DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 091 623 CG 008 867

TITLE	Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools.
INSTITUTION	National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	73
NOTE	71p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC Not Available from EDRS. PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	Aspiration; Books; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); *Equal Education; *Feminism; *Nondiscriminatory Education; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Stereotypes; Social Attitudes

ABSTRACT

A collection of nine separate articles, this book discusses both the subtle forms of sex role stereotyping in our schools (e.g., teachers never asking girls to run the audiovisual equipment) and some of the more flagrant forms (discouraging boys from taking home economics). It refers to a recent study of teachers' attitudes which indicated that, while all of the participating teachers felt that they treated students fairly and equally, most of these educators still differentiated ideal behaviors by sex. It discusses sex discrimination in such areas as school athletics and textbooks and also includes an article on counselor attitudes towards the vocational aspirations of girls, as well as research on the child's view of sex roles. Finally, the book presents some ideas on alternatives to a sexist curriculum, and gives an account of one woman's attempts to create a nonsexist educational environment in her daughter's school. (HMV)

Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools

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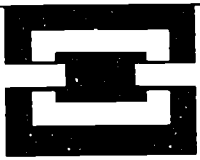

nea
National Education Association
Washington, DC 20036

NEA Stock No. 381-12060

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Sex role stereotyping in the schools.

Includes bibliographical references.
1. Sex differences in education—Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Sex role—Addresses, essays, lectures.
LB1117.S42 370.15 73-1679

Contents

Acknowledgments

The following articles are reprinted with permission from the publications indicated:

"Sex Stereotyping in Educational Guidance" *(NJEA [New Jersey Education Association] Review)*

"Sexual Politics in the Classroom" *(51% Minority)*

"Roles, Labels, Stereotypes: A Counselor's Challenge" *(Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors)*

"Changing the School Environment" *(Women: A Journal of Liberation)*

"Sex Role Socialization in Schools," "Outmoded Stereotypes in the School Environment," "A Child's-Eye View of Sex Roles," "Alternatives to a Sexist Curriculum" *(Today's Education)*

1. Sex Role Socialization in Schools

By Betty Levy

Recent critics of the schools have explored the contradiction between what schools *say* they do and what they *actually* do. The ostensible purpose of schools is to educate everyone and to equalize opportunity for all. Liberal reformers who accept this purpose at face value bemoan the fact that schools are "failing" (i.e., not educating), whereas more sophisticated analysts move beyond the stated purpose of schools and reveal that schools are "succeeding" in differentially socializing pupils by race, class, and sex. These socializing functions are all the more powerful when one considers that they occur despite efforts of many well-intentioned educators to achieve the schools' stated aims.

Illich, Friedenberg, Holt, and others have described how the institutional demands of schools (passively "being taught," acquiescing to imposed rules and routines, and so on) conflict with learning and individual development goals. Wasserman, Reimer, Freire, Rothstein, Jencks, and others have discussed the role schools play in perpetuating existing social and economic inequalities. Schools may not "make a difference" in the sense that they do not dramatically improve the life chances of the poor, of minority groups, or of women, but they do "make a difference" in that they remain an effective instrument of social control. Schools, after all, were not created to change society,

but to maintain it and thus help keep existing dominant groups dominant.

What most critics have failed to examine is how traditional demands of schools function to perpetuate traditional sex roles. For girls, the schools' expectations and the traditional sex-role expectations are congruent and provide a strong double-barreled message reinforcing girls' obedience, docility, and dependence. For boys, the schools' expectations often conflict with traditional sex-role expectations, resulting in a confusing double message: Be aggressive, active, achieving, and independent (be masculine), but also be passive, quiet, and conforming (be a *good* pupil).

As a result, boys tend to be more acting-out in school and more noticeable, whereas girls tend to be more completely socialized into "goodness" and thus more easily ignored. The long-lasting result is potentially more positive for boys, since the "masculine" characteristics are related to intellectual development and self-actualization, whereas the strong, consistent pressures on girls to be "feminine" and "good pupils" promote characteristics that inhibit achievement and suppress females' full development.

Recent discussion of sex-role socialization in schools has been dominated by concern for boys who, it is contended, are forced to meet feminine standards of behavior and thinking by the overwhelmingly feminine atmosphere of the elementary school. Because the emphasis has been on boys' problems, the situation of girls has been overlooked. As a result, the schools' "feminization" or "domestication" training is seen, by implication, as good preparation for "real womanhood." The fact that girls are being doubly trained—at home and at school—to be docile and conforming is not of concern. What is of concern is that boys might be treated badly in school, that is, "like girls." The fact that the school as an institution demands conformity and obedience for most children is not noted. Rather, female teachers are labeled "the enemy" in the destruction of male minds!

An incredibly large number of studies have been addressed to the question, "Do female teachers dis-

criminate against boys?" The results of these indicate that boys, far from being discriminated against, provide more intense stimuli for teachers and receive more positive as well as more negative attention from teachers than do girls. Teachers may yell at boys more, but teachers also give them more praise, more instruction, and more encouragement to be creative than they give girls. Girls are either ignored or rewarded merely for following directions and for doing assigned work.

Many studies have demonstrated that boys make up the majority of teachers' behavioral problems and that teachers tend to discipline boys more harshly than girls. In *Psychology of Women: A Study of Bio-Cultural Conflicts*, Judith M. Bardwick speculates that a boy learns in school that he can get attention and respect from his teacher and his peers for nonconforming behavior. Thus, teacher criticism, a seemingly negative response, may actually lead boys toward greater independence, autonomy, and activity.

A boy whom the teacher harshly reprimands may temporarily feel put down but may also learn to defend and assert himself more as an independent being. The girl who is softly told she "did something bad" while the teacher gives her a reassuring (patronizing?) pat is less likely to develop self-assertive behavior that carries the risk of disapproval.

Moreover, research done by R. L. Spaulding indicates that a disproportionate number of teachers' negative remarks to girls concerned incorrect answers ("You're wrong, Sally"), a pattern that could only reinforce girls' sense of inferiority.

Other evidence indicates that even by the preschool years, boys tend to be more realistic about their achievements than do girls. Perhaps the criticism boys receive tends to be more task-oriented, helping them to better evaluate their skills. Girls may be receiving more general and more personal criticism leading to an oversensitivity to criticism and a tendency to do tasks to gain social approval rather than to meet one's own standards.

In my opinion, we need more unbiased research to determine differences in how teachers discipline and criticize boys as opposed to girls and how these differences affect their development. Also, teachers need to become increasingly self-aware of how they may be subtly shaping boys more toward independent achievement and girls more toward dependence and nonsustained achievement.

Also we need to discover if teachers are held more firmly accountable for maintaining order than for facilitating learning. If this is so, it is no wonder that they desire passive, conforming behavior from boys and gratefully receive it from girls.

Schools reinforce traditional sex roles in many ways. One way is through the authority structure of the school itself. Eighty-five percent of all elementary school teachers are women; 79 percent of all elementary school principals are men. Schoolchildren do not need to be taught the differential status of men and women—they learn it simply by attending school.

Another mechanism of sex-role reinforcement is segregated classes and activities. A number of grade schools have been "experimenting" with sex-segregated classes. The all-boy classes emphasize large-muscle physical activity, team games, building, repairing, and other tasks "ordinarily performed by fathers." In one school, the all-girl classes include such activities as "dressing up like mother and playing house."

Even with classes that are not sex-segregated, certain activities, such as cooking and sewing, are encouraged primarily for girls, and other activities, such as woodworking, are encouraged primarily for boys. Physical education and playground activities frequently are sex-segregated. As children move through elementary school, certain subjects, such as English, come to be regarded as "girls' subjects" while other subjects, such as math and science, are perceived as "boys' subjects."

Even in free schools where there is no conscious attempt to sex type, the policy of allowing children to follow their own interests usually results in condoning

the pervasive sex-typed activities the children have learned outside the school. Effective open classrooms, while basically noninterventionist, still require children to master basic skills. But intervening to require choices and activities that are free of sex typing has apparently not yet become an important concern of the open classroom.

The separation of boys and girls for seating, hanging up coats, and so on, and the choice of class helpers calls attention to sex distinctions and sex roles. So does sex typing in elementary school reading materials.

The same male-dominated authority structure, sex-segregated courses and programs, and sex typing in textbooks is also found at the secondary school level. In addition, some research findings indicate that counselors guide female students into "feminine" occupations and tend to assume girls desire marriage more than they in fact do. According to a 1971 *Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools* by the New York City Chapter of the National Organization for Women, New York City has more boys' than girls' high schools and more restricted programs and more restricted course offerings for girls in both girls' and coeducational high schools. The *Report* also states that two of the four specialized academic high schools only recently began to admit girls and that innovation occurred only after a court battle.

Teachers' attitudes supplement and reinforce the institutional sexism of high schools. A recent exploratory study of the sex-role attitudes of secondary school teachers in and around New York City indicated that most of them differentiated ideal behaviors by sex. They wanted adolescent males to be dominant, independent, and assertive, and adolescent females to be submissive, dependent, unassertive, emotional, and concerned about their appearance. Also, in response to a statement about a "competent student interested in math and science," teachers indicated they would encourage a boy to build on that interest but be concerned that a girl develop competencies in areas besides mathematics and science to avoid becoming lopsided.

Despite the respondents' claims that they treated all students fairly and equally, differential evaluation according to sex-role stereotypes was evident. (These responses should not be interpreted as conscious malevolence on the part of teachers, but rather as an indication that teachers share in the unconscious sex-role ideology which affects us all.)

What can educators do to challenge and correct the detrimental effects of sex-role socialization in schools?

First, they must realize that schools mirror the elitism, racism, and sexism of our society. Thus, efforts to challenge sexism in schools must be perceived as part of a larger and long-range struggle to change the inequalities which schools maintain and perpetuate.

Issues which will benefit all men and women, not merely a privileged few, should have the highest priority. For example, struggles to end tracking are more basic than struggles to get a few more female students in the honors track, and attempts to open up the school authority and decision-making structure to all those groups affected by it are more basic than attempts to get a few more female principals. Efforts to rid schools of sexist attitudes and practices must be linked with broader efforts if all are to be successful.

Second, since sex-role stereotypes are so pervasive, an individual teacher may find it helpful to work with other teachers in consciousness-raising groups and sex-role committees to better understand and struggle with the ways we are oppressed by (and oppress our students with) sexist ideas and behavior. In addition to collective efforts to change classroom practices, teachers should form schoolwide committees to focus on curricular programs and materials; challenge sex-segregated classes and activities; and gather data on hiring and promotion practices, salaries, and so on.

Some resources for teachers and others wishing to do work in this area are listed below:

1. *Little Miss Muffett Fights Back* (a bibliography of nonsexist books about girls). Feminists on Children's Media, P.O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York 10017.

2. *Let Them Aspire!* (report on Ann Arbor schools). Contact Marcia Federbush, 1000 Cedar Bend Drive, Ann Arbor, MI 48105.

3. Lollipop Power, P.O. Box 1171, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. (This organization publishes sex-role-free books for young children.)

4. Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools. New York City Chapter, National Organization for Women, 28 East 56th St., New York 10022.

5. *Scholastic Teacher.* "Resources for Women's Studies." Jr./Sr. High Teachers Edition, p. 12. "Exploding the Fairy Princess and Other Myths." Elementary Teachers Edition, p. 11. November 1971.

