junior high and 3 per-
cent of the senior high principals were women. At the
district level, the national picture is even more dismal.
There were only a few women superintendents, and just 7 per-
cent of the deputy, associate, or assistant superintendents
were women.[116]

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[113]S. Martinez, "Sexism in Public Education: Litiga-
tion Issues," Inequality in Education 18 (1974): 10.

[114]S. S. Taylor, "Women in Education," 51% Minority
Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women (Washington,
D.C.: National Education Association, August 1972), p. 66;
citing National Education Association, "Estimates of School
Statistics, 1971-72," Research Report 1971-R13.

[115]"Fact Bombardment," The Awareness Game 6 (1973): 30.

[116]C. D. Lyon and T. N. Saario, "Women in Public
Education: Sexual Discrimination in Promotion," Phi Delta
Kappan, October 1973, p. 120.

Because education has traditionally been character-
ized as a "woman's field," public awareness of discrimina-
tion against women within education has been slow to
emerge.[117] Thus, through staffing practices as well as
interaction patterns and teacher expectations, schools con-
tinually send messages to children that help prepare them
to assume sex stereotypes and perpetuate a society based on
sexual inequality.[118]

Mass Communication as a Sex-Socializing Agency

A relatively recent development and a significant
socialization agency, although interpersonal interaction
is not directly involved, is the mass communication media.
These media include the press, radio, magazines, comic
booklets, movies, television, and other means of communi-
cation.

The mass media function to give the child a wider
range of role-taking models than he ordinarily finds in
his family, neighborhood, and school.[119] Movie and tele-
vision stars can become strong objects of identification.
The socialization derived from the mass media generally is
incidental, since the child employs it for immediate

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[117]Ibid.

[118]Sadker and Sadker, op. cit., p. 71.

[119]Elkin, op. cit., p. 73.

gratification and not to learn the patterns of society. Of particular significance in socialization are only those situations and models that are used imaginatively or directly in interaction situations.[120]

Feminists do not accept Elkin's idea that socialization through the mass media is incidental. Courtney and Lockeretz analyzed women's depictions in advertisements in eight national U.S. magazines. The conclusions indicated that magazine advertisements portray women in very limited roles. Implications made by print advertisements included: (1) woman's place is in the home, (2) women do not make important decisions or do important things, and (3) women are dependent upon men and are regarded primarily as sexual objects.[121] These findings were corroborated by the results of four studies conducted in three U.S. cities to analyze the roles of women as portrayed in television commercials.[122] The data provided evidence that women are not portrayed as autonomous, independent human beings. Comparative analysis verified that men and women are

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[120]Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[121]A. E. Courtney and S. W. Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (1971): 92-105.

[122]A. E. Courtney and T. W. Whipple, "Women in TV Commercials," Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 110-118.

presented differently in advertising and that each sex is still shown in traditional roles.

Sexism characterizes regular television programming for children as well as for adults. This is of great concern, since children often spend as much time watching television as they do in school.[123]

Tedesco reported on a subset of data collected from 1969 through 1972 as part of an ongoing project called Cultural Indicators, which studied the message system of prime-time network dramatic television programming and what these messages cultivate in viewers. The most noticeable finding regarding the major characters who populated the world of noncartoon, prime-time network dramatic television was the continued underrepresentation of women.[124]

> This analysis of major non-cartoon television characters has revealed that males are generally active and independent. They are more mature, more serious, and more likely to be employed than females. Males have adventures and get into violent situations. They are powerful and smart, and their independence requires that they be relatively unattached (not married) and thus able to take risks. Females, on the other hand, are presented as lacking independence. They are not usually found in adventure situations; they are younger, more likely to be married, and less likely to be employed.[125]

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[123]Levy and Stacey, loc. cit.

[124]N. S. Tedesco, "Patterns in Prime Time," _Journal of Communication_ 24 (1974): 124.

[125]Ibid., p. 122.

In contrast to the major noncartoon characters populating the world of television, Streicher said of stereotyping displayed in cartoons:

> In general, cartoon females were less numerous than males, made fewer appearances, had fewer lines, played fewer "lead roles," were less active, occupied many fewer positions of responsibility, were less noisy, and were more preponderantly juvenile than males. In many activities in which girls showed some form of skill (e.g., cheerleading), their performance was duplicated by a dog or other pet. . . .[126]

The perpetuation of stereotypy itself by the producers of cartoons and commercials seems to be most important at this point.[127]

Occupational Stereotyping

A 1973 study by Beuf on sex-role perception of children born since the Women's Liberation Movement showed there has been little change.[128] The sample included thirty-seven boys and twenty-six girls between the ages of three and six. A twenty to twenty-five minute individual interview was held, during which the interviewer asked specific questions regarding parents' occupations and about television viewing habits while engaged in conversation about the child's interests, school activities, and family. Each child was asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up?"

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[126]H. W. Streicher, "The Girls in the Cartoons," Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 127.

[127]Ibid., p. 129.

[128]A. Beuf, "Doctor, Lawyer, Household Drudge," Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 142-145.

Then each child was asked, "If you were a boy (girl), what would you be when you grow up?"

The children also played a game called "the O.K. picture game." The object of the game was to see whether a picture was "O.K." or not. Among several "dummy" pictures were three pictures that reversed traditional sex roles: a father feeding a baby, a man pouring coffee for a woman, a female telephone line repairperson.

A strong relationship was noted between sex and career aspiration both for own-sex and projected "other-sex" conditions. This indicated the extent to which the children had observed and properly grasped the role structure of our society. Boys seized upon rather adventurous types of careers; policeman, sports superstar, and cowboy were the most popular. Girls showed a preference for quieter pastimes. Nursing rated high as a choice occupation here, and was the occupation most selected by boys as what they would do if they were females. The girls' favorite ooposite-sex ambition was to be a doctor.

Both sexes had a tendency to stereotype aspirations, even though the actual jobs differed by sex. Stereotypical careers were chosen by over 70 percent of the boys and 73 percent of the girls. Responding to the "what if you were a boy (girl)" questions, 65 percent of the boys and 73 percent of the girls selected careers that are societally labeled appropriate for their sex.

An interesting trend in the children's behavior with regard to the same question is that girls had an answer to the question, whereas boys did not. This behavior tends to indicate girls think about what it would be like to be a boy, what they would do as adults if they were boys. Boys, on the other hand, often regarded the interviewer suspiciously out of the corners of their eyes, or with open, outright astonishment. This behavior in boys might indicate they do not think about what it would be like to be a girl, or what they would do as adults if they were girls. Even when presented with the question some did not want to think about it. A regular response was, "That's a weird question, you know."

This study further revealed that television viewing is related to career choice. Moderate viewers appeared to exert a wider range of choice in career selection than did the heavy viewers. Seventy-six percent of the viewers selected stereotyped careers for themselves, as compared with 50 percent of the moderate viewers.

Sex stereotyping increased on the responses to the O.K. picture game as the move from child-care to husband-wife to occupation roles was made. Fourteen percent of the children said it was "not O.K." for the father to feed the baby; 20 percent believed that it was "not O.K." for the man to be preparing the meal for the seated woman, and

49 percent thought the female telephone repairperson was "not O.K."

These data indicate that although the Women's Liberation Movement has attracted much attention, children are still learning about a role structure that is sex typed, especially in the occupational sphere. The findings also reveal that young children, four and five years of age, hold the same kinds of stereotypes about careers that American society as a whole has, as noted by sociologists and Movement women. Preschool children, in addition to knowing their sex, seemingly know the social implications and limitations of that sexual definition.

Another study, an exploratory investigation of the development of children's concepts of adults' sex-based social roles, with the major emphasis on women's roles, was conducted by Hartley.[129] One part of the study involved a measure, the Role Distribution Technique, in which children were to tell who usually performed each of the 150 different activities, covering aspects of social and family living. Results indicated that children clearly differentiated one group of items, which they assigned to men; another group, which they assigned to women; and a third group, which they perceived as belonging equally to

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[129] R. E. Hartley, "Current Patterns in Sex Roles: Children's Perspectives," National Association of Women Deans and Counselors 25 (1961): 3-13.

both sexes. Although the children did not agree equally on all items, no single individual had difficulty in making these judgments. It was apparent these boys and girls knew pretty well what sorts of tasks they could look forward to as men and women. They also had a set of clear-cut expectations regarding the opposite sex.

