THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES
AND TEACHER IMPACT,

MASTER'S PROJECT

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by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Adults in the child’s world rarely notice or remark upon how strong a little girl is, or how nurturant a little boy is becoming, despite their readiness to note precisely these attributes in the 'appropriate' sex (Bem, 1983, p. 604).

Why should only females be encouraged to nurture? There is considerable evidence that interaction with infants brings out nurturance in the caregiver, and since females do most of this care while men and boys are discouraged from childcare, then we may need to reconsider who does the childcare in our society (Jacklin, 1989).

Is it beneficial for children to be socialized according to traditional sex-role expectations? Sex-role stereotyping and sex discrimination are problems confronting women and men. The man’s role as master and the woman’s role as servant has been a stereotypical attitude of society, a society dominated by men, for centuries. For centuries society has accepted the sex-typing of children as a normal part of raising a child (Katz, 1986).

Sex-role stereotypes restrict opportunities. For example, a man might find that staying at home to provide childcare and domestic services, while his female partner pursued her career, to be very rewarding. But, he may
hesitate due to his concern that people would think of him as feminine (Crooks & Baur, 1987).

These stereotyped attitudes and behaviors can have serious negative effects on the lives of other people. Some effects of sex-stereotyping are school adjustment problems in males, and the repression of academic and occupational achievement in females (Katz, 1986). Stereotyped attitudes and behaviors toward males and females are constraining and harmful to both genders (O’Reilly, 1988). O’Reilly (1988) states that the sex-role stereotype of men as strong, independent, and in control is based on psychological ‘norms’ of mental health. Because something is the ‘norm’ of society, does that make it right? Discrimination, because of a person’s gender or any other reason, is wrong.

I believe that teachers can have a significant effect on the development of children’s sex-role, stereotypes, attitudes, and behavior. This study is to determine if such effects indeed exist, and if so, what can teachers do to insure that they have positive effects on sex-role development rather than negative effects.

Definitions

Some of the terms that are used in this study are gender, gender identity or orientation, sex or gender roles, socialization, and stereotypes.

The following definitions are based on a chapter of a
Gender refers the psychosocial meanings to masculinity or femininity, and the biological aspects of male and female. In other words, gender is a combination of the social concept and the biology of male and female. Gender identity is a person's own subjective self-image of male and female which are not necessarily the same as the person's biological sex. A gender-role, also called a sex-role, refers to what a culture considers as the appropriate attitudes and behaviors for a particular sex. The appropriate cultural masculine behaviors are expected from males, as the appropriate feminine behaviors are expected from females (Crooks & Baur, 1987).

These gender-role expectations are defined through the culture of the society and vary from one culture to another. For example, the Tchambuli society considers the expression of emotion to be appropriate behavior for males, and in many European and Middle Eastern societies a kiss on the cheek is a masculine behavior. In contrast, American society would consider these as feminine behaviors. Along with cultural differences, there are also differences between generations. Each new generation is socialized with the sex-role expectations of that society (Crooks & Baur, 1987).

Socialization is where society teaches expected behaviors to a person. Sex-role socialization is transmitted by way of parents, peers, schools, textbooks,
and television. But, "Society is not content merely to allow us to identify our gender. Rather, it ascribes to us a set of behaviors that are considered normal and appropriate for our particular sex. (Crooks & Baur, 1987, p. 75)" The assigning of sex-roles leads to assumptions about how people are to behave. For example, in American society men are expected to be independent and aggressive, while women are expected to be dependent and submissive. These expectations function as sex-role stereotypes (Crooks & Baur, 1987).

A stereotype is a generalization of a person based on that person's sex, race, religion, ethnic background, or other category. A stereotype does not consider the individuality of the person, but is instead a standardized mental picture based on a common characteristic of a group of people representing an uncritical, oversimplified judgment not based on reality. A sex-role, or gender-role, stereotype is an image based on unrealistic and oversimplified characteristics of males and females (O'Reilly, 1988; Crooks & Baur, 1987).