6. "Sexism in the Schools: Focus on the Woman Teacher." *No More Teachers' Dirty Looks.* Vol. III, No. 1, 1972. BARTOC (Bay Area Radical Teachers' Organizing Collective), P.O. Box 40143, San Francisco, CA 94140.

7. Zimmerman, Bonnie B., ed. *Jack and Jill: This is the world that Jack built and Jill came tumbling after . . .* (manual for teachers). P.O. Box 405, Livermore, CA 94550.

2. Outmoded Stereotypes in the School Environment

By Gail T. McLure, with Marjorie Friedman, Kay Ries, Tracy Brunner, Jill Hender, and Beverly Witwer

To what extent are the schools responsible for the secondary status of women in our society?

The following excerpt from an article in *Time* (August 31, 1970) points to the unequal status of women as well as some implications for education:

"The status of women—America's numerical majority at 51 percent of the population—remains today as relentlessly second class as that of any minority. A third of the American work force is female: 42 percent of the women 16 and older work.

"Yet there is only one economic indicator in which women consistently lead men, and that is the number living in poverty. In 1968, the median salary for full-time, year-round workers was $7,870 for white males, $5,314 for nonwhite men, $4,580 for white women, and $3,487 for nonwhite women. . . . On the average, a woman needs a college degree to earn more than a man does with an eighth grade education."

The article goes on to say that the number of women in the higher education and professional categories is "grossly disproportionate both to the population and to the educational background of some women. Women constitute only 9 percent of all the professions, 7 percent of the doctors, 3 percent of the lawyers, 1 percent of the engineers. . . . Nine out of 10 elementary school teachers are women, but 8 out of 10 principals of these schools are men."*

The schools are in part responsible for this situation. We begin to teach role stereotypes as early as kindergarten. Girls are expected to play in a doll corner equipped with a mock-up of mother's kitchen, while the boys are steered to a jungle gym or building materials.

One high school girl recently told her adult-living class about an experience she had as a kindergartner. When she pasted a picture of a man holding a baby on the page of her workbook entitled "Father's Jobs," the teacher marked this wrong—even though the girl explained she had seen her father holding a baby many times.

Perhaps we could excuse one teacher's lack of judgment, but this is not an isolated case. Even a cursory look at texts and workbooks for the primary grades reveals examples of role stereotyping which separate female jobs from male jobs, girl interest from boy interest.

Yet studies conducted at the Fels Institute indicate that "the brighter girls are more likely to enjoy baseball and other boys' games, while the brighter boys will more often engage in feminine activities." This is only one of several studies which bring into serious question the teaching of masculine and feminine orientations.

In most secondary schools, only an exceptional girl will ask to be admitted to an industrial arts course, and if she does, she may not be encouraged to participate. Girls are usually channeled into homemaking courses; boys, into industrial arts. Yet in our technological society, where each sex is expected to fulfill multiple roles, girls surely need to develop competence in industrial arts and other forms of career education, and boys need to acquire knowledge of nutrition, family life, and homemaking skills.

The New York State Education Department's associate commissioner for occupational education offered the following recommendation in the November 1969 issue of the *NASSP Bulletin:* "Industrial arts education should serve girls as well as boys, women as well as men, and extend from kindergarten through adult education." Is it not unfortunate that so many schools

contribute to the mystique that to be feminine one must be ignorant of mechanics, woodworking, and technical studies?

In addition to sex role stereotyping, there is a problem of inadequate image reflection. Girls do not see female images, stereotyped or not, as often in school materials as they see male images. Fewer female characters, especially lead characters, appear in basal readers, for example.

The current fourth grade reader used in Iowa City is typical. Not counting fairy tales, poems, or stories without human beings, the book has 28 stories. Males are the leading characters in 26 of these. One of the 26 heroes shares the spotlight with his mother, but he is the title character. Only one story is entirely about a female heroine (Jane Addams); in the remaining story the heroine shares the focus with a horse.

The nature of the female stereotype may account for boys' reluctance to read stories about girls. A disproportionate number of female characters appear in minor roles; fewer females perform heroic or admirable tasks. Too many stories for elementary pupils show girls serving cookies, playing dolls, staying at home to help mother, or being rescued (along with the mothers) by boys.

English teachers in our district report that when reading plays or acting in them, girls will usually read both girls' and boys' parts willingly, whereas boys will read only boys' parts. This clearly reflects the attitudes about women which have been fostered both by our schools and society in general.

From our own use and examination of social studies texts, we have found that these books do not adequately reflect the contributions of women. The validity of our observations is confirmed in an article in the March 1971 issue of *Social Education*. Janice Law Trecker analyzes over a dozen of the most popular U.S. history textbooks in order to ask such questions as this: "Are the stereotypes which limit girls' aspirations present in high school history texts?" She says the answer is "*yes* . . . most works are marred by sins of omission and commission." The hidden female

image becomes difficult for even the mature adult to find when it is referred to in words such as *man, mankind, he,* or *his.*

Blacks and other minority groups are now beginning to receive fairer representation in media materials. Yet many social studies texts still fail to record the role of women in history and in today's society.

Local teachers recently attended state and national conventions where many publishing companies displayed their latest wares. Although the materials about blacks and other minority groups were prominent, we found little evidence of fairer treatment of the female image.

(We asked numerous representatives from these companies why an effort was not being made in this regard. Answers varied from "You ladies aren't making enough noise" and "We're waiting around to see if the women's liberation movement is a passing fad" to responses reflecting serious interest. Some spoke of the economics involved in getting books written and marketed. Publishers want to be assured of a demand.) Teachers can exert considerable pressure on publishers by recommending that school systems refuse to buy texts which fail to take note of female contributions. Meanwhile, teachers can enrich their courses by using supplementary materials from other sources.

We believe most teachers would agree that in the daily routine of any given day, boys are usually the ones asked to operate audiovisual equipment and perform similar activities. Seldom does a girl have the opportunity to learn how to run the movie projector. Only a rare girl would have the courage to volunteer for this "man's work."

At most schools, the boys' athletics program receives far more money, a larger coaching staff, and more time than does the girls' program. Travel to out-of-town meets is often limited for girls. On the other hand, boys are permitted to travel by school bus to a variety of out-of-town games.

Anyone who follows student sports would probably agree with our impression that the press, including school newspapers, gives a great deal more space to

predominantly male activities in the field of sports. The booster clubs, awards banquets, and recognition day festivities frequently are geared toward support of male accomplishments in the sports arena.

Research studies, such as those discussed by Gary L. Peltier in his article, "Sex Differences in the School: Problem and Proposed Solution" (*Phi Delta Kappan*, November 1968), show there is no conclusive evidence of sex differences in scholastic achievement, but young girls have fewer physical and emotional problems, read better, stutter less, and mature physically more rapidly than boys.

Yet the socialization process which begins in the elementary school bears strange fruit by the time girls reach junior and senior high school. By then some of them are afraid to assert themselves in class discussions. They may lower their sights with regard to a career and decide that finding the right husband is the ultimate key to personal success.

Parents, teachers, and guidance counselors often contribute to the problem by taking a narrow view of the career possibilities open to girls. They may guide a girl into a "suitable" occupation, such as secretarial studies, nursing, or teaching, while failing to stress the importance of other interesting pursuits.

For example, how often do we encourage an able girl to consider a career in medicine, law, city planning, or architecture? Instead, we warn her of the insurmountable difficulties she will face if she chooses to pursue one of these occupations. Such an attitude may cause a girl to doubt her own capabilities.

The environment of the school reflects the status of women in society. For example, although most elementary teachers are women, only one-fifth of the elementary principalships (which pay more) are held by women.

Further along in the secondary school there is an almost equal balance between male and female teachers while 97 percent of the high school principals are male. Sixty-nine percent of department heads in public schools are men, and we think most secondary teach-

ers would confirm our impression that men tend to become leaders of committees, conductors of assemblies, and the bearers of greater authority on many fronts. Granted, many women would refuse to become chairwomen or principals. But we must remember that women have been brainwashed to the point where they may consider themselves incapable of such responsibilities.

It is our contention that the schools do not adequately recognize the historical forces and contemporary conditions which have resulted in women's present status. Several factors, some subtle, some not so subtle, combine to prevent women from realizing full equality. It is not enough to equalize hiring practices and opportunities for adult women. We must nurture the idea of female equality at the earliest ages, for the heart of the problem lies in the development of a strong concept of self. Educators and school curriculums must do more to promote the goal of equal rights for both women and girls.

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*NEA Research Division data show that at the elementary school level women account for 85 percent of classroom teachers, 30 percent of teaching principals, and 19 percent of principals.

3. Sex Stereotyping in Educational Guidance

By Phyllis Zatlin Boring

Contemporary existentialist writers often depict life as a labyrinth. Each individual is constantly confronted by choices. Once he (or she) has chosen a certain path, he can never undo that decision. By choosing, he closes off options that might have been open to him. If he retraces his steps, he may get back to the place he previously bypassed. But time and circumstances will have changed.

The image of a labyrinth may well be applied to one's education. From the earliest grades on, education is a maze. The student must constantly choose paths. By choosing, he closes doors. By selecting a language, he may sacrifice a science. By taking a business course, he may close the door to college.

Confused by the labyrinth of choices, the student naturally turns to his teachers and his guidance counselors, hoping that they—like the mythological Ariadne—will give him a magic thread to find his way into and out of the maze. The responsibility that falls on educators is then great indeed, for, as we well know, there is no magic thread.

Even with good intentions and the advantage of our experience, our advice is not always flawless. The best that we can do is guide our students so that they will keep as many options as possible open as long as possible so they do not find themselves in a dead-end path.

The educational maze for the young woman has been, unfortunately, much simpler than for the young man. Many of the doors were already closed for her—by quota systems, legal and social barriers, overt discrimination. Our girls have been encouraged to prepare for careers in nursing, library service, social work, teaching, and secretarial work. They have been told by society, our legal structure, and our tax laws that their real role is marriage and motherhood.

I recently ran across the school newspaper from my ninth grade. Each of the graduating ninth graders of 1953 was asked his secret ambition. The one field most frequently mentioned was secretarial work. Twenty-four percent of the girls in my class gave this as their secret ambition. Some of them were quite precise about their interests: they wanted to work for a banker or lawyer or millionaire. (But they were not ambitious enough to see themselves in those roles, only as supportive to them.)

The second most popular field was nursing, chosen by 16 percent of the girls. By contrast the two most freqently mentioned fields among the boys were doctor and engineer, with 11 percent of the boys surveyed choosing each of those two fields. Fourteen girls in that class said that their secret ambition was to get married. One boy mentioned his future marital status —he wanted to be a doctor with a beautiful wife.

My class's secret ambition, viewed in retrospect, rather saddened me. At 13 or 14, young people should have ambitions that reflect a certain amount of imagination and idealism. Not many of us realize our youthful goals; we seldom *over*reach them.

Many a man who started out planning to be a brain surgeon has been a high school teacher instead. Many of the Spanish majors I advise at Rutgers started out in engineering. But the reverse is seldom true. The person who starts out in Spanish cannot easily switch to engineering. The person who has decided by ninth grade that she wants a secretarial career is not thinking of college. She has already discarded a good many options relative to her future education and employment.

In the past few years, women have been protesting that they are underutilized in many fields—particularly those that require the greatest training and pay the highest salaries. They have said they are disproportionately concentrated in the lowest paying, dead-end jobs.