Children learn quite early what roles society expects of them. Indications of this have resulted from studies of children's vocational aspirations. Looft, in 1971, inquired of first and second graders, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" The girls mentioned a total of eight different occupations, all sex typed, the most common being nurse and teacher. The boys' list totaled eighteen different occupations, from doctor, to astronaut, to football player. The children were then questioned, "What do you think you really will do when you grow up?" with the interesting result of often-changed answers. Many of the girls changed occupations to housewife and mother, or else downshifted their choices; for example, one girl who had said whe wanted to be a doctor changed to "store lady."[130]

In another study, Iglitzin found that fifth-grade children saw most jobs and their own aspirations as being defined by sex. A series of questions was designed to show

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[130]W. R. Looft, "Sex Differences in the Expression of Vocational Aspirations by Elementary School Children," Developmental Psychology, September 1971, pp. 366+.

sex stereotyping based on views of career and employment patterns, social roles in home and family, and the child's view of his future life. Both boys and girls revealed sex stereotyping as measured by the response "men" or "women" rather than "either" or "both" to the questions. It was found that the proportion of girls who had non-stereotyped responses in all categories was significantly higher than the proportion of boys making such responses.[131]

Summary

A review of literature and research related to sex-role stereotyping of occupations was presented in this chapter. The review emphasized two major areas of relevance to the present research. First, the socialization process of an individual was examined, with specific references to culture and socialization, the beginning of socialization, identification and maturation as they relate to socialization, and play and age in relation to socialization.

In the second part of the chapter, sex-role socialization and sex-role stereotyping were examined. Stereotype was defined; the effects of sex-role stereotyping, the three agencies contributing to the sex-role socialization

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[131]L. B. Iglitzin, "A Child's-Eye View of Sex Roles," Today's Education 9 (1972): 23-25.

of the individual, and occupational stereotyping were presented and discussed.

In the following chapter, the description of the sample, the methodology, the development of the instrument, the design of the research, testable hypotheses, and the pilot study are discussed.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In this chapter, the description of the sample, the methodology, the development of the instrument, the design of the research, testable hypotheses, and the pilot study are discussed.

Sample

Three school districts were selected for the study, each representative of the location factor in the research: rural, suburban, and central city. The settings are in south-central Michigan.

The school district representing the rural location factor encompasses approximately 123 square miles.[1] The school system includes one senior high school (9-12), a middle school (6-8), two elementary schools (K-5), and one K-3 elementary school. The total school population, K-12, is 2,102.[2] All levels of socioeconomic status are represented in the school population. Minority students comprise less than 1 percent of the school population.

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[1]Interview with Assistant Superintendent of school district, February 20, 1975.

[2]Michigan Education Directory and Buyer's Guide (Lansing: Michigan Education Directory, 1974-1975), p. 180.

The school district representative of the suburban location factor is eighteen square miles.[3] The district is considered a residential suburban area within short commuting time of business, industrial, and cultural centers of a central city. The school system includes one senior high school (10-12), two junior high schools (8-9, 6-7), and five elementary schools (K-5). The total school population is 4,489.[4] All socio-economic levels are represented. The school population includes 5.85 percent minorities.[5]

The school district representing the central city location factor encompasses an area of fifty-five square miles.[6] The central city is composed of a multi-ethnic population with industrial, business, and cultural centers. The school system includes four senior high schools (10-12), five junior high schools (7-9), and forty-seven elementary schools (K-6). The total school population is 29,702.[7] All socioeconomic levels are represented. Twenty-six percent of

[3]Descriptive Statistics, Board of Administration of school district.

[4]Michigan Education Directory and Buyer's Guide, op. cit., p. 173.

[5]School District Student Services Office, information obtained through the Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey, Fall 1974.

[6]Descriptive Statistics, Board of Administration of school district.

[7]Michigan Education Directory and Buyer's Guide, op. cit., p. 172.

the students are classified as minority students. Integration is accomplished through the cluster program in the elementary schools. A cluster, consisting of four schools, combines two schools with a majority of students being of minority representation with two nearly all-white schools.

In each of the three locations, a sufficient number of schools was randomly selected so that each of the sample populations would include a similar number of students. Two schools were used in the rural school district, three schools in the suburban district, and three in the central city district. The total population for this study included between eight and nine hundred students (K-6) at each of the location factors.

A stratified random sample was used to generate groups containing an equal number of boys and girls at the ages of six, eight, and ten years. The total number in the sample was 270 children. Fifteen boys and fifteen girls were included at each of the age levels: six, eight, and ten years; and at each of the location factors: rural, suburban, and central city.

Permission was granted by the schools and parents of sample children to participate in the study. In a small number of cases in which letters were not returned or permission was not granted, replacements for the children were randomly selected.

Methodology

Personal interviews were used as the data-gathering method for the study. An instrument was developed that used photographs of occupational roles to minimize the amount of verbal description by the interviewer. The instrument measured the occupational role perceptions of elementary school children.

The researcher conducted all interviews in January and February, 1975. The time involved in each individual interview was three to four minutes. One day was designated for each school so that interviews could be completed within the day, thus avoiding any home communication among children from the same family. Interviews with all children from the same classroom were conducted within one period of time, to avoid any communication among the children regarding the nature of the interview. All interviews took place on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays.

Development of the Instrument

The instrument measuring the occupational role perceptions of elementary school children using pictures was based on Taylor's rationale:

> The use of pictures . . . has at least three distinct
> advantages: (a) all school children are accustomed
> to hearing stories based on pictures, (b) pictures

help to hold the attention of children, and (c) . . pictures provide an objective method of scoring.[8]

In addition, the pictures as used in the instrument eliminated the need for a child to read.

In developing the instrument, fifteen occupations were selected on the general preconceived idea that each was either a male or a female occupational role. As a validation procedure, seventy-eight adult graduate students were used as a try-out group to determine if they agreed about how each of the occupations is stereotyped in society. The results, shown in Table 3.1, indicated strong agreement on how the roles are normally stereotyped. Therefore, all fifteen occupations were included in the instrument measure.

A black and white photograph was made portraying the setting of each occupation. The photographs did not include any person(s) in the settings with the exception of the kindergarten classroom. The kindergarten scene included children involved in various activities; however, the teacher figure was not present. Thus, the child was not influenced by the presence of an adult in the photographic setting.

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[8]R. G. Taylor, Jr., "Racial Stereotypes in Young Children," in The Psychology of the Elementary School Child, ed. R. Binter and S. H. Frey (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 257.

Table 3.1.--Occupations, roles, and validation results of
role stereotyping by seventy-eight graduate students.

Occupation	Role	Results
Gas station attendant	male	100%
Nurse	female	100%
Farmer	male	100%
Kindergarten teacher	female	99%
Executive	male	99%
Secretary	female	99%
Waitress	female	97%
Truck driver	male	97%
Fireman	male	96%
Telephone operator	female	96%
Garbage collector	male	95%
Homemaker	female	94%
Minister	male	94%
Dentist	male	92%
Doctor	male	85%

To avoid any ambiguity about the identification of
the photographic settings, thirty children, ten children
at each age level of six, eight, and ten years, were asked
to identify the photograph by answering the question,
"What is this a picture of?" Verbal clues and comments
were noted for use in writing the verbal description of
the occupational role to be used in the interview.

For each occupational setting, an accompanying photographic silhouette pose of a male and a female model was used. The silhouettes were partially lighted, above-the-waist photographs. The same female and male models in different poses were used for the fifteen occupations, with appropriate attire for each occupation represented.

The same thirty children used in identifying the photographic occupational settings were asked to identify the male and the female in each silhouette pair. This was done to insure that the photographs of men and women were recognized as such by the children.

Each 8" x 10" photograph of the occupational setting was mounted on an 11" x 13" heavy-weight poster board. The individual cards were placed in a spiral-type book, allowing the card pages to be turned easily. The 3" x 5" silhouette photographs were mounted on poster board of the same size. Paired silhouette photographs were labeled to correspond to the appropriate occupational setting. These were placed in a file box.

The introduction and the verbal descriptive statements for each occupational setting were included on the individual score sheets.

The interview began with the interviewer reading the introduction to the child. Following the introduction, each child was shown the occupational settings and asked to

point to the person or persons who would work at that occu-
pation.

The instrument was designed to compare the per-
ceptions of each individual to the traditional stereotypic
views. The measure had three choices--male, female, or
both--for each occupation. Responses were scored according
to the traditional views of the occupational roles as
obtained by the validation procedure. Responses were given
a score of "1" and "0." A stereotypic response received a
score of "1"; a response of either the opposite sex choice
of the stereotypic answer or the answer "both" received a
score of "0." The score can be interpreted as degree of
stereotyping--the higher the score, the more stereotyped
the subject.