For example, stereotypes about women are that they are passive, nonassertive, illogical, emotional, dependent, subordinate, warm, and nurturing., and about men are that they are aggressive, logical, unemotional, independent, dominant, competitive, objective, athletic, active, and competent.
Significance

The significance of this study to education is the strong effect that teachers and educational institutions have on the social development of children during their most formative years. While parents play a crucial role in the development of children, a significant portion of a child's developmental is spent in school, primarily kindergarten and elementary school, with the teacher acting as another primary caretaker, giving the teacher a significant effect on a child's attitudes toward sex-roles. Sex-role stereotyping attitudes and behaviors are taught and reinforced in children, then carried into their adult life.

The significance of this study to my own setting is to build a foundation for my ensuing goals. Those goals are to learn the major theoretical structures and methodologies that shape educational psychology, social and developmental psychology, to develop research methods, and to conduct significant publishable research in research career so that I may actively make important theoretical and empirical contributions to the advancement and application of psychology, education and educational institutions as social settings for the development and socialization of children, human development and its implications for all life stages from infancy through old age, the development of human potential, and personality development. Some important
topics are sex-roles and stereotypes, self-image, self-esteem, learning styles and learning disabilities, individual differences, and environmental factors.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Where do sex-role attitudes, stereotypes, and behaviors come from? Smith and Russell (1984) investigated the relationship of children's beliefs about sex differences to their own age and gender. Four hundred and twenty-seven children from seven to fifteen years old were asked to explain their beliefs. The responses from younger children showed a biological orientation, while older children responded with a society orientated view (Smith & Russell, 1984).

A study by Jacklin (1989) examined links between biology and behavior, and found that males are biologically more vulnerable than females starting at the fetus stage of development and continuing throughout the life of the male. Jacklin notes that more research needs to be done on the subject of male biological vulnerability and its effects, if any, on behavior before any conclusions can be made.

This leaves various learning, socializing, and cognitive processes, such as social learning theory, cognitive development theory, and gender schema theory, as the most likely explanations concerning sex-role stereotype development.
Social Learning

Social learning theory portrays the child as a recipient of culturally transmitted information (Jacklin, 1989). Beginning with the day a child is born, parents and other caretakers begin treating boys and girls differently; girls are rewarded for traditional female behaviors, and boys are rewarded for traditional male behaviors (Jacklin, 1989). However, not all rewards or reinforcements work all of the time. Children selectively respond to reinforcements, and depending on the cognitive processing of the child certain reinforcements may or may not work (Jacklin, 1989). Children choose to imitate behaviors of parents and other adults, peers, and characters from television and other media (Jacklin, 1989). When children model the behavior of same-sex adults, they do so only when those adults are acting as an adult of that sex is supposed to act (Jacklin, 1989). As the number of same-sex models displaying the same behavior increases, the greater the influence on a child’s behavior (Bussey & Bandura, 1984). Bussey and Bandura (1984) see sex-roles as developing from a system of social influences involving gender labeling, the teaching of traditional sex-roles through structured activities, and modeling, as major conveyors of sex role information. Children are constantly exposed to models of sex-typed behavior in the home, schools, and television, and learn to use sex-typing information through direct and
vicarious experiences as a guide for behavior (Bussey & Bandura, 1984). Gender roles are acquired from learning behaviors that society considers appropriate and acquiring the concepts of how males and females are supposed to act, then exhibiting behaviors that are considered appropriate (Katz & Boswell, 1986).

Results of an experiment by Bussey and Bandura (1984) show a prevalence of same sex modeling. Children as young as three years old, before they had yet acquired any gender identity, learned or imitated the behavior of models of their own sex. As the children’s gender identity increased, so did their modeling of behavior of the same sex. Children associate with the gender-role stereotypes that are highly valued in the preschool and the school environment (Albert & Porter, 1983). Results from Albert and Porter (1983) show that four year old children were reluctant to associate positive gender-role traits with the opposite-sex, and were unwilling to accept negative stereotypes of their own sex. Five years later these results were repeated by Albert and Porter while investigating cognitive development, social learning, and interactive models of gender-role development. They found that children increasingly, with age, associate gender-role stereotyped behavior with male and female gender-roles, and demonstrate more gender-role stereotyping with their own sex.
Cognitive Development

Cognitive development theory holds that a generalized concept such as gender and its accompanying gender-role expectations can be understood by children only after their cognitive abilities have been sufficiently developed to where they can understand gender constancy. Only then will the child actively process cultural information to form a concept of what his or her gender-role should be (Jacklin, 1989).