"True," respond the critics, "but that is because women wanted nothing else. If women had wanted to be architects or pharmacists, dentists or engineers, there would be women in those fields."

Despite the great pressure that has been placed on women to stay out of science, social science, and the professions, there have been women interested in those fields. And there have been women who have survived in them. We do not lack feminine representation in traditional male fields. But, unfortunately, it has been an uphill battle for many of these women.

To go back to my ninth grade, I was most interested in finding that some of my classmates were nonconformists. Of the six students who wanted to be lawyers, two were girls. Two girls also wanted to be doctors. The only person in the class who wanted to be a veterinarian was a girl. One girl wanted to be a counterspy, one wanted to be an FBI agent. Another said she would be a rancher. Those girls may have been the minority, but they at least had not yet accepted sexual stereotyping.

As I look back, I find teachers and guidance counselors had an important role in the decisions that I made. My high school language teachers steered me into my present career by encouraging me to go on. My high school math teachers did not similarly encourage me. And thus my field was chosen.

I vividly recall an interview with the guidance counselor after taking a series of aptitude tests in tenth grade. She told me I had scored very high on the four tests taken into consideration in determining engineering aptitude. "But," she said, "I know that you don't want to be an engineer." At age 15, I nodded my head in agreement and did not think about it again for years.

Even the 97 percentile score that I received on the math aptitude test for my Graduate Record Exam—

despite the fact that I never got as far as calculus—did not give me pause. Now, I find that that little scene has great significance for me. It has been said that 40 percent of the people in this country who show an aptitude for engineering in tests are women, but only one percent of our engineers are women. Women are not engineers because they have been steered out of the field.

It may well be that my guidance counselor made the comment with the best of intentions. She undoubtedly knew, as I did not at the time, that many colleges of engineering did not admit women at all and that others required women applicants to be superior to men applicants for admission. She undoubtedly knew that if I managed to get into and through engineering school, despite the obstacle course, many companies would not hire me, and if they did, they would pay me a lower salary than men. She was probably giving realistic advice.

Being realistic, she may well have told my classmates who wanted to be lawyers to try another field instead. Law schools across the country have maintained rigid quota systems against women, not allowing the percentage in any given class to approach 10 percent. She perhaps told the same thing to the two girls who wanted to be doctors. And she would have been correct.

As for the girl who wanted to be an FBI agent, it was not until May 1972 that acting director Patrick Gray of the FBI indicated his willingness to hire women agents. J. Edgar Hoover had consistently barred women from the ranks.

If the girls in my class took vocational preference tests, that too might have helped them change their minds about offbeat careers like rancher or veterinarian. The widely used Strong Vocational Interest Test has two versions, one male and one female. Dr. Gloria Leon, a Rutgers University psychologist, recently analyzed the two tests with the following results:

"A comparison of the items in each section of the male and female versions of the Strong inventory

reveals the pervasive influence that sex role stereotypes have on the differential vocational expectations for men and women. The sex role biases inherent in this test range from the subtle to the blatantly obvious.

"For example, it would be extremely difficult, on the basis of the Strong test results, to counsel a woman college student to choose a career in physics or engineering. The activity preferences the woman student is asked to rate are oriented around traditionally feminine choices, such as furnishing and caring for a new home, or choosing between a preference for fashion magazines or household magazines.

"Many of the item choices on the men's form are related to expectations of traditional male vocational behavior, such as 'develop the theory of operation of a new machine,' or 'supervise the manufacture of a machine.' Although the women's form of the Strong inventory does contain some items related to male dominated careers, the majority of choices are oriented toward subordinate vocational choices.

"In every section of the inventory, the career choices listed for men and women channel the women's responses into traditional and/or subordinate vocational interests. Whereas the males are asked to choose between 'travel to outer space' and 'explore bottom of ocean,' the women are asked to choose between 'be married to a rancher' and 'be married to a corporation president.'"

The girl in my class may have taken that test and realized that she should not want to be the rancher herself, but rather the wife of the rancher.

Opportunities for women have, indeed, been limited. Certain fields have systematically discriminated against women—and educators have advised women accordingly. The combination has helped to perpetuate sexual stereotyping in education and employment. It is not by accident that only three countries in the world have a lower percentage of women doctors than the United States: Spain, Madagascar, and South Vietnam. It is not by accident that we have a lower percentage of women lawyers than most European countries.

It is not by accident that women have been losing ground in many fields. A hundred years ago, one-third of the college teachers in the United States were women. Now, the figure is less than one-fifth. Fifty years ago most elementary school principals were women. Today, 80 percent of the elementary school principals are men.

In fact, women may well be doing worse in those very fields that they have considered their own. Eighty precent of librarians are women. But two-thirds of the head librarians of city and university libraries are men. Rutgers University is one of only two major university systems in the U.S. with a woman head librarian.

In field after field, women are concentrated in the bottom ranks and are paid less than men for doing the same work. In fact, according to government statistics, a woman has to have a college degree in order to earn as much as a man with an eighth-grade education.

Ten years ago sex discrimination was widespread and legal. Today it is widespread and illegal. While it used to be a fact of life, it need no longer be. The advice that was in the best interests of our young women a decade or two ago must now be changed. We must now encourage our women students to choose paths that were formerly closed to them.

For example, we are seeing a revolution in the law schools. The Rutgers Law School at Newark adopted a new admissions policy giving equal consideration to women applicants. The result the first year was a 1971 entering class that was 40 percent women. Other law schools are following suit. The legal profession is no longer closed to all but the most outstanding women.

The medical profession should soon be following the example of our law school, too. Since November 1971, with passage of the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act, schools of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine, and nursing can no longer qualify for federal funds if they discriminate in admissions on the basis of sex.

Although this law is not yet being effectively enforced and although some of the medical schools seem determined to fight it, women's rights groups are on the job to see that discriminatory quota systems are wiped out.

Guidance counselors, however, must also take an active role in bringing more women into the medical profession. Now, because only 10 percent of the applicants to some medical schools are women, these schools claim they are not to blame. It is up to counselors to break up this vicious cycle.

In the past few years, hundreds of colleges and universities holding federal contracts have been investigated by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on charges of sex discrimination. There is strong hope that academic women will soon no longer be concentrated in the bottom ranks of college teaching. Other fields that should be opening up to women because of new legislation will be government service and management.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act, signed by President Nixon in March 1972, extends the coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and hence the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to public employees, educators, and professional level people.

While there have in the past been virtually no women in top executive positions either in government or in private business, today the very companies that most actively excluded women from such positions in the past are now most under pressure to promote women.

A few years ago it was common practice to bar women from management trainee programs. Today such a practice is illegal. Any company that insists upon doing so is open to government investigation and court suits.

It is also true that employers may no longer force pregnant employees to quit their jobs. And new EEOC guidelines on sex discrimination indicate we soon may have paid maternity leaves.

Some headway is apparent also in the area of equal pay, at least among new hires. The average starting

monthly pay offered to women college graduates differs only a few dollars from that of men in most fields. The only field in which there is still an appreciable gap is sales and marketing, where the men are offered $70 a month more.

It is extremely important that some previously male fields are opening up to women, particularly at a time when there may be diminished opportunities in teaching, the field which has absorbed up to the present the highest numbers of college-trained women. Labor Department projections indicate there will be good opportunities in law, the health professions, and business into the 1980's. But there may be serious problems for people seeking teaching positions.

A young woman interested in education would be well advised to think of special education, preschool education, college teaching, or school administration, rather than regular classroom teaching at the elementary school or high school level. Or she might plan, instead, for a career in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, or business, where there will still be good opportunities when she graduates. While schools of business administration very recently still discriminated against women applicants, they are now under pressure to actively recruit qualified women students.

Looking back, some of my ninth-grade classmates were thinking of marriage instead of a career. Our young women today must be told that not only is it possible to have both a career and marriage, but that most likely they will work whether or not they marry.

Moreover, demographers tell us that there are increasing numbers of women in their early 20's who are remaining single. Women today constitute almost 40 percent of the American work force—and more than 50 percent of the female population between the ages of 18 and 64 are working. While most career women 50 years ago were single—in part because employers frequently fired women if they married and certainly if they became pregnant—today the working woman is just as likely to be married.

More women are also combining motherhood and work. There are 18 million mothers working who have

children under 18 years of age, and each year sees a greater number of women with preschool children entering the work force. Women no longer work until they catch a husband and then stay home. Typically they work for a few years before their children are born. They have fewer children than women did before, and their childbearing is over by the time they are 30. They tend to reenter the work force by the age of 35 and continue to work until retirement.

If a young woman knows that she is going to work for 30 or more years, she will realize that she must prepare for a challenging career—not simply settle for a temporary or dead-end job.

The more education a woman receives, the more likely she is to work. While only 17 percent of the women with less than an eighth grade education work outside the home, slightly more than half of the women with a college degree are in the work force at any given time. The figure rises to 71 percent of women with five years of college and 91 percent of women holding doctorates.

Educators must take active steps to encourage girls to follow their interests and abilities, not assume that because they are female they do not want to study math or science but would rather specialize in English or Spanish.

Look around you with a new awareness. Make sure your school understands its role in improving the status of women in our society. Check the vocational preference tests used at your school and make sure they do not have a sex bias and are interpreted fairly. Examine the textbooks used and see if they have a sexist orientation. If they do, write to the publisher and urge him to revise the material.

If problems stem from parental attitudes, perhaps your school can plan a special kind of career day program—including parents—which will stress the changing roles of women in our society.

Above all, let the young women whose lives you are helping to shape know that all fields are now open to them, that their choices are limited only by their own interests, talents, and motivation.

4. A Child's-Eye View of Sex Roles

By Lynne B. Iglitzin

In 1971 and 1972, two studies dealing with sex stereotyping were conducted on schoolchildren in three suburbs of Seattle. In the first study, 290 fifth graders (141 boys, 149 girls) took part; in the second study, 147 fifth graders (80 boys, 67 girls).

The first study (in which I collaborated with sociologist Judith Fiedler) involved a series of questions designed to show sex stereotyping based on views of career and employment patterns, social roles in home and family, and the child's view of his/her future life as an adult. Both boys and girls demonstrated sex stereotyping (as measured by the response "men" or "women" rather than "either" or "both" to the questions). However, significantly higher proportions of girls had nonstereotyped responses in all categories.

Career and employment patterns. We gave the children a list of jobs and asked them to indicate whether "men," "women," or "both men and women" should perform these tasks. A majority of both sexes thought that bosses, taxi drivers, mayors, factory workers, and lawyers should be men and that nurses and house cleaners should be women.

Stereotyping was common for both boys and girls. In fact, in some cases, girls were even less inclined than boys to see traditionally masculine jobs become

feminine jobs. For example, 3.6 percent of the boys said mayors should be women, but only 2 percent of the girls said this. Although girls were as little inclined as boys to reverse sex roles in traditionally sex-tied jobs, girls were much more willing to see jobs open to either sex.

Home and family. The results for this part of the study showed that fifth graders have been thoroughly inculcated with a sex-typed view of home and household: Women wash dishes, cook, dust, scrub floors, and get up at night with a sick child. Men pay bills, fix things, and weed the yard. The men's list was shorter than the women's—even taking out the garbage was bestowed by our children on women! Girls' views were as traditional as boys', though the girls showed a slightly greater tendency to see both parents performing household tasks.