To determine the internal consistency reliability
in the instrument measure, Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha
Formula[9] was employed. This formula is as follows:

$$r_{xx} = \frac{K}{K-1} \left(1 - \frac{\Sigma \sigma_1^2}{\sigma_x^2}\right)$$

where

r_{xx} = reliability
K = number of items
σ_1^2 = item variances
Σ = sum of
σ_w^2 = total test variance

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[9]L. J. Cronbach, "Coefficient Alpha and the Internal
Structure of Tests," Psychometrika 16 (1951): 297-334.

The Coefficient Alpha formula is a generalization of the Kuder-Richardson formula, KR-20. Using this formula the instrument generated a reliability of .70. A reliability of approximately .75 is considered sufficient in a measure classified as an attitude scale.[10]

Design

The three-way analysis of variance was used for the statistical analysis of the research data. Table 3.2 illustrates the design of the study.

Testable Hypotheses

The purpose of this study was to analyze elementary children's perceptions of sex-role stereotyping of occupations as they vary with location, age, and gender.

The following null hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant difference among the responses of the six year old, eight year old, and ten year old children in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference between the responses of boys and the responses of girls in relating their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

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[10]W. A. Mehrens and I. J. Lehmann, Measurement and Evaluation in Education and Psychology (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 570.

Table 3.2.--Design of the study.

Location	Age	Gender	
Rural	6	boys	S_n
		girls	S_n
	8	boys	
		girls	
	10	boys	
		girls	
Suburban	6	boys	
		girls	
	8	boys	
		girls	
	10	boys	
		girls	
Central City	6	boys	
		girls	
	8	boys	
		girls	
	10	boys	
		girls	S_n

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference among children from rural, suburban, and central city schools in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to eliminate ambiguity in the language and to standardize procedures for administering the test. An initial indication of reliability of the instrument was also sought. An opportunity to familiarize the researcher with the actual administration procedure of the instrument was provided.

The pilot study was completed in two locations, rural and suburban. Thirty children in an elementary school at each location were randomly selected--five boys and five girls at each of the age levels: six, eight, and ten years. In total, sixty children were interviewed.

The pilot study established the reliability of the instrument, thus eliminating any need for alteration. A summary of the results of the pilot study is found in Table 3.3.

Summary

In this chapter, the design of the study was presented and discussed. The sampled population included three school districts, each representative of the location factor: rural, suburban, and central city. A stratified

random sample was taken to generate groups of fifteen boys and fifteen girls at the ages of six, eight, and ten years, at each location. The total number in the sample was 270 children.

Table 3.3.--Analysis of pilot data.

Source of Variation	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	F	P less than
Location	.600	1	.0796	.78
Age	61.1167	2	8.1039	.001
Gender	4.2667	1	.5657	.46
L x A	13.8500	2	1.8365	.17
L x G	.0667	1	.0088	.93
A x G	21.0167	2	2.7867	.07
L x A x G	1.2167	2	.1613	.85
R: L A G	7.5417	48		

The interview method, using an instrument in which photographs played the significant part, was selected to measure children's occupational role perceptions. The measure, including fifteen occupations that are stereotyped by society in general, compared the individual to the traditional views of stereotypeness.

The three-way analysis of variance was used for the statistical analysis of the research data. The testable

hypotheses were presented. Results of the pilot study indicated the reliability of the instrument was acceptable, eliminating any need for alteration of the instrument.

In Chapter IV, an analysis and discussion of the research data is presented.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF

RESEARCH DATA

The purpose of this chapter is to present, analyze, and discuss the data relevant to each hypothesis. The three-way analysis of variance was the method employed to analyze the data.

A sample of 270 children was used. Three factors relevant to the study included location, age, and gender. Fifteen boys and fifteen girls were randomly selected at each of the age levels: six, eight, and ten years; at each location: rural, suburban, and central city.

All findings are based on interviews employing the measurement instrument, which used photographs. The results of the analysis of the research data are presented in Table 4.1.

The following hypotheses, stated in null terms, were tested:

Hypothesis 1   There is no significant difference among the responses of the six year old, eight year old, and ten year old children in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Table 4.1.--Analysis of research data.

Source of Variation	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	F	P less than
Location	23.1593	2	2.5325	.08
Age	12.5815	2	1.3758	.25
Gender	8.8926	1	.9724	.33
L x A	3.0426	4	.3327	.86
L x G	10.6037	2	1.1595	.32
A x G	4.6259	2	.5058	.60
L x A x G	8.6537	4	.9463	.44
R: L A G	9.144974	252		

In Table 4.1, the analysis of the data reveals an F score of 1.3758 was obtained for the age factor. This score was not significant; therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The degree of stereotyping was high among all the subjects. Children at these ages were seeing most occupations as either a masculine role or a feminine role, according to traditional views.

In Table 4.2, a comparison of the observed combined means scores for the age factor is shown. The six year olds had a combined means score of 12.03; the eight year olds, a score of 11.60; and the ten year olds had a score of 11.29.

Table 4.2.--A comparison of the observed combined means
scores for the age factor.

Age	Combined Means Score
6 year olds	12.03
8 year olds	11.60
10 year olds	11.29

As shown in Table 4.3, most children appeared to
be conservative in their thinking, following closely
society's expectations of occupational roles for men and
women. Except in a few cases, boys and girls tended to
make similar kinds of role judgments.

Looking at specific occupations, the least stereo-
typed occupation was that of waitress, with a total of
seventy-four boys and seventy-three girls responding to it
as a female role. The occupation of dentist followed
closely; it was perceived as a male role by eighty-two
boys and eighty girls (refer to Table 4.4).

Table 4.4.--Least stereotyped occupations.

Occupation	No. Boys Selecting Stereotypic Role	No. Girls Selecting Stereotypic Role
Waitress	74	73
Dentist	82	80

Table 4.3.--Responses to occupational roles.

Occupation	Role	No. Boys Selecting Stereotypic Role	No. Boys Selecting Nonstereo- typic Role	No. Girls Selecting Stereotypic Role	No. Girls Selecting Nonstereo- typic Role
Gas Station Attendant	M	105	30	97	38
Nurse	F	119	16	118	17
Farmer	M	102	33	102	33
Kindergarten Teacher	F	102	33	97	38
Executive	M	108	27	88	47
Secretary	F	100	35	95	40
Waitress	F	74	61	73	62
Truck Driver	M	125	10	127	8
Fire Fighter	M	128	7	129	6
Telephone Operator	F	86	49	102	33
Garbage Collector	M	121	14	115	20
Homemaker	F	119	16	124	11
Minister	M	120	15	115	20
Dentist	M	82	53	80	55
Doctor	M	107	28	93	42

The most stereotyped occupations were fire fighter, truck driver, nurse, garbage collector, minister, and home-maker, as shown in Table 4.5. For the fire fighter, 128 boys and 129 girls responded to it as a male role. The truck driver received responses as a male role from 125 boys and 127 girls; the nurse as a female role by 119 boys and 118 girls; 121 boys and 115 girls said a garbage collector was a male; 120 boys and 115 girls viewed a minister as a male; and the homemaker was seen as a female role by 119 boys and 124 girls.

Table 4.5.--Most stereotyped occupations.

Occupation	No. Boys Selecting Stereotypic Role	No. Girls Selecting Stereotypic Role
Fire Fighter	128	129
Truck Driver	125	127
Nurse	119	118
Garbage Collector	121	115
Minister	120	115
Homemaker	119	124

The role of the kindergarten teacher as a female was stereotyped more by the six year olds; the eight and ten year olds were more open in their views, accepting both male and female for the kindergarten teacher, as seen in Table 4.6.

Most of the children viewing the kindergarten teacher as either male or female were in schools that had some male upper elementary teachers.

Table 4.6.--Number of subjects according to ages viewing the kindergarten teacher role.

Age	Male Role	Female Role	Both
6 year olds	4	78	8
8 year olds	0	63	27
10 year olds	1	57	32

Several isolated voluntary remarks contrary to the general conservative thinking were noted during the interviews. An eight year old boy said, "A woman can do it but I heard that sometimes a man can be a nurse." A ten year old girl made the choice of "both" for all the occupations, remarking at the end, "I see a lot of TV and there's a lot about Women's Lib on it. My sister's for that. My sister's about twenty years old." A ten year old boy, when asked to choose the gas station attendant, said, "They both can work in a gas station because I heard about Women's Lib."

Another ten year old girl was extremely hesitant before making her choices. She made several remarks that indicated possibly a thought process was involved to a greater degree than by most of the children. For instance,

for the farmer she said, "Well, I think both could do it if
the lady was strong enough." For the executive, the answer
was, "I think the lady could do it if she was trained for
it." "Anybody could do it who can drive" was the remark
made for the truck driver. In conclusion, she said, "I think
a woman could do anything a man can do."