Personality traits. At least 60 percent of the girls saw themselves as kinder, better behaved, more serious, and better in math than boys; by a smaller majority the girls thought they "figured things out" better, too. The majority of girls saw boys as fighting more and as better in science. Children of both sexes tended to see most traits as distinctly masculine or feminine, though they did not always agree on which sex should be linked to a particular trait. The aggressive-gentleness continuum offered a striking example of agreement by both sexes: Close to 90 percent of boys and girls saw boys as fighting more, and about 75 percent of boys and 85 percent of girls saw girls as kinder.

Although the girls in the sample were traditional in their sex-typed view of some personality traits, more of them saw both sexes exhibiting these traits.

Sex typing in girls' view of their future. The pattern of traditional sex typing which emerged in girls' views of social roles and personality traits carried over into their career aspirations and descriptions of their lives as adults. While the boys wanted to be craftsmen, engineers or scientists, professionals (doctors, lawyers, dentists), sportsmen, and pilots, the girls wanted to be teachers, artists, stewardesses, nurses, and veterinarians.

Overall, the girls had varied job and career aspirations, albeit heavily weighted toward traditional female occupations. They seemed in little doubt that they would have careers. Only 6 percent said they would be simply a mother or a housewife.

Yet when we correlated the career-choice question with an open-ended essay, "Imagine you are grown up. Describe how you would spend a typical day," a different picture emerged. The girls showed a marked discrepancy between their stated career goals and their descriptions of an actual day.

Girls in the sample emphasized marriage and family much more than boys in the sample. Despite the small number (6 percent) who said they would be housewives and mothers, well over 25 percent of the girls (compared to 10 percent of the boys) made marriage and family the predominant focus of their projected day, and an even larger group (38 percent of the girls, compared to 14 percent of the boys) emphasized details of family life in their descriptions. In contrast, boys overwhelmingly ignored domestic life—well over 83 percent (compared to 63 percent of the girls) gave no details of family activities and fewer than one-fourth even mentioned marriage or family.

Typically, many of the girls commented extensively and in detail on housewifely routine. Even girls who had chosen a variety of careers in the earlier question saw themselves doing traditional "women's work" around the house. In fact, for many, the description of the household chores seemed far more salient than the job. A girl who had said she wanted to be "an artist, maybe a beautician" described her typical day as follows:

I would start the morning after getting out of bed by eating breakfast. Then I would clean house. If I was done before lunch I would probably visit a friend. Then eat lunch. After lunch I would go shopping. Then I would come home and rest for a while. When my husband came home (if I was married) he would probably tell me how his day went and I would tell him how mine went. If he was in a real good mood he would take me out to dinner. When we were done with dinner we would go to a movie. Then we would go home and go to bed.

Boys tended much more to focus exclusively on details of job and career. The following statement by a boy who wants to be a lawyer and who never discusses marriage, family, or home was quite typical:

I would talk to my clients on what their problems were. If I thought his thoughts were right I would explain the right procedures to take depending on his problems, and I would fight for his thoughts.

The comments of girls who said they wanted to be housewives could be described as typical of persons leading what has been called the "contingent life"—seeing one's actions as derived from and dependent on the wishes of others. Thus such statements as "I would try to please my husband" or "If my children wanted to" were common in their essays.

This study indicated that the degree of traditional sex stereotyping of the major social roles in society is very strong by the fifth grade level.

Of particular interest is the fact that so many of the girls clearly opted for career choices that they appear to be unwilling or unable to translate into consequences in their own lives.

What is the explanation for this dichotomy between career choice and visualization of future life that our data showed applied unequally to the boys and girls in our sample? It appears that social stereotypes restrict girls in expressing a free choice of future roles. If this is true, it may be that the first question, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" by suggesting that such decisions are possible, permitted the girls freedom to state their wildest wishes. The later question, however, brought them down to earth by asking them to imagine a typical day. The realities of societal pressure took over, they saw themselves doing things women always do, and thus fell back into the traditional activities society sanctions for women.

In our view, the most significant finding of all was that the girls were consistently less stereotyped in their views than the boys. This was a puzzling finding that we were at a loss to explain, particularly in view of the literature that attests to women as traditional bearers and upholders of conservative values.

One variable that seemed to be relevant in determining which children had less traditional sex-stereotyped attitudes was whether or not their mothers worked. As other studies have shown, our data indicated that children with working mothers—especially girls—had more liberal views on roles of men and women in society.

A year later, I decided to try a follow-up study in the same schools and with the same age children to determine what effect, if any, the strongly stereotyped views children hold have on their political attitudes and beliefs. More particularly, my interest was with girls, who had always emerged as less politically interested and aware than boys in previous socialization studies. I wondered whether a relationship exists between strong adherence to traditional feminine values and weak political interest among girls.

As in the 1971 study, the new questionnaire dealt with children's own view of their future roles in job and family; the degree of openness/stereotyping in their view of social roles for men and women; and, new in this study, a series of questions designed to explore their political information and awareness.

Sex differences and political responses. A number of questions attempted to deal with the degree of stereotyping in children's views of both public and private roles. I was curious to see if the sexual division of labor that we had seen extended into family and social roles also held true for the civil and political areas.

The democratic norm of equal opportunity implies that anyone can be President, a goal theoretically open to both sexes. Which was more salient for the girls, the rhetoric of equal access or the reality of male dominance in virtually all positions of political power? For boys, the log-cabin-to-Presidency myth or an impenetrable "power elite"? Do 11-year-olds find the prospect of becoming powerful political leaders someday attractive? What degree of realism do they have about their actual chances of attaining such posts?

To get answers to some of these queries, I asked a number of questions dealing with national and local

politics. First, I asked the children to assume that they were adults and could choose any political job, such as President, governor, judge, head of the school board, and mayor. Strikingly, well over half of the children picked none of these posts. Strong sex differences were apparent in the answers of those who picked political jobs, however. Although about the same small proportion of boys and girls chose President, a sizable number of boys wanted to be mayor, yet not a single girl chose this. For girls, the popular choices were head of the school board and judge.

Then, I asked the children to assess which of the positions they thought they had a realistic chance of attaining. Here I wanted to find out if the girls, more than the boys, would sense the great difficulty of achieving these high prestige roles in our society. This pattern did not occur. Percentages were almost identical to the previous question.

Several interpretations are possible. Probably many of the children did not understand the concept of "realistic" and simply copied the answer they had given in the previous question. Or else, their political concepts are still so naïve that they truly think they can become anything they want to be. Or maybe their initial choices are already calibrated to what is possible: They sense the impossibility of the "you-too-can-be-President-someday" myth and refuse to play that game.

Other sex differences emerged that were in line with previous socialization studies. When asked to decide why they might vote for a candidate, girls were more likely to choose candidates who were peace-oriented and honest and sincere. Over twice as many boys as girls chose the candidate whose ideas would contribute to the country's economic wealth.

I drew up a composite index to include the determinants of political information and awareness. The information score consisted of correct answers to the various political identification questions; the awareness score was composed of any response other than "don't know" to the various questions dealing with voting and elections. On each of these scores, the girls did more poorly than the boys.

In areas beside the political, sex stereotyping was as strong in the attitudes of these children as it had been in their counterparts the year before. Girls saw themselves eventually marrying and having children; boys saw themselves as adults in terms of jobs. Over half the children thought only men should do certain jobs and only women, certain others. A very low 10.6 percent of the girls and 14.7 percent of the boys said a woman should work "anytime she wants to."

Stereotyping and politicalization. Once the existence of sex differences had been established, I attempted to see if a common variable, stereotyping, could be isolated as a determinant of low politicalization. The measurement of stereotyping was the degree to which the children saw social roles (housework, medical care, and so on) in the traditional terms of sexual dichotomy. For all the children, I matched the stereotyping index against the separate political information and awareness indices and, in addition, for girls, I matched the femininity index (measured by their adherence to traditional female careers and values) against the political scores.

Results were inconclusive. Stereotyping clearly exists, but the data did not show any strong relationship with level of political information and awareness except in a few cases at the extremes.

The main concern was to see the effect of stereotyping and feminizing influences upon the girls. Here girls did seem more strongly affected than did boys. There were some indications that girls who had the least narrowly feminine aspirations scored higher on political information and awareness, but the relationship was weak. Similarly, the occupation of the mother (housewife vs. job holder) clearly affected the girls' aspirations and degree of stereotyping but was less apparent in influencing their politicalization scores. In contrast to the earlier study, such a small percent of the mothers of these girls were job holders that it would be misleading to draw any conclusions based on the daughters of working mothers.

Summary. The expected strong sex differences on political, social, and economic roles in society

emerged. Moreover, the existence of very strong sex typing in children's views of jobs and functions in the world, as well as their own personal role within it had been again confirmed. But the hoped for correlation between stereotyping and feminization in the girls as an explanation for their low politicalization scores proved inconclusive.

Why? Two explanations are possible. First, very few of the girls identified themselves in terms other than marriage and family; the sample failed to turn up more than a tiny handful of girls who had not been feminized. Therefore, comparisons weren't possible.

Second, perhaps the questionnaire reflects an unconscious ideology of sexism because of the sexist subject matter with which the questions concern themselves. (Before undertaking the study, I had attempted to control for sexist language. For example, I used "he/she" instead of the ubiquitous "he" and included women as examples of political leaders.) The subject matter of the questionnaire, as well as that of others dealing with this same subject, is male-oriented because political posts have historically always been occupied by men.

When politics is conceptualized in terms of power, aggression, and conflict, it is not surprising that women, trained in submissiveness, dependence, and passivity, should find little in it to interest them.

For too long, political scientists have focused only on the macro level of politics, dealing with formal power as exercised in institutions and by government officials. It is no wonder that children, and indeed many adults, feel alienated and removed from its concerns. Political scientists need to emphasize the micro level of politics—power hierarchies in family, peer groups, and classrooms. Undoubtedly, children can tell political scientists a great deal about this dimension of politics.

5. Sexual Politics in the Classroom

By Sheila Tobias

I became interested in sexual politics in the classroom while teaching the first course on women's studies at Cornell in 1970. I was struck then by the fact that sex-role socialization is viewed as taking place primarily in early childhood. What also struck me was the fact that most psychologists ignore the degree to which *adult* experiences reinforce that socialization. As we know, little girls are rewarded for docility, passivity, and dependence, while little boys are rewarded for assertiveness and independence, and such training carries over into behavioral characteristics of adults. Yet, experiences in the world of work, and in higher education, give enormous support to those views we have learned to accept earlier as "normal."

Sexual politics on the job is obvious. Examine any large organization, where it is easy to see the intense and almost perfect segregation of jobs by sex. Look at the jobs in a university and notice that in those categories occupied by women, there are almost no men. Clerical staffs are predominantly women. By contrast, in training programs for management, men predominate. Any observer must see that it is not by accident that, in the eyes of a corporation, female applicants only qualify for jobs that are "female" and men for jobs that are "male." A plausible explanation

is that roles are played in an organization parallel to those in the family. "Mommy" has tasks that "Daddy" never does—and vice versa. Thus the notion is reinforced that what women do, men don't do.

Another phenomenon at work is what I call "satellitism," occurring when a male, admittedly higher in qualifications, is surrounded by females who assist him and reflect his "glory." Antidiscrimination laws are ineffective remedies because the females are less qualified than the male. Moreover, satellitism furthers the notion that men are superior to women. By contrast, somewhere in the organization there is an equally qualified female who could be surrounded by less qualified men, but as we know, this never occurs. Another aspect of adult role playing is that women are almost never put into authority over men. For those of you who have read Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, you will remember that she notes in Chapter Two that the conventional wisdom explains sex differences as follows: Women are born with certain behavioral characteristics which fit them for their adult roles. They are nurturant, dependent, nonaggressive. Then the roles they assume as wives and mothers divert them from the centers of power. The key advancement years in vocations and politics are from 25 to 35, but these are precisely the years when women are outside the profession. Every university or school system wants a young president or superintendent with 15 years experience post Ph.D., and this effectively excludes mothers who have taken 5 to 10 years off.

Millett has taken the scheme whereby temperament leads to role and role leads to status and turned it on its head. She hypothesizes that since men wish to remain superior in power and status, they assign women to roles that will keep them from competing with them. The role of mother keeps them in the home; the role of wife keeps them primarily in a support position relative to a man's career. And, in order to keep them from rebelling, she further hypothesizes, men persuade women that they have temperamental characteristics that unfit them for anything else. The female, as Matina Horner says, is in a double bind: if she shows these characteristics that are regarded

by professionals as competent, she is doomed to be called unfeminine; if she shows feminine characteristics she will not be successful.

Male and female children are affected by sex stereotyping long before they reach college. At the elementary level girls are rewarded for neatness, docility, obedience, passivity, and following instructions both inside and outside of school. Thus, they experience little dissonance. Meanwhile boys are rewarded outside of school for the opposite kinds of behavior, which results in considerable conflict for the elementary school boy. Females outdistance males in grade-point averages in elementary school and through high school, but grades still reflect docility, obedience, and the special ability to produce what the teacher wants.

In college an opposite reward system begins to take place as the professors give recognition to intellectual aggressiveness, to ideas that are new, different, provocative, and challenging. This is the kind of behavior, though disobedient in a sense, that is reinforced in the world outside the classroom as male, and is rewarded on the job as well. You know the cliches: This young man has ideas. He thinks for himself. At this point it is the female who experiences conflict, for her docility is not rewarded in college as it was in the past. Moreover, when she does manifest behavior that is recognized as original and brilliant, she runs the risk of being considered bizarre.

Women are conditioned to avoid conflict, and if true to their sex role, they must be pacifiers. To the female intellectual or professional, this presents almost as serious a drawback as outright discrimination. Women will not get anywhere if they cannot think for themselves, if they are not aggressive about their interests, and if they are not willing to engage in intellectual conflict.

One obvious corrective to this situation is the teacher who will bend over backwards to challenge good intellects into nonsex-stereotyped behavior. Another corrective is the college teacher who learns to identify with women students. As teachers of women, men must conquer their beliefs that women are so

different from them, and women teachers who are misogynists need to be confronted with their own biases.

Still another corrective measure that would help women succeed in college and in the profession would be an affirmative action program on the part of the university to hire more women as faculty members and as high level administrators. Women are needed as role models in such positions. Not only would female students benefit from such action, but also male students who need to encounter women in positions of authority.

The curriculum also socializes college students, and unless corrections are made, will continue to reinforce traditional sex roles and sex differences. Women's studies can provide a fundamental critique of the inherent sexism in the traditional curriculum, but unless compensation is made for earlier omissions of factual material concerning women throughout the broad range of disciplines, women will continue to be ignored and repressed. Notable among the disciplines requiring such curriculum revision are history, literature, psychology, and the social sciences.

One other area in which universities reinforce sex-typed preferences is one so familiar to you that I will not dwell on it, and that is the area of sex-typed fields of specialization. To give you an idea of how the assumptions that certain fields are masculine and others feminine become self-fulfilling prophecies, here are some statistics of earned doctorates in America from 1960 to 1968: 11 percent of the doctorates in all the natural sciences went to women; 30 percent of the doctorates in education went to women; 20 to 25 percent of the doctorates in social sciences went to women; and 30 percent of the doctorates in the humanities went to women.

The final area of adult socialization of college students is what I call the "wider world," and it is one for which we cannot hold the university entirely responsible. Nevertheless, I would demand of the university that it experiment with nonsexist ideology and hiring policies. I would ask that the university stand before the world as an example of how an institution can

function in an egalitarian fashion. It should be the place where innovations in the curriculum are tried. It should be the first institution to initiate part-time full-status work for women professionals as well as the first to initiate child care as a regular part of the benefit structure.

Though more women go to college than ever before, we are not getting out of them the kind of professional commitment that earlier generations produced, because their upward mobility is blocked by sexual politics in the classroom, on the job, and in our society. Although 80 to 90 percent of women with doctorates work full-time, few are college presidents. Only three women have ever been state governors, and two have been senators. Recently a greater number of women have held seats in the House. Opportunities must be opened and women educated for the opportunities.

6. School Athletics and Sex Discrimination

By Kathryn F. Clarenbach

Of all the aspects of American life in which women are shortchanged, none is more glaring or more damaging than the area of physical development. In the prestigious world of American sports women are not even second-class citizens. My thesis is that our culture has systematically underdeveloped the physical prowess and skills of females, and that the effects of this underdevelopment are serious and many-faceted. I further believe that the failure of the wider society to permit women full human status—the right to be mature, responsible adults—is well illustrated through this microcosm.

Women are denied the opportunity for healthful, exciting self-expression through physical activity in many ways. From the moment of birth, infant girls are handled more gently than infant boys. Through nursery school days, girls are told and expected to stay clean and neat, not be noisy, play with dolls and dishes instead of trucks and footballs, and follow instructions. Snowballing, tree-climbing, and just goofing around in innumerable independent, unstructured physical play activities are reserved for boys, and little girls are being carefully and irrevocably programmed to be "young ladies."

By elementary school the plot really begins to thicken. The school system begins to groom the boys for the all-important star-studded teams of high school, college, and professional days ahead.

"Coaches" suddenly appear for third grade boys, and the disparity between budget, facilities, space, and equipment for boys and girls begins. We are so accustomed to huge expenditures for all-male athletic teams that it never occurs to us that this is an injustice that we endorse and help perpetuate. Just as our schools help create dependent women by denying them training in the very useful areas of shop and auto mechanics and by giving them limited if any professional aspirations, so they contribute to dependence and acceptance of second-class status in their total athletic programs.

Let's take a little closer look at what does happen to girls in our grade and high school physical education programs. Maybe, if they're lucky, the girls can use the quarter-of-a-million dollar gym one lunch period a week. If scheduled a full year in advance *maybe* they can have one Saturday Play Day a year with girls from another school—provided of course they abide by the state rules and have no publicity, no spectators, and no prizes or awards.

What happens in the physical education classes for girls? Whoever prepared the manuals or decided on course content must be someone who never was a kid and who has taken a sacred oath against having fun. My two daughters and their friends have been graded on the number of showers they take, whether they remember to have their gym suits laundered and tennies whitened each month, how many seconds they can hang by their arms on wall bars, and how fast they run sixty yards and get dressed afterwards. Both my girls are strong swimmers, excellent water and snow skiers, skillful at ping pong, good at bowling and tennis; neither one of them has ever had *one minute* of these activities in phys ed, except for an elective quarter in college. They were taught the rules of soccer from A to Z, but have never encountered a soccer game since leaving sixth grade.

The overemphasis on protecting girls from strain or injury and underemphasis on developing skills and experiencing teamwork fits neatly into the pattern of the second sex. Even so, girls are usually at least not subjected to some of the machismo-oriented, pseudo-

military regimens which often permeate boys' athletics. Our son's third-grade "coach" was a former marine whose favorite punishment for these eight-year-old boys was to send them through the mill. When our David refused to hit his friends, already demeaned by having to crawl on hands and knees between the legs of their classmates, he himself was punished for this "insubordination" with the same fate.

Later, in junior high, it was his misfortune to have the same coach, who was on the familiar (and for-men-only) coach to counselor to principal route. Our whole family was wearing "End the War" buttons; when David was called to be timed for the 100 yard dash, the coach snarled: "OK, Clarenbach, let's see how fast you can run out of Vietnam." What little heart Dave had for the race was gone with such public ridicule, and he ran badly.

I don't claim that the military mentality prevails universally in boys' athletics. I do believe there is far too much emphasis on the development of this and certain other so-called "masculine" qualities and values which are already too dominant in our society. Winning is all, and if it involves brutality, hostility, cruelty, permanent injuries, lack of compassion, unethical sly practices, so be it. It is incredible that our nation could accord the same national mourning for a beloved coach that it does for a head of state. I would far prefer that women did nothing more than tatting or quilting than be encouraged to emulate these aspects of the masculine mystique.

Meanwhile, girls are the spectators and the cheerleaders. They organize the pep clubs, sell pompoms, make cute abbreviated costumes, strut a bit between halves, and idolize the current football hero. Perfect preparation for the adult role of women—to stand decoratively on the sidelines of history and cheer on the men who make decisions, to be the nurse to the doctor, hygienist to the dentist, secretary to the boss, to live vicariously through father, husband, or son, to do the fund raising and circulate petitions for the men who run for office and fill executive posts. It only puzzles me that some enterprising coach hasn't

enlisted willing young women to replace waterboys and towel wielders.

I shall long remember the 1968 Olympics in Mexico when several contestants in women's events were subjected to chromosome tests to verify their sex. One could only conclude that *women* were not expected to perform that well. Certainly American women are excluded as far as possible from many events even when they qualify (witness the jockeys and umpires). Apparently prestige or income—maybe both—are jeopardized in men's eyes with the invasion of women. If a woman can to it well, it must not be such a trick after all. This undervaluing of women and whatever they do also keeps women out of commercial piloting and virtually out of medicine, science, laws, politics, and engineering. By opening up the highly visible arena of sports and athletics to women, we may help of demolish the fears and the patterns of discrimination so prevalent elsewhere.

When women do succeed in tennis, golf, skating, diving, swimming, the rewards are rarely those of their male counterpart. Even *Sports Illustrated* noted the unjust inequities in tournament purses for men and women. Who ever heard of a female athlete in any event earning a six-digit salary? In fact, the only way a woman can qualify for the added thousands our athletes reap doing TV commercials is to be mistaken for her shapely teen-age daughter.

Even within the same college or high school, the incomes of men and women phys ed instructors tend to have considerable disparity. In those states that permit interscholastic sports for girls, their teams are coached by men. These are the same patterns that exist throughout our entire economy, where 75 percent of the 30 million employed women are in low-paid, dead-end occupations; twice as many women as men live in poverty; the largest group of unemployed are girls 16-22; and women and their children comprise 80 percent of our welfare rolls.

These are the results of an educational system which does not develop independence and skills in women and which teaches women that it is unfeminine to achieve or to demand equal opportunity.

7. Roles, Labels, Stereotypes: A Counselor's Challenge

By Barbara Cook

How can a counselor most effectively work with men and women students in helping them find individual identities—sometimes in contradiction of the roles dictated by society?

- What should it mean to the counselor to have an increased awareness of culturally defined roles for men and women?
- How may a counselor increase her or his own awareness?
- How does the counselor's self-concept affect his or her ability to help individual men and women find answers to their individual problems?