It is interesting that in the pilot a significant
difference was observed for age (refer to Table 3.3). Reasons
for the inconsistency of the findings in the pilot and the
study may be one or a combination of the following: (a) The
greatest number of the ten year old children came from one
classroom. The teacher's influence in the classroom regarding
sex-role awareness and transmission of this to the children
either consciously or unconsciously may be much greater than
the average teacher's. (b) Because the P was at the .05 level
of significance, the results fell to chance. One considera-
tion in dealing with inferential statistics is that the null
hypothesis can never be rejected with 100 percent certainty.
There is always some error, however small. The probability
level (α alpha) selected for rejecting the null hypothesis
indicates how much risk of being wrong the researcher is
willing to take.

Hypothesis 2   There is no significant difference between the
                responses of boys and the responses of girls
                in relating their acceptance of occupational
                roles for men and for women.

Referring to Table 4.1, an F score of .9724 was observed for the gender factor. This score is not significant. Both boys and girls perceived occupational roles for both men and women closely to the traditional stereotypic views.

In analyzing the combined means scores (Table 4.7), the boys combined means score of 11.82 is slightly higher than the girls' score of 11.46. The difference, however, is not significant; therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected. This is in agreement with the pilot data results.

Table 4.7.--A comparison of the observed combined means scores for the gender factor.

Gender	Combined Means Score
Boys	11.82
Girls	11.46

Further examination of the data indicated a greater variation in the individual group means scores of the boys, shown in Table 4.8, than of the girls, Table 4.9. The range of variation is 3.40 in the boys' mean scores; ranging from a mean score of 9.87 for the suburban ten year olds, to a score of 13.27, the mean of the rural six year old boys. In comprison, the girls' mean scores ranged from 10.73 to 11.93, a variation of 1.20.

Table 4.8.--A comparison of the mean scores for boys.

Location	6 Year Olds	8 Year Olds	10 Year Olds
Rural	13.27	11.53	11.80
Suburban	10.73	12.00	9.87
Central City	12.80	12.40	12.00

Table 4.9.--A comparison of the mean scores for girls.

Location	6 Year Olds	8 Year Olds	10 Year Olds
Rural	11.93	11.80	11.40
Suburban	11.93	10.73	11.07
Central City	11.53	11.13	11.60

The six year old boys varied the most within age groups with mean scores of 10.73 (suburban), 12.80 (central city), and 13.27 (rural); the eight year old boys varied the least with mean scores of 11.53 (rural), 12.00 (suburban), and 12.40 (central city).

Of the girls' mean scores, the suburban eight year old girls were the most open in acceptance of occupational roles for both men and women. The mean score was 10.73. The rural and suburban six year old girls stereotyped to the greatest degree, each having a mean score of 11.93, followed closely by the eight year old suburban girls with a mean score of 11.80.

The occupations that had the greatest difference between the number of boys and the number of girls viewing them as the traditional role were executive, telephone operator, and doctor. As shown in Table 4.10, the number of boys who viewed the executive as a male was 108 as compared with 88 girls; 86 boys chose the telephone operator to be female, whereas 102 girls chose the female role for the telephone operator; and 107 boys chose a male doctor as compared to 93 girls.

Table 4.10.--Occupations with the greatest difference between boys' and girls' stereotypic responses.

Occupation	Boys	Girls
Executive	108	88
Telephone Operator	86	102
Doctor	107	93

Since the occupations of executive and doctor were stereotyped less by the girls, it may indicate the girls desired such professional roles for themselves, professions that require more education and training.

In Table 4.11 are shown six of the fifteen occupations that had the least difference, varying from zero to two, between the number of boys and of girls making similar kinds of role judgments. These included the occupations of

nurse, farmer, waitress, truck driver, fire fighter, and
dentist.

Table 4.11.--Occupations with the least difference between
boys' and girls' stereotypic responses.

Occupation	Boys	Girls
Nurse	119	118
Farmer	102	102
Waitress	74	73
Truck Driver	125	127
Fire Fighter	128	129
Dentist	82	80

Hypothesis 3   There is no significant difference among chil-
dren from rural, suburban, and central city
schools in their acceptance of occupational
roles for men and for women.

In Table 4.1, the results for the location factor
showed an F score of 2.5325. This score is not significant.
Children living in rural, suburban, and central city loca-
tions followed the traditional stereotypic views of accept-
ing occupational roles for both men and women. The rural
group had the highest combined means score, 11.96; the central
city combined means score was 11.91, followed by the suburban
group having the lowest score, 11.06, as seen in Table 4.12.

The difference is not significant; therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected. In the pilot data results, the findings were similar.

Table 4.12.--A comparison of the observed combined means scores for the location factor.

Location	Combined Means Score
Rural	11.96
Suburban	11.06
Central City	11.91

Interaction of Variables

The data were analyzed for the interaction of the variables. The variables tested for interactions included age by gender, location by gender, location by age, and location by age by gender (Figures 1 through 4). The analysis indicated some differences in each interaction; however, no specific kinds of differences were revealed. The differences were not significant in any case.
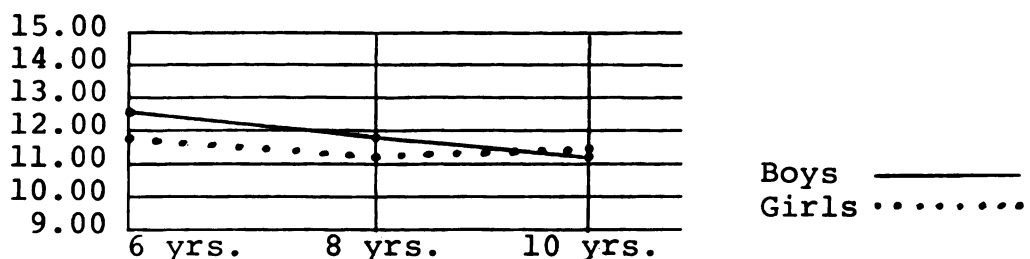
Figure 1.--Interaction of variables age by gender.
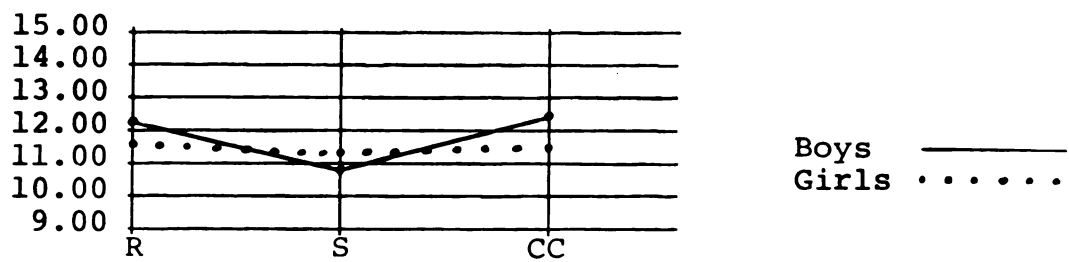
Figure 2.--Interaction of variables location by gender.
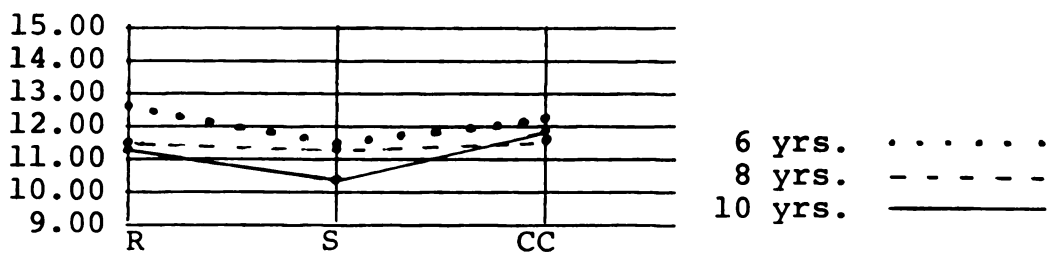
Figure 3.--Interaction of variables location by age.
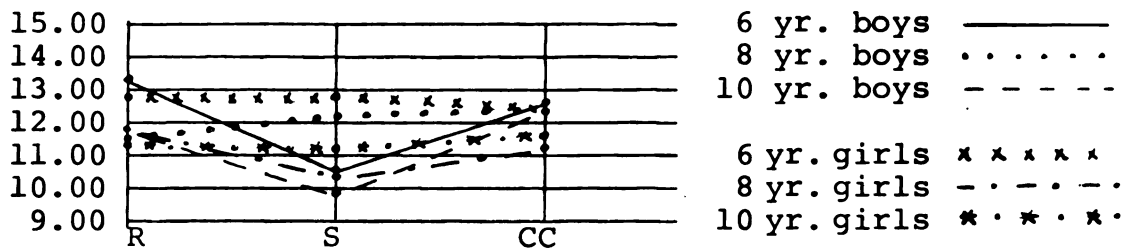
Figure 4.--Interaction of variables location by age
by gender.

Summary

In this chapter the analysis of data was presented. Obtained results for each of the three hypotheses of interest were presented. No significant differences were found in the responses of the children regarding their acceptance of

occupational roles for men and women. The three factors included location, age, and gender.

In the final chapter, Chapter V, the summary and conclusions are presented.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A brief summary of the study is presented at the
beginning of this chapter, followed by the conclusions,
implications of the study, and suggestions for further
research.

Summary

The subject of this research was children's percep-
tions of occupational roles that are traditionally stereotyped
by society. Specifically, the differences among the views of
children as they varied with age, gender, and location regard-
ing their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for
women were explored.

The sampled population for the study included three
school districts, each representative of the location factor:
rural, suburban, and central city. A stratified random
sample was taken to generate groups of fifteen boys and fif-
teen girls at the ages of six, eight, and ten years, at each
of the locations: rural, suburban, and central city. The
total number in the sample was 270 children.

The individual interview, using an instrument in
which photographs played a significant part, was the method

selected to measure the occupational role perceptions of the children. The measure, including fifteen occupations that are stereotyped by society in general, compared each subject to the traditional views of stereotypeness. For each occupation, the response could be one of three choices: male, female, or both. A stereotypic response received a score of "1"; a response of either the opposite sex choice of the stereotypic answer or the response "both" received a score of "0." Interpretation of the score resulted in degree of stereotyping; the higher the score the more stereo- typed the subject.

The purpose of the study was to analyze elementary children's perceptions of sex-role stereotyping of occupa- tions as they varied with age, gender, and location. The testable hypotheses were:

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant difference among the responses of the six year old, eight year old, and ten year old children in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference between the responses of boys and the responses of girls in relating their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference among children from rural, suburban, and central city schools

in their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

The three-way analysis of variance used for the statistical analysis of the data revealed no significant differences among the factors of age, gender, and location in the responses of the children regarding their acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women.

Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from the analysis of the data are:

1. The degree of stereotyping was high among all subjects. Children perceived occupations as the role of one sex or the other according to traditional stereotypic views.

2. Age had little or no effect on the child's acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women. No significant difference was found from the six year olds to the eight year olds to the ten year olds.

These findings indicate children learn quite early what occupational roles society expects of men and women, substantiating the findings of Beuf in 1973, Looft in 1971, and Iglitzen in 1971 and 1972.[1]

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[1]A. Beuf, "Doctor, Lawyer, Household Drudge," Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 142-145; W. R. Looft, "Sex Differences in the Expression of Vocational Aspirations by Elementary School Children," Developmental Psychology, September

The data in Beuf's study on sex-role perception of three to six year old children indicated that although the Women's Liberation Movement has attracted much attention, children are still learning a sex-typed role structure, expecially in the occupational sphere. Also it revealed that young children, four and five years of age, hold the same kinds of stereotypes about careers that American society as a whole has, as noted by sociologists and Movement women. Preschool children, in addition to knowing their sex, seemingly know the social implications and limitations of that sexual definition.

Looft's investigation of first and second graders, and the research conducted by Iglitzen with fifth-grade children, revealed that boys and girls learn early to aspire to sex-typed occupations. The sex-typed aspirations for girls are dreams that fall aside when they are asked to "be realistic," for then they see themselves doing what society has sanctioned women to do: clean house and raise children.

Evidence of the socialization process has been revealed by the findings of such studies. Socialization, defined as the process by which an individual learns the given ways of a society, begins at the time of his birth.[2] The

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1971, pp. 366+; L. B. Iglitzin, "A Child's-Eye View of Sex Roles," Today's Education 9 (1972): 23-25.

[2] L. J. Stone and J. Church, Childhood and Adolescence, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 151; I. J. Gordon, Human Development, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 15.

learning and internalization of "appropriate" patterns,
values, and feelings is accomplished early in a child's
life. Goodman stated that the three year old in any society
knows his identity as a boy or girl, and is rapidly learning
what is considered appropriate behavior for boys and for
girls, for men and for women.[3]

The socialization of the child continues in school
settings. Minuchin said of the school:

> Any school is a small society. It offers most chil-
> dren their first paradigm of a larger society beyond the
> family and subtly teaches something about the parameters
> of possible development. It offers models of adult roles
> and possible life-styles. . . .[4]

3. Location, whether rural, suburban, or central
city, had no significant effect upon the child's acceptance
of occupational roles for men and for women.

It is generally assumed that the suburban child is
in an environment that allows for a broader experience; in
contrast, the rural child supposedly has a more limited
experiential environment. If, in fact, this were true, the
suburban child would be expected to be more open to the
acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women. The
data revealed no such difference. Children in all locations
were sex typing occupational roles according to traditional
views.

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[3]M. E. Goodman, The Culture of Childhood (New York:
Teachers College Press, 1970), p. 27.

[4]P. Minuchin, "The Schooling of Tomorrow's Women,"
School Review 80 (1972): 200-201.

Several factors may contribute to the fact that locations had no significant difference in the child's acceptance of occupational roles for men and for women. First, nearly all American children have easy access to television; it has become an important factor in their lives. The children respect television and "regard it almost as a 'third parent' in terms of affection and trust."[5] LeBaron claimed television is one of the most powerful environmental influences on children. The typical child is "fully familiar with a wide variety of television programming before he is even aware of school's existence."[6] More than half of the pre-schooler's waking day is spent before a television set. After a child begins to attend school, the television still claims more of his time than the classroom.

Sexism characterizes regular television programming for children as well as adults.[7] The television, providing a wider range of role-taking models for the child than he

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[5]W. Schramm, J. Lyle, and E. B. Parker, Television in the Lives of Our Children (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 30; cited by E. Christensen, "Television: Tiger by the Tail," Children and TV (Washington, D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International, 1967), p. 4.

[6]J. LeBaron, "School, Community and Television," Childhood Education, February 1975, p. 190.

[7]H. W. Streicher, "The Girls in the Cartoons," Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 125-129; N. S. Tedesco, "Patterns in Prime Time," Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 119-124.

ordinarily finds in his family, neighborhood, and school,

extends the sex-role stereotyping of the culture.[8]

Mobility of families may account for the location
factor's having had no significant effect upon the child's
viewing sex roles with no difference. The rural population
today includes many families who have moved from the central
city and/or the suburbs to live in the rural area. Many
children, therefore, may have experienced more than one loca-
tion environment.

4. The number of years children had spent in school
did not appear to lessen the degree of stereotyping. No
significant difference was found from the first grade to the
third grade to the fifth grade. These results suggest the
question: "What is being done in schools concerning sex
stereotyping?"

What is being done in career education at the ele-
mentary levels to eradicate stereotyping of sex roles? Are
teachers making a conscious effort to alleviate sex stereo-
typing in the activities of the school day? Are there
inservice programs designed for and available to school per-
sonnel regarding sex stereotyping? Is there a follow-up of
the inservice training to measure its effectiveness? What
is being done in teacher education programs to help stem
the sex stereotyping of roles?

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[8]F. Elkin, The Child and Society (New York: Random
House, 1961), p. 73.

Implications of the Study to Education

Considering the current burst of consciousness and universalization of sex roles in society, what are their effects on education today? In presenting the study to the three school systems, responses of individuals indirectly involved in the study were noted. These were the administrators, teachers, and parents.

The administrators' interest in the study was positive. Without exception the principals and central office personnel indicated the study could be of special interest and importance in developing the career education aspect of that school system's curriculum. One assistant superintendent related that the previous year a workshop regarding sex-role stereotyping and sexism in the schools had been conducted for the teachers in the school district. An elementary teacher, an intern teacher in the system, and one of the county's social workers had presented the workshop. Attendance was voluntary, and no follow-up sessions were held.

Some teachers in the participating schools expressed a sincere interest in the study. However, the teachers made no comments about teaching specific units on occupations or conscious efforts on the part of teachers to eliminate stereotyping in the children's learning environment. Some teachers, questioned about whether they were doing anything specific regarding sex stereotyping, responded, "No, do you have a unit I could use?"

A limited number of parents wrote comments on the permission letters to the effect that the study was interesting and they would like to know the results.