A recent survey done at my own institution shows that out of a faculty of 1,429, only 175 are women; 42 percent of our instructors are women; 14 percent of our assistant professors are women; 6.5 percent of our associate professors are women; and 3 percent of our full professors are women—an appalling significant decrease as the ranks become higher. We have six department heads who are women—all in the fields of home economics, nursing, and physical education for women. These are actual figures even though our student population is one-third female.[1]

The national figures show that it takes a female associate professor three times as long on the average to be promoted as it does a male associate professor. Such figures are familiar, so I will concentrate on the methods, techniques, and education necessary to prevent their continued occurrence. I quote them only as one small example of the enormous job yet to be done, the wasted talent, the undeveloped aspiration, and the way the humanness of both men and women is damaged in our society by sexual stereotyping.

There is no doubt that discriminatory policies as they affect women are receiving a good bit of attention nowadays. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has published guidelines for educational institutions and is insisting upon "positive, affirmative action" to the fair employment of women in terms of representative numbers, opportunities, and salaries. Women's organizations, concerned with all facets of women's lives, are proliferating and are beginning to take some affirmative action themselves. Perhaps the most significant quality, however, of most of the women's movements is "that most women's organizations are refusing to make the self-defeating mistake of earlier feminist movements—which focused on the uniqueness of women. More wisely the new women are declaring that they are human beings, equally so with men, and they promise emancipation from stereotyping for both sexes." [2]

In some of the recent literature, both scholarly and militant, the idea of the caste-like status of women and blacks has been given new attention. Helen Hacker first wrote about this in 1951.[3] Her model has been expanded and used by a number of writers to show the conscious or unconscious "rationalization of status"—the ascribed attitudes, the social visibility, the accommodation attitudes, the discriminations. A strong cultural prescription of roles dictates appropriate behavior not only for women and blacks, but also for men, for whites, and even for age groups—most notably the young. This prescription of roles is currently under attack by militant and/or concerned groups. This battle was waged first by the blacks through their acts of civil disobedience in Montgom-

ery, then by the young with their insistence on "participatory democracy"—a giving to ordinary people of a real voice in the decision-making process. Now, finally, women are fighting on many fronts for legal equality as well as for free choice in the self-determination of their individual lives.

All three of these recent movements, occurring in increased strength since 1955, are speaking to the same principle—one that is at the very foundation of the education profession: the right of each individual to attain maximum development. (I am amazed daily that the precepts that student personnel workers have been endorsing since the 1920's have now become so much a part of the liberal-radical movements in educational reform. The real tragedy is that most of us don't even recognize them.) But a new and important dimension has been added to this fundamental concept: the right of each individual to attain maximum development according to his or her abilities, desires, efforts, and aspirations, *not* according to a social or sexual role prescribed by society.

As counselors, we must clearly understand what Robert Blackburn describes as "The Moral Revolution" in the November 1970 *AAHE College and University Bulletin.* Blackburn delineates eight new values, six of which are directly related to our subject:[4]

1. *Truth has a higher value than loyalty.*
2. *The individual is more respected than the organization.*
3. *Human needs have priority over technological concerns.*
4. *Personal expression is more important than social forms.*
5. *Openness is replacing secrecy.*
6. *No longer can a minority group be relegated to second-class citizenship.*

In summary, we are moving toward a society where truth, individualism, human needs, personal expression, openness, and real opportunity for all will be highly valued.

The Grafton Youth Report, a Madison Avenue publication geared to communications, business, and educational executives, talks squarely and sensibly to its subscribers. Its 1969 special report *A Set of Guidelines Dealing with Youth* offered the following suggestion:

> Remember that the sexes are integrated. Boys and girls today debate as equals, go out campaigning together for their favorite candidates, consult each other without affectation on their common problems. It does not occur to them that females should be addressed in any special way, or spared any knowledge about life. Much has been said about a "sex revolution," but the most important point seems to have been missed: *The two sexes are friends as they have never been before.* Any hint in choice of words or tone of voice that you are putting the female sex down in some way, as not quite the full partners of the male, will date you irrevocably and cause loss of confidence in what you have to say or sell.[5]

The November 1970 issue of that same Grafton report stated that women's liberation is the only youth movement today of any consequence (in both high schools and colleges) identifiable in all sections of the country.[6]

With this background of widespread public awareness of both racial and sexual discrimination, with the emphasis on attacking the societal prescription of roles for all people, and with the real interest being shown by youth in this problem (or at least in the problem of individualization), the counselor and the educator are in unique positions to help release the currents of change and to work more effectively with individuals—both boys and girls, whites and blacks—in offering individualistic alternatives for each person's life-style.

But alternatives for planning or action are only viable if they are realistic choices. Our society has not yet accepted the moral revolution of which Blackburn wrote, nor are all avenues open to all people. Nor are all counselors convinced that the wave of the near future will really allow the kind of individualism

discussed here. Our own experience, biases, beliefs—our own historic sense and perceptions—too often show through clearly, if not always brightly. Yet when we work with students we work with the future. Our lockstep system of education too often decides the fate of a potential scientist by assignment of specific courses in the early years of high school. Talent and choice may too often be constrained in a counseling office when engineering is recommended for a bright boy, elementary education for a bright girl. And what of the kids who don't go to college? Elizabeth Koontz, director of the Women's Bureau, tells about the typical young *woman* who acquires some skill in typing. She may earn $2.50 an hour in some sections, or she may earn $1.65 an hour in other sections, to sit at her desk and type, type, type. But the *man* who repairs her typewriter earns $8.50 an hour. Sometimes, as counselors, we unwittingly help turn the keys that lock our students into prescribed roles without really giving enough thought to what their world may be like in 10 or 15 years.

Since World War II, sex roles for women have changed drastically. All good women counselors, and happily even some of the men, now know about life planning for women. Many of us can, at the drop of a hat, rattle off the latest Women's Bureau figures about the number of women in the labor force, the woman's age when her last child will be born, the number of years she will work correlated with educational attainment, and so forth. Woman has become *the* subject.

However, comparatively little has been written about the role of the male. There has been concern expressed in the field of education about female dominance in the training of the young, particularly that young boys are not being provided with any meaningful male figures. Some have protested that our society is female dominated, that men in this country grow up to be weak and dependent. Unfortunately much of the literature about male roles resolves these problems by suggesting ways to further emphasize and strengthen the "maleness" stereotype in our society, an emphasis that results inevitably in an "either/or"

domination of one sex by the other. The truth is that children, all children, need meaningful male and female role models, role models who are significant human beings in their own right—neither dominated nor domineering. All writers agree, though, that the adult male seeks and finds his identity primarily through his work and secondarily through his family. For the woman, of course, it is the other way around.

However, emerging trends may have a direct relationship to changing sex roles, and we should be aware of these as well. Population control and the ecological balance have become a major source of concern. Kingsley Davis and others have hypothesized that, "given the assumption that population growth in the U.S. should be stopped by reducing the birth rate, efforts should be made to de-emphasize the women's role upon the importance of having children."[7] Since most studies have shown that the concept of the woman's role includes her having and rearing children, and that no matter what career she follows, her most important role is still that of becoming a mother, a serious movement toward population control will necessitate a change in this rather basic and culturally prescribed concept.[8] If anyone thinks that de-emphasizing the centrality of a woman's being a mother and a wife will be easy, I urge the reading of Billy Graham's article in the December 1970 *Ladies' Home Journal*. The Reverend Mr. Graham, backed by appropriate Bible texts, writes that Eve's *biological* role was to bear children; her *romantic* role was to love her husband; and her *vocational* role was to be second in command. He says:

> I believe the women's liberation movement is an echo of our overall philosophy of permissiveness. Everyone young, old, male and female seems bent upon abandoning any moral, Biblical and traditional guidelines. Many women are obviously saying, "Why can't we get in on the act?"[9]

Perhaps in the year 1990, when it is estimated that women will account for 55 percent of the U.S. population (as opposed to 51 percent now), Mr. Graham will be advocating polygamy so that all women can experi-

ence the fulfillment of following Eve's prescribed role as the bearer of children.

There are other changes of which we should be aware: the breakdown in traditional concepts of the nuclear family, increasing interest in communal and experimental living forms, and the new California divorce laws which share responsibility and financial arrangements equally between the two marriage partners and which promise to serve as models for other states. All these factors will tend to diminish the security of marriage for the male as well as for the female. Marriage in 1980 or 1985 is very likely to be something quite different from the father and mother held together by the rearing of the young. As this historical family concept continues to change, prescribed sex roles will become much more individualistic.

Counselors need to know both the present reality and the direction of the future if they are to help young people more easily enter a world filled with *ever-increasing change and ambiguity.* Alice Rossi challenged all counselors when she wrote:

> Hence, it is when men question work, and women question family commitment, and both sexes question an uncritical commitment to nation-state, that we find responses among parents, teachers, employers, and government officials ranging from a shiver of distaste to a convulsion of hate. The strange thing is that one hardly ever hears anyone point to precisely these emerging qualities among young people as healthy indicators that promise solutions to precisely the problems all would agree are reaching crisis proportions in the world at large. Virulent nationalism and the consequence of international hostility will not be solved by upping nuclear deterrence but by the emergence of supra-national loyalties to the well being of all men and women on earth. The population explosion will not be solved unless more men and women remain unmarried, have fewer children, or none at all. Environmental pollution will not be solved unless we live simply

and stop as a nation from consuming more than half the world's raw materials. The technitronic future of increased leisure time will be meaningless unless men and women value that leisure time at least equally as much as their work time.[1]"

Second, we must somehow develop a personal objectivity as we look at human needs. Many counselors internalize society's prescribed roles and are comfortable with them. Many professional men and women simply shrug and say "women's liberation doesn't concern me." Many, both men and women, feel threatened by a movement—a moral revolution, if you will—that may upset their security. There are others, unfortunately mostly women, who have been badly treated in their professional life—they have been denied opportunity because of their sex, not because of a lack of talent. They are not promoted or compensated as well, or as quickly, as their male counterparts. They find themselves increasingly uninvolved in significant work. The result of this frustration, as we know from the black movement, is often bitterness and militancy, or self-acceptance of a meaningless life and a concept of one's self as an unperson.

Third, we must fight discrimination on all levels within our own institutions. All of us can think of many examples of such discrimination in our own policies and procedures. At Purdue, for example, a reduction in our activity fee is given to spouses of male students but not to spouses of female students. At many institutions the salary paid is greater for married faculty with families than it is for the single faculty member. Nepotism bans continue in many schools. These are just a few of many stupid, inhuman practices left over from an earlier time. They must cease.

Fourth, we must provide good role models of both sexes—and all races, married and single for our students. A young man should have as much opportunity to learn about being a male nurse as a young woman has about being a female doctor. We must somehow destroy the occupational myths of maleness and femaleness.

Again, we may learn from the black movement. Just as *Little Black Sambo* has been attacked because of the stereotyping of a black child, so we should attack children's books that exclusively show Mary *playing* house and Johnny *building* a house. Images of appropriate occupations by sex start quite young in a child's life and probably have hurt the young boy even more than the young girl. Because our culture is still male dominated, it is more acceptable for a girl to be a "tomboy" than for a boy to be a "sissy." Although it is not easy for either, it is probably easier for a woman to survive a college engineering course than for a man to survive a college home economics course. We can do some simple but tangible things here. We can examine our institutional literature and make sure pictures of students or faculty show a fair mixture of the sexes in all fields. We can also purge our vocational files of other examples of occupational stereotyping.

Fifth, professional women especially, paving the way for other women, must be more aggressive in defending and expanding their own status. Women must learn to avoid acting in stereotyped kinds of ways: women must learn to act, not only to react; women must learn to take initiative, to speak out, to assume more responsibility as professional people. Myths concerning women as weak, defenseless, and dependent must be destroyed, and women themselves must be willing to fight this battle.

Last, we must simply be good human persons ourselves. Strangely, when I am shaken out of my accustomed nondirective role and allow myself to show frustration, anger, or joy, I reach students a great deal more effectively. They care about seeing us as we are; we must have enough self-confidence to share ourselves with them—not always as a woman, not always as a counselor or a dean, but some of the time just as a normal person reacting with, and to, them the same way.

Ashley Montagu makes my point in a very few sentences:

> Every person embodies an adventure of existence, and the art of life consists in the guidance of this adventure, an adventure in which men and wom-

en must participate equally. The prime business of a democracy, the great democratic task of men and women, is not the making of things, not even the making of money, but the making of human beings. . . .[11]

FOOTNOTES

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3. Hacker, Helen M. "Women as a Minority Group." *Social Forces* 30: 60-69; 1951.
4. Blackburn, Robert T. "Changes in Faculty Life Styles." *AAHE College and University Bulletin*, November 1, 1970.
5. Grafton Report, *Youth Report: A Set of Guidelines for Dealing with Youth*. New York: Grafton Publications, 1969.
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7. Davis, Kingsley. "Population Policy: Will Current Programs Succeed?" *Science*, November 1967. p. 158.
8. Slolka, Susan, and Barnett, Larry D. "Education and Religion as Factors in Women's Attitudes Motivating Childbearing." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31: 740-50; November 1969.
9. Graham, Billy. "Jesus and the Liberated Woman." *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1970. pp. 42, 44.
10. Rossi, Alice S. "Women in the Seventies: Problems and Possibilities." *Barnard Alumnae*, Spring 1970, p. 7.
11. Montagu, Ashley. *The Natural Superiority of Women*. New York: Lancer Books, 1953. p. 177.

8. Alternatives to a Sexist Curriculum

By Rose M. Somerville

What brought about a demand for women's studies courses in this country in recent years? Several prior movements helped to create the demand.

Certainly the civil rights movement showed young people in general—not just ethnic minorities—how to press for social change. At the same time, it convinced young women who were active in the movement that male leadership was placing them in subordinate positions and keeping them there. Unable to effect changes within male-dominated organizations, they became resentful and as a result formed women's caucuses at national conventions of civil rights groups —a practice that soon spread to professional organizations.

By the late 1960's a wide spectrum of women, mainly young, on campuses and off, were meeting in small intimate groups and rapping about their personal and professional experiences. Some of these rap groups moved into social action to make their grievances known. The mass media sensationalized much of what was happening, and "Women's Lib" became a household phrase connoting irrational demands rather than a painstaking search for answers to injustice.

College campuses, fortunately, afforded greater opportunity for dialogue that could illuminate the diversity of views among women's liberation adherents. Female faculty members and graduate students began

zealously examining their status and airing their discontents. Campus perpetuation of stereotypes highlighted the need for new courses.

Demands for the introduction of Black and Chicano studies set a precedent for moving ahead despite administrative and academic uncertainties and eased the path for introduction of women's studies—a curriculum expansion that will undoubtedly be felt in high schools and elementary schools.

Textbooks and other children's literature as well as radio and TV programs are under examination in various states by both voluntary and official committees, spurred on by feminist criticisms of the traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity that permeate both writings and illustrations. (For example, a bill before the California legislature would require that texts used in the public elementary and secondary schools include "accurate portrayals of both men and women in all types of roles, including professional, vocational, and executive.") As a result, teachers will undoubtedly have more appropriate teaching materials and more motivation to offer students a broader conception of male and female roles—from kindergartners' show-and-tell to term projects in college, from seating arrangements to career stories.

On many campuses, student initiative brought women's studies into existence. Faculty support, pressure from women's caucuses of professional organizations, and the general demand for relevance all speeded up establishment of women's studies. But the strength of students' demands and their untiring efforts to convince hesitant faculties and administrators were the outstanding factors.

Deciding which courses now being offered are "women's studies" is not always easy. Courses in the past rarely focused exclusively on women, but many extensively considered the roles of women both here and abroad. Sociology of the Family, widely offered in American colleges in the past two decades, is one example. It might be said that women's studies in various colleges both built on past curriculum offerings and stimulated greater focus on women in many

courses not formally designated as part of a women's studies program.

By the fall of 1970, San Diego State had set up within the College of Arts and Letters a formal Women's Studies Program. In addition, various departments continue to offer traditional courses in which women's images, needs, and activities have constituted an important aspect of study, such as Human Sexuality, Family Interaction, Contemporary British Literature, and World Drama. Further courses have been redesigned to emphasize the role, status, and potential of women.

When colleges try to set up formal programs of women's studies, they often face problems of funding and administration. These include the creation of new faculty positions, the lack of tenure in some instances on the part of those most interested in heading up a new department, institute, or center, and the relationship of the new administrative unit to the previous system of majors, credits, and credentialing. As a result, even where an institution offers a large number of new courses, as at Cornell University, they may be scattered in many departments. What united these dispersed courses at Cornell in 1970-71 (Evolution of the Female Personality: History and Prospects; Women in Education; the Representation of Women in Literature; Women and Society; the Sociology of the Female Labor Force) was the spirit of Cornell's Female Studies Steering Committee rather than its formal status in the University.

In contrast, the program of women's studies at San Diego State had two-and-a-half faculty positions allocated to it in its first year, 1970-71, enabling it to offer 10 courses each semester: Socialization Process of Women, Self-Actualization of Women, Contemporary Issues in Women's Liberation (two sections), Women in History, Women in Literature (Part I on women characters and Part II on women writers), Human Sexuality, Status of Women in Various Economic Systems, and Women and Education. The same allocation for 1971-72 permits 10 courses to be offered again, with some changes in titling and content.

Most colleges and universities that do have women's studies offer a single course, or at most two, rather than a whole program. The list of courses on women for 1970-71 compiled by the Commission on the Status of Women of the Modern Language Association makes this point evident. Several departments offer the 66 courses included on the list, although English departments predominate. While the reading materials overlap to some extent, the variety of course design is most notable.

Some of the course outlines manage to convey the teacher's own sense of adventure in designing the new course. The same is true of some course titles: Woman as Hero, Daughters and Ducats, Sex and Politics, Feminine Personality, Linguistic Behavior of Male and Female.

Expansion of curriculum to allow a special focus on women's roles has brought with it a number of questions. One of these is whether or not men should be involved in women's studies. Some of the women who teach the courses and a number of the women students admit to feelings of frustration in having coeducational classes.

On the San Diego State College campus, these comments were heard: "You have to start so far back with the men. They are at points A and B while some of us who have been meeting in rap groups are much farther along in our reading and thinking. . . . Our education is intended to lead to action. Few men could be counted on to serve as activists for women's rights. . . . Some of the men enroll for amusement, to scoff, rather than for serious educational purposes."

There seems to be a positive correlation between a program's commitment to action and a desire on the part of its female participants to exclude males. However, even within the radical wing we find many divergent attitudes, ranging from a willingness to work closely with men to a view of man as the enemy from whom power must be wrested.

Another unresolved issue in women's studies is whether the courses should be taught from a feminist point of view, and, if so, can men teach them? The

definition of a feminist point of view may be difficult to arrive at, but it probably would include these assumptions: (a) Society tends to curtail women's opportunities for growth beyond the limits set by biology. (b) Stereotypes and myths about woman hinder her advancement. (c) Male-dominated historiography, social research, and literary criticism continue markedly to resist recognizing female contributions and talents as does academia in general (d) Women have internalized negative appraisals of their sex, and this internalization leaves many with a poor self-image and a reservoir of rage, as well as lowered aspirations.

Feminists are likely to believe that the male cannot be as sensitive and perceptive as the female in examining the social forces and the literary and historical reflections of these forces that, through the centuries, have put women down.

Some women's studies courses proceed on this assumption and reveal the viewpoint in such titles as Exploring the New Feminism: A Feminist Analysis of Our Culture. Others set as their goals "to see to what extent women's criticisms are justified and to consider whether the presence of such chauvinism (if it does exist) does or should affect our final evaluation of the [literary] work." Still others seek to find out "how would one go about proving or disproving these assumptions concerning women."

Some women's studies programs, such as the one at San Diego State, seek only teachers who have both academic credentials and involvement in women's causes off campus. Others stress academic qualifications only.

Although women now teach most women's studies courses in coeducational institutions, it seems that men teach the majority of such courses offered at several women's colleges. What actually happens when men rather than women teach? Does this hamper the consciousness raising that is a side effect of women's studies? A feminist might look at the outline of a course taught by a male, note his characterization of Mary Wollstonecraft's famous essay as "the first significant outburst by an Englishwoman," and de-

mand to know whether he would dub John Stuart Mill's essay an outburst.

What is the future of women's studies courses and programs? Certainly, initial misgivings about them have diminished greatly. New research has been generated, and in the 1970's we can expect to see master's and doctoral dissertations that "search for the lost sex" in historical documents, government statistics, anthropological studies, works of art, and theoretical assumptions. These will enrich the course materials available.

Publishers have been hastening to meet the demand of women's studies courses with reissues of classics and numerous anthologies bringing together conveniently the articles on women that have appeared in women's liberation as well as professional journals. Hundreds of extension programs throughout the United States are now showing an interest in women's roles. Universities (through continuing education for women and agricultural extension programs) and state and local family-relations organizations have encouraged workshops, daylong institutes, exhibits, and related activities that focus on women's changing roles.

These developments are likely to encourage more colleges to offer women's studies. As yet no college has instituted a major in this field. Even the most developed program (in size if not in innovative course design and teaching techniques), that at San Diego State College, offers its 10 courses as electives that satisfy requirements in a number of fields. Moreover, there are still problems of articulation among courses, and sequence is largely a matter of chance.

Graduate courses are yet to come, although a breakthrough is evident in the one-year, action-oriented M.A. program in radical feminist studies at the Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School of Social Change (a branch of Vermont's Goddard College, located in Cambridge, Massachusetts). Seminars this year will include feminist history, cross-cultural studies of women, socialization to sex roles, women and the media, women and

the law, feminist psychology. Additional topics will be added as demanded.

Almost certainly, from now on, U.S. campuses will have to abandon their original tendencies to offer relatively little on women's roles. We can hardly expect, however, any easy resolution of the issues still in question.

9. Changing the School Environment

By Dorin M. Schumacher

When my then nine-year-old daughter announced two years ago that she wanted to raise horses when she grew up and would marry a rich man to finance the project, I realized that all those stories she had been reading about a girl and her horse were getting to her. She was modelling herself and her future on fictional and cultural projections of a woman's role, and the fact that I was a career-oriented Ph.D. candidate was not sufficient by itself to overcome the seduction of those images. I would have to do something to change her total environment, and it would have to be done before the crucial years of adolescence when parental influence declines and peer group influence increases. In order to avoid the psychological damage which would result from my making a decision about her future and attempting to impose it upon her, I decided to try to effect a substitution of more constructive images of women for the old images she was following.