The study indicated interest alone is not enough to bring about a change in the existing condition. It is recognized that differential treatment of men and women exists in almost every segment and aspect of our society. However, when such treatment appears in and is transmitted by the educational institutions, which are supposed to provide all citizens with the tools to live in a democracy, it perhaps is the most damaging.[9]

Educators must be aware of how sexism is reinforced in the schools. An educator must be able to recognize "the insidious way abilities, values, roles, and rewards are assumed or assigned on the basis of a person's sex."[10] Inservice training programs should be provided for school personnel, which would assist them in identification and correction of sex bias.

Inservice training related to areas in which sex stereotyping prevails might focus on: (a) instructional materials, e.g., basic textbooks and library books;

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[9]M. C. Dunkle and B. Sandler, "Sex Discrimination Against Students: Implications of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972," Inequality in Education 18 (October 1974): 12.

[10]"Recognizing Sexism in Your School" (Washington, D.C.: National Foundation for Improvement of Education), poster.

(b) classroom organization and management, e.g., grouping according to sex--"boys line up," "girls line up"; (c) teacher interaction, such as boys receiving more attention than girls, even though it may be negative, because of aggressive behavior; and teacher expectations, such as girls being quieter than boys; (d) curriculum, e.g., courses designed specifically for one sex or the other; (e) staffing and administrative organization--sex-role stereotyping is purveyed through the staffing patterns in the school settings, especially at the primary levels, with the majority being male principals and female classroom teachers; and (f) teacher beliefs, attitudes, and values whereby an opportunity for educators to self-evaluate might check personal prejudices and biases regarding sex.

Career education provides an opportunity for schools to teach not only the world of work but attitudes toward occupational roles and the people in the roles. Beginning in the kindergarten year and continuing through secondary school, a bias-free career education curriculum should be designed so that development of an individual's self-concept and ability is not limited.

Teacher education needs to go beyond the consciousness level of sex stereotyping. When teachers know themselves, the attitudes they possess and why, they can take action toward making changes in the existing curriculum.

The elementary school is the first setting beyond the family that includes the years when basic attitudes, perceptions, and skills are being developed. "All human beings (children) should enjoy the rights that are theirs by virtue of their being human, and not one iota of their rights should ever be abridged on the ground of sex: . . ."[11] Schools can and should be the most powerful influence in readjusting the sexes to each other. Harmony and cooperativeness is the essential human state; culture has managed to produce a complex separateness and lack of understanding between the sexes. To break down this separateness, the sexes must be educated for each other, not in opposition to each other.[12]

Educators must realize how great the responsibility of the school is: whether it remains a force in perpetuating the stereotyping of sex roles or becomes a force in the elimination of stereotyping in our culture.

Suggestions for Further Research

Through the process of the current study, several questions arose. These questions, reformulated, are included as suggestions for further study.

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[11]A. Montague, The Natural Superiority of Women (New York: Collier Books, 1968), p. 209.

[12]Ibid., p. 199.

1. Replication studies using larger samples are seen as useful to yield additional data for support or rejection of the current study results.

2. Using the current design but expanding the instrument to include a greater range of occupations would be of interest to see if the narrow variation of answers would still prevail.

3. Replication studies using different age groups are seen as useful to determine to what degree the preschool child stereotypes occupational roles and/or the junior high and high school individuals accept the occupational roles for men and for women.

4. Research should be undertaken using schools in which career education has been implemented into the curriculum, as compared to schools that have not had career education. Such research could provide information about the amount of stereotyping that might be eliminated through the career education program of instruction.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PERMISSION LETTER

APPENDIX A

PERMISSION LETTER

January 13, 1975

To the Parent(s) of_____:

   I am doing a study approved by the _____ School District
of which _____ School was randomly selected. _____ School
District is one of three school systems participating in the study.

   It is a study on children's views of occupational roles.

   Your child has been randomly selected to participate. The
only personal information required concerning your child is the birthdate.

   I will have a 3-4 minute interview with your child, using
photos of occupational settings and silhouette photos. I will read a
brief introduction to your child indicating this is not a test. There
are no right or wrong answers. For instance, as your child sees the
photograph of a garage, I will say, "Here is a garage. Choose the
mechanic." I will mark your child's response on a score sheet.

   Your child will remain anonymous in the study of 270 children.
A report of the study will be available at the school.

   If you have any questions, please call me. I will be most
appreciative for your child's participation.

         Sincerely yours,

         Ruth Scheresky
         MSU Doctoral Candidate
         Phone: 332-0902

Please indicate whether you wish your child to participate and return
before or on _____.

  ____ My child may participate in the study.

  ____ My child may not participate in the study.

         _____
         Signature of Parent

APPENDIX B

SCORE SHEET

APPENDIX B

SCORE SHEET

School _____ Date_____ Code_____

Name_____ Birthdate_____ Age_____

INTRODUCTION:

Today, I want you to help me by making some choices. This is not a test.
There are no right or wrong answers. We are going to look at some pic-
tures of places where people work or jobs people do. They you will
choose whether a man or a woman or both could do the job.

A. Here is a gas station. Choose the gas station attendant ...... M F B

B. Here is a hospital room. Choose the nurse..................... M F B

C. Here is a farm. Choose the farmer............................. M F B

D. Here is a kindergarten classroom. Choose the
        kindergarten teacher...................................... M F B

E. Here is an executive's office. Choose the executive.......... M F B

F. Here is a secretary's desk. Choose the secretary............. M F B

G. Here is a restaurant. Choose the person who waits on people... M F B

H. Here is a truck. Choose the truck driver..................... M F B

I. Here is a fire truck. Choose the fire fighter................ M F B

J. Here is a telephone switchboard in an office. Choose
        the telephone operator.................................... M F B

K. Here is a garbage truck. Choose the garbage collector........ M F B

L. Here is a laundry room in a home. Choose the homemaker,
        or the one who does the ironing........................... M F B