The first step was helping her to see the fictional and relative nature of those images. So I began to watch television with her, discussing with her the one-sided picture of women it presents. We talked about the women we knew who were doing other things in life. I pointed out to her how different she was from some of the silly little girls we saw in situation comedies. I was helping her to develop a critical

sense and to see the gap between fiction and her own potential. I could have prevented her from watching television in order to protect her from those stereotypes, but I would also have had to keep her home from school and keep her from reading her books to protect her from them. We also began to examine her home and school reading material and to discuss the images of women presented in her books.

She began to complain about the sports program in her school and about the fact that there were organized activities for the boys but nothing for the girls. All the girls could do was to hang around the swings because the playing field was taken over by the boys' games. It became obvious that we had somehow to change the school environment too, and that this was going to be a much more difficult task. It would have been even more difficult, however, had the school in question been a public school. In our favor was the fact that the school in question is a university-related laboratory-demonstration school which prides itself on its "dedication to individual growth and development."

It is a small, attractive school which communicates a cheerful and friendly atmosphere. The children look happy and busy. It has about 250 students in kindergarten through ninth grades, most of whom come from white, middle class, highly educated academic or professional families. Because it is associated with a university School of Education, it is heavily involved in the process of teacher education and influences a great many potential teachers and their future students. Many of its mostly male faculty teach in the School of Education and many of them are working for graduate degrees there. Students from the School's degree programs do student teaching at the school and hundreds come each year to observe classes in progress. The teachers write their own curricula, which they constantly revise.

Imagine my shock then when my first approaches to the school met with male supremacist responses. I asked for a discussion group on the school's role in motivating the girl students to be added to a PTA

small discussion group meeting. The assistant principal was not interested and said so. "After all," he said, "this school already stands for individual development. There is no prejudice here. Besides, most parents would not want their daughters to have careers." He referred me to the PTA president, a recently divorced, Freudian-oriented professor of social work. It was predictable that he would take me for drinks to a dimly lit bar and say that he did not think the school should play a role in creating castrating females and that I should be careful about projecting my own neuroses onto my daughter.

When the discussion group finally came off, it was like the theatre of the absurd. It was directed by a woman psychologist who stated that the research showed that women had less native intelligence than men; one of the most active participants was a civil liberties lawyer who got into the group by mistake but who stayed to argue for the preservation of cultural differences: Italians make better spaghetti, Blacks can run faster than Whites, and women are happy staying home and nurturing. The principal came in long enough to state, "There is no point in educating women; they all have the nesting instinct."

But my husband and I tried to stick to what little real evidence we had. He brought my daughter's school readers to the group and did an analysis of the sex-role stereotypes contained therein. One of them was titled *Deeds of Men*, and the other contained almost no stories about girls except for one in which an active girl was referred to as a tomboy. We also reported on the sports program and were able to say that we had personally observed the fact that no activities were provided for the girls and that we had made complaints to no avail. I cannot emphasize strongly enough how important it is to bring in solid evidence in situations like this, because the discussions can get bogged down in debates about the reliability of children's accounts and the question of parents' rights to make value judgments about what is good for their children.

The discussion was most productive, however, because it put us in contact with several parents who

were already very concerned about the general question of their daughters' full development, but who were not aware of the negative information which we presented. We did not have a great deal of evidence, but what we had was reliable and impressive; it showed the other parents that changes should be made. After the discussion, the PTA president kept saying what a shame it was we had had such small participation and so little interest shown in the subject.

We then brought up the subject at a seventh grade "Mothers' Meeting" (this was my son's class), and it threw the meeting into chaos. (Usually they are a bore.) Half the mothers turned on me and verbally attacked me and my ideas but listened to my husband when he made the same points. Husbands can be excellent allies in these situations, especially if you can get them to attend "Mothers' Meetings." The other half of the mothers were nodding vigorous assent. The teacher checked out his classroom library and found out that it was true that the adventure and discovery stories were about boys and the love stories were about girls. But he told me that if I wanted them to be different I would have to write them myself. Some of the other mothers began to question the science/math teacher to find out if he was giving girls as much encouragement as he was giving boys. Naturally he said yes. But more support among the parents had been identified.

We were still handicapped by a lack of access to the classroom to gather more and better evidence for the need for change. We needed to make more parents aware of the school's real expectations of its girl students to counteract its appealing propaganda about individual development and freedom. Our only hope at the time was to educate parents so they would bring pressure to bear on the school. And we were very handicapped by the unavailability of good resource material to recommend to the school. So what followed that year was largely reactive on our part.

The principal of the school sent out an announcement of a PTA event he had dreamed up, which con-

sisted of having the "ladies" bring desserts wrapped in gaily decorated boxes to be auctioned off to the highest male bidder, who could then, we were told, buy himself a harem. I began to fantasize filling a box with chicken bones or obscene messages, or staging a guerrilla theatre action of parents parading around dressed in aprons, banging loudly on pots and pans with wooden spoons. Not surprisingly, no one was interested in fulfilling my fantasies so the demonstration never got off the ground, but the children were talking about it in school and it got back to the principal as an ominous and imminent occurrence.

He was sufficiently worried to invite me in to discuss my concerns. After a couple of hours of discussion during which he complained about a lack of professionalism among female public school teachers and blamed the problems of public education on women, and I spoke about the need to develop career motivation at an earlier age, he invited me to address the faculty and present my ideas to them. But I didn't want the school to get off that easily. I wanted to have a concrete program to present that would last beyond the two or three years that these teachers might teach at the school. I desperately needed resource materials to recommend and did not have the time to search for them.

The next thing that happened was that some of the teachers—the males—in the name of the "Faculty" challenged the fathers to play a basketball game to raise money for the school. I decided to do an action on my own to draw attention to the attitudes of the school administration and faculty, particularly as they were manifested in the sports program. I signed myself up for the father-teacher basketball game. When my team showed up for the practice meeting, I discovered that two of the fathers were professional football players and several of the others had played varsity basketball in college. I played junior varsity basketball one year in high school: girls' rules of course. I did manage to make a basket during the practice session and no one was more surprised than I. The week of the big game I underwent a series of personal trials

which included Ph.D orals and receiving the news that my husband had lost his job probably for academic nonconformity, but was having a site visit from a federal granting agency for a big grant request to fund his new research; and I got what felt like the flu.

But I played in the big game anyway, wiped out as I was. And my daughter was terrific. She came out and encouraged me saying, "Just try, Mommy; you don't have to get a basket, just try." Several of the mothers and girl students came up and said, "We know what you're trying to do and we think it's great. You've got a lot of guts." And I was wondering what the hell I was doing out there making a fool of myself and dealing with side issues. I never did learn men's basketball rules and I ran around the court feeling as though I was in a Kafka-esque world of confused and jumbled visual impression where everyone understood what to do but me. The next day at school my daughter played baseball with the boys for the first time.

At first they would not let her up to bat but when she insisted, she got up to bat and made a hit. And she has been getting better ever since. Last week she caught a pop-fly and put out my departmental chairman's son. And I never suggested directly that she should play organized sports. I showed her most of all that I was not afraid to go out and try something in an all-male environment that I was not sure I could succeed at—something I had never before allowed myself to do. It gave her the courage to try something she wanted very much to do but had been afraid to try. And she saw that just because something is labeled "For Men Only" it does not mean that women have to accept that definition and restriction.

Then the year was over. We still had not been able to get to the central place of organized instruction—the classroom and the classroom materials. But this year, I was *invited* by a new Black parent of a beautiful girl child to be the discussion group leader at a PTA meeting on the topic of the school's role in preparing girls for roles in society. And when she invited me to do it, she said to me, "You know, sexism is just

like racism; it's all around us and it's there in very subtle ways."

Our discussion group identified problem areas in the school environment and made recommendations for positive change: how it could be brought about and lists of resource materials to facilitate it. Resource materials were becoming available and we followed the models available in new courses for women in higher education. These recommendations started circulating and seemed to engender the respect that words on paper and bibliographies get in an academic environment. We presented them to the principal and the new PTA president. I let it be known in the course of the discussion that the university to which the school was related was under investigation by HEW for discrimination against women and that I considered the school to fall within the purview of that investigation. I also mentioned that I had been appointed to the council which was appointed to advise the Chancellor of the University on these matters. This gave us the muscle we had been looking for.

We presented the following recommendations:

I. Sports Program:

That a sports program for girls be instituted.

That an integrated—that is, for boys and girls playing together—sports program be instituted also.

That a special effort be made to teach individual competencies which may be used throughout an individual's active life.

That, if necessary to accomplish the above, a female sports teacher be hired. This teacher would not be hired to direct a sports program for girls but as an equal to team teach both boys and girls. Hopefully, this would be a person who could provide such activities as creative dance for boys as well as girls.

II. Professional Women Speakers:

That a school policy be adopted of having professional women speak to the students about their work. There are many mothers of students in the school who are actively pursuing careers. Women doctors, lawyers, scientists, politicians,

even ministers would provide needed role models for girl students as well as provide an important picture of professional women to boy students.

III. Books:

That a committee be formed to seek out and examine books which provide constructive role models for girls and do not provide stereotypes of males or females. This committee will develop a bibliography of such books and will make recommendations for purchase for classroom libraries and for the school library. It will also send book lists to parents and request the purchase of recommended books for the school libraries. It will also make a study of books presently available in the school to identify those which present a particularly negative self-image to boy or girl students.

IV. History and Social Studies:

That an effort be begun to include women's achievements and contributions to history and culture in the history and social studies curricula.

V. Teaching of literature and talking about stories:

That in discussion in the classrooms concerning stories and books which do present a one-sided picture of women and men (i.e., male characters actively doing, exploring, inventing, playing a variety of roles; female characters engaged in domestic tasks, human relationships, emotional expression), the teachers discuss the one-sidedness of these pictures and help the students to explore other possibilities for individuals (intellectual achievement for women, emotional expressivity and involvement in human relationships for men).

VI. Music and the Arts:

While it is recognized that our cultural sex roles do not encourage aesthetic expression and appreciation in males, an effort must be made to continue to encourage girls in these activities. Open discussion about individual male and female contributions to the arts would enable

students to feel comfortable with individual interests and capabilities which differ from predominant cultural expectations. Subtler kinds of encouragement of boys may be interpreted by the girls as discouragement. The committee recognizes the complexity of the situation and recommends open discussion whenever possible.

VII. Student Government:

It is hoped by the committee that some ways may be explored to facilitate and encourage the active participation by girls in leadership positions. The committee recommends discussions before nominations, elections, etc., of leadership *qualities* which can be developed and learned by males and females alike; examples of women leaders provided; discussions of cultural expectations and how they can influence individuals' expectations of themselves.

The day after our committee meeting which drew up the recommendations, the sports teacher announced the inclusion of girls on intramural sports teams. The principal wrote to me stating a commitment to the education of female students and his intention of purchasing the recommended resource materials and circulating them among the teachers. The Program Director on the Board stated his intention of doing a PTA program on the subject of the education of women. We will be watching closely to ensure that as future teachers come to observe the school classes they will hear teachers and students discussing the accomplishments of women in history, in the professions, in life, and in self-fulfillment.

Next September, my daughter will be in seventh grade. Two years ago the sports teacher told me that girls get passive and unmotivated in junior high and there is "nothing you can do about it." But now there is hope for her and for all of us.