M. Here is a church. Choose the minister....................... M F B

N. Here is a dentist's chair. Choose the dentist............... M F B

O. Here is an emergency room in a hospital. Choose the doctor.... M F B

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APPENDIX C

THE INSTRUMENT
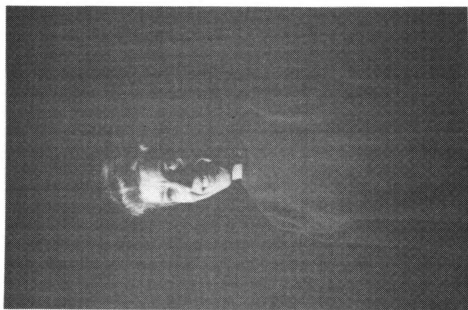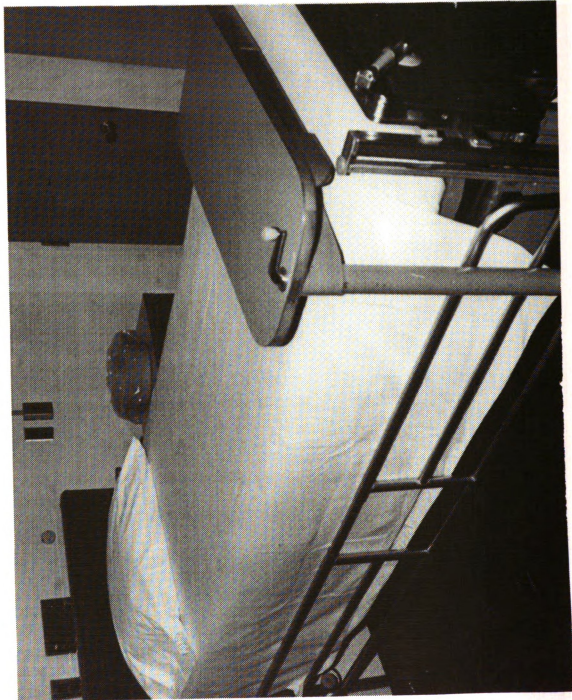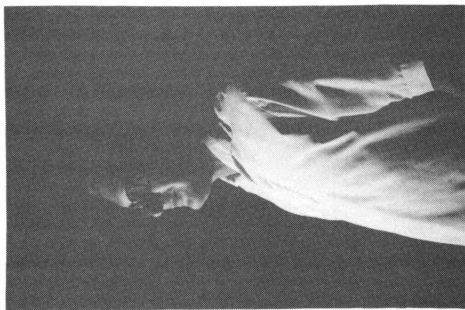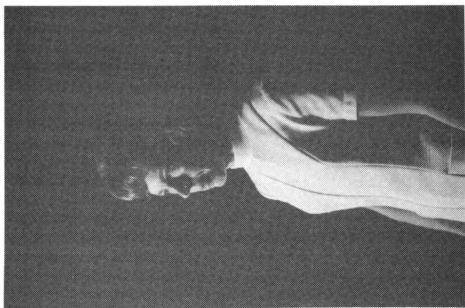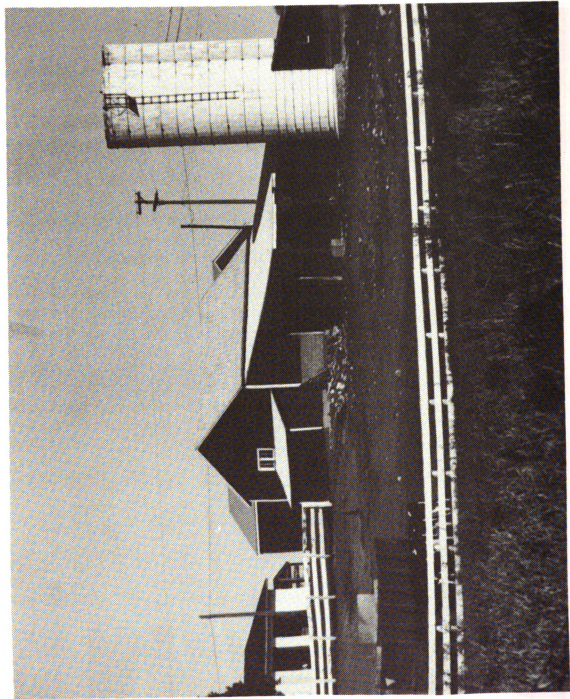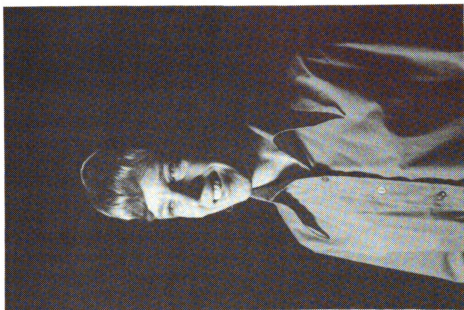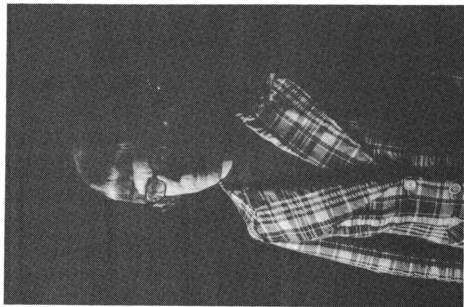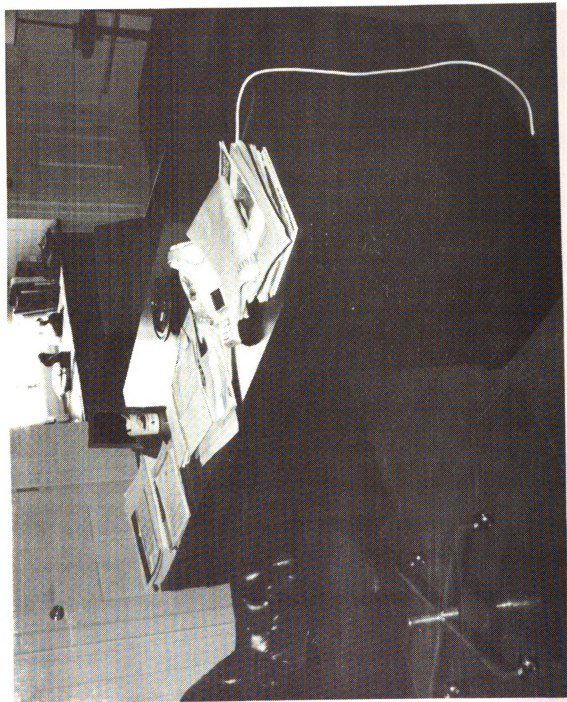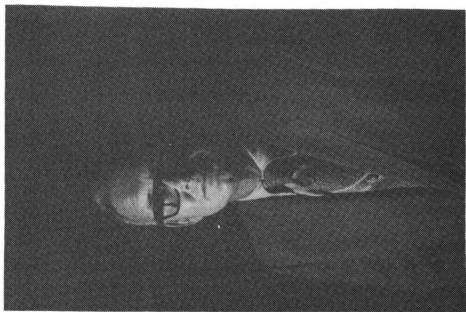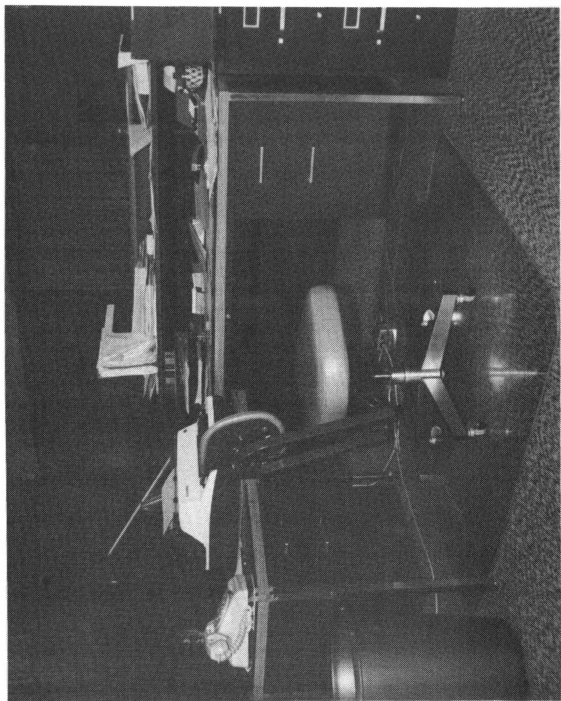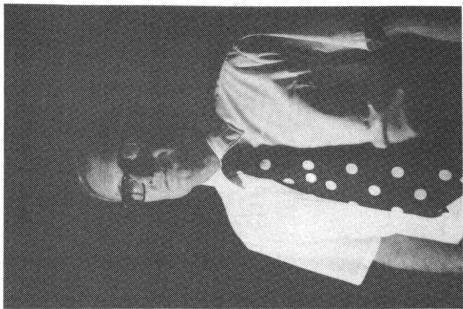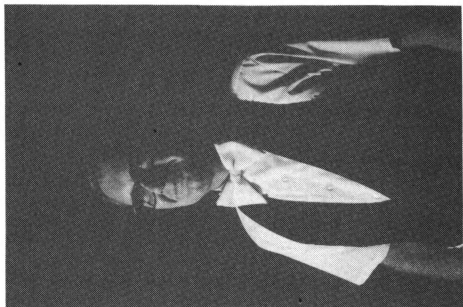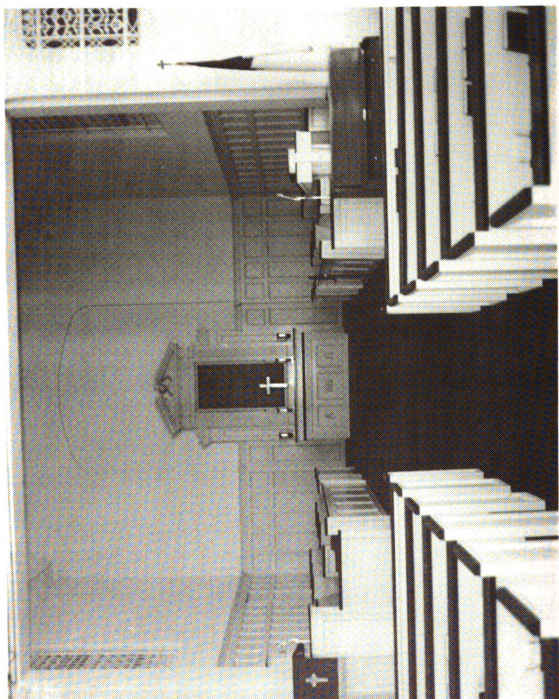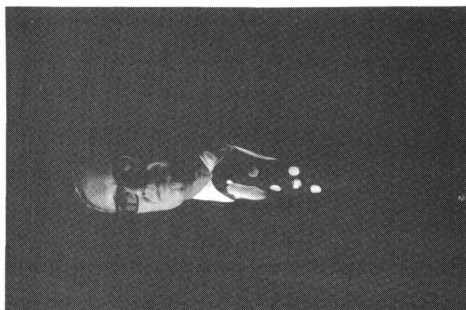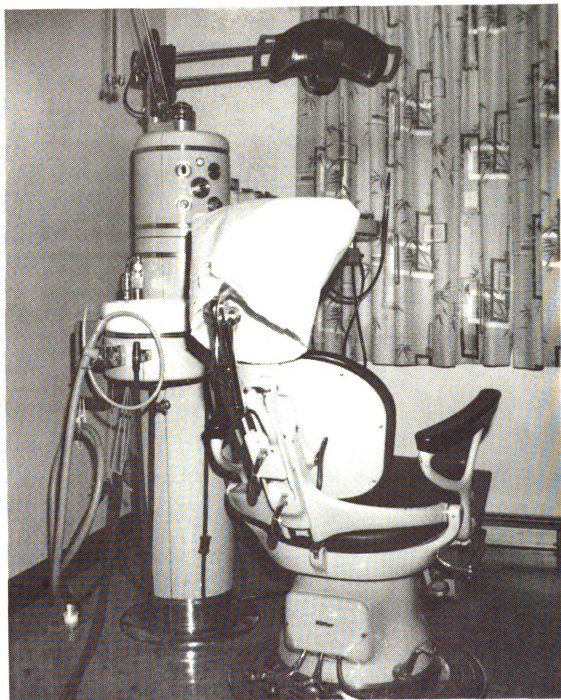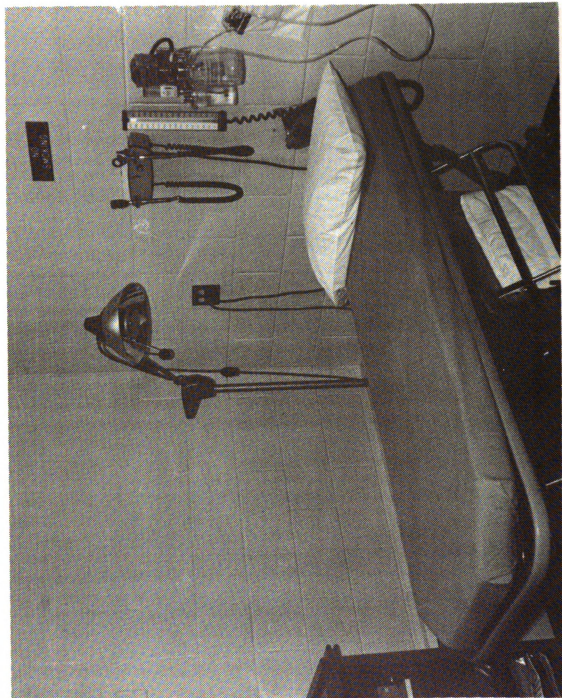
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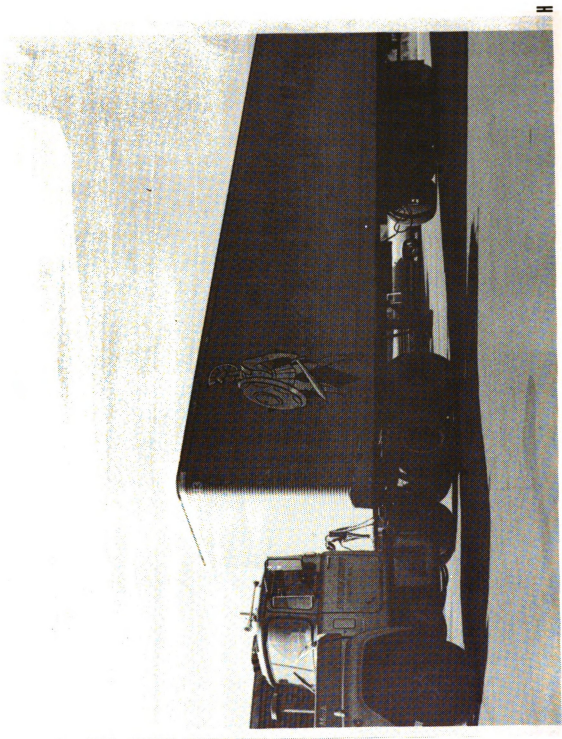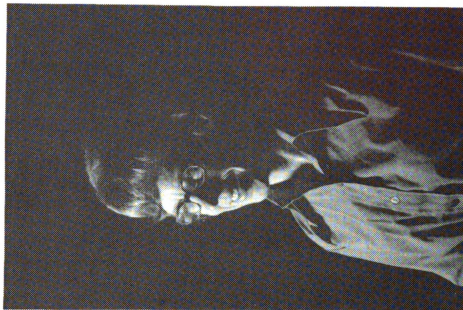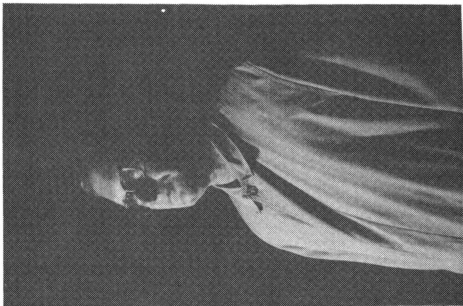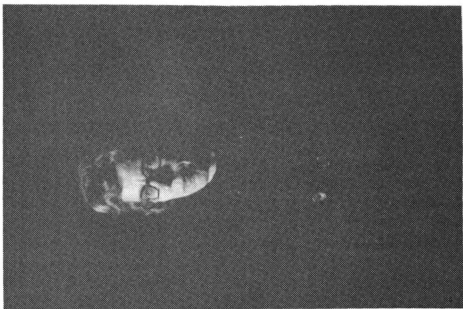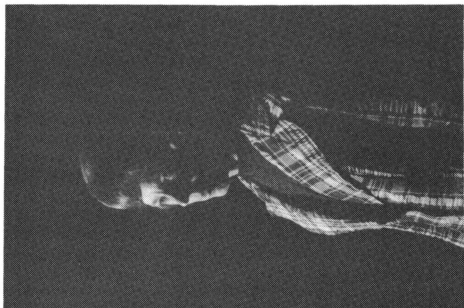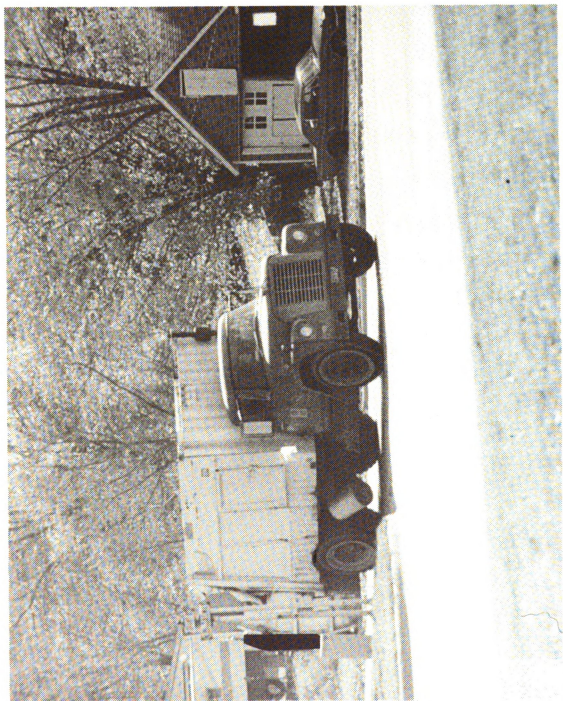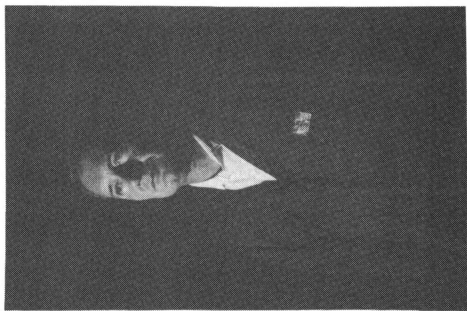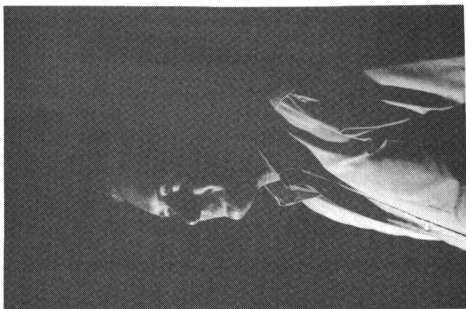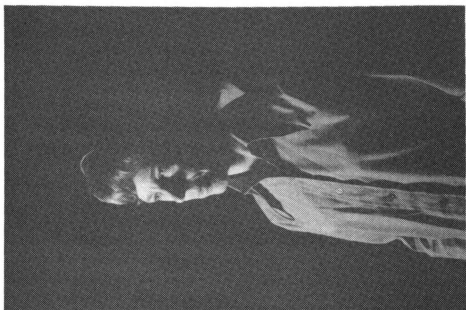
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