Bussey and Bandura (1984) also see sex-role development as a product of a child's cognitive development. It is not until about age six that a child understands gender constancy, but once gender constancy is achieved children will seek behavior appropriate for their own sex and consistent with their gender label (Bussey & Bandura, 1984). In cognitive developmental theory, gender constancy is considered necessary for imitation of same-sex models, but according to social learning theory, sex-role development is promoted through a system of social influences with modeling serving as a major conveyor of sex role information (Bussey & Bandura, 1984). An experiment was conducted to test for both cognitive-development and social-learning with sixty-eight, twenty-nine to seventy month old children and from this experiment they found that the level of gender constancy was associated with higher imitation of both male and female models, but even children at a low level of
gender constancy imitated same-sex models in preference to opposite-sex models (Bussey & Bandura, 1984). This finding supports modeling as a basic mechanism in the sex-typing process as well as cognitive development.

**Gender Schema**

Research done by Carol Jacklin (1989) shows that social learning does occur to some degree as well as cognitive development, but neither one is comprehensive enough to explain sex role behavior. Research done with gender schema theory is presented as a more sophisticated alternative. Jacklin describes a schema as a set of changing and evolving networks of ideas and associations that organize and filter information to be used by the brain to decide what will and will not be processed. Gender schemas develop from all of the gender related information that a child acquires, including the subtle differences in the ways that boys and girls process information (Jacklin, 1989).

Sandra Bem (1983) discusses three theories of sex typing that are dominant in psychology: psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, and cognitive-developmental theory, and proposes gender schema theory as an alternative. Bem describes gender schema as sex-typing deriving from gender-schematic processing, and from a willingness of the child to synthesize and organize information, including information about the self, according to the culture’s
definitions of male and female. Parents can teach their children about sex differences without teaching them society's definitions of male and female (Bem, 1983). Once the child has already learned stereotyped definitions of male and female, parents should provide alternative schema that their children can use to interpret culture's sex-stereotypes (Bem, 1983).

Levy (1989), and Levy and Carter (1987), interviewed eighty-three children from twenty-seven to sixty-three months old in an effort to assess the children's knowledge and understanding of sex-role stereotypes, and understanding of gender constancy. Their results showed that children's stage of gender constancy does not predict the children's gender-role stereotype traits suggesting that young children are capable of gender-typed characteristics well before they achieve a full understanding of gender constancy, and it is concluded that the findings offer evidence of the importance of gender schema in early sex-role development (Levy, 1989; Levy & Carter, 1987).

Fagot and Leinbach (1989) studied children's ability to apply gender labels and to exhibit sex-typed behavior, and found that at eighteen months, there are no differences in children's sex-typed behavior (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989). If Fagot and Leinbach are correct, and if Katz is correct, then children begin to show sex-typed behavior sometime between the age of eighteen and thirty months. Children under the
age of two and a half are capable expressing sex-linked preferences, and can gender classify toys, activities, and occupations (Katz, 1986). In children over two-and-a-half years old, Katz (1986) states that there does not seem to be much of an effect due to cognitive skills, such as gender-constancy, and social-learning has had varying effects depending on the maturity level of the child. Katz suggests that both cognitive and learning factors, or perhaps a somewhat eclectic approach is needed.

Related Studies

According to Ruble (1988) there is a stage-like sequence of development, at differing ages, that seems to be stable across cultures. Children begin gender labeling is when they are able accurately identify and label themselves and others as male or female. Labeling is the easiest for children to comprehend and is usually mastered by age 4, with stability and consistency (constancy) beginning about age 5 or 6 when the child can consistently label a male or female despite superficial appearances such as clothing, hair, choice of toys, occupation, etc.

By 24 months children are able to label pictures, and at 30 months children can label themselves as male or female, but this is still only a basic understanding of gender. Children lack an understanding of stability and consistency (constancy) of gender identity, or the
properties of gender category information, until several years after they are able to apply labels to genders. Gender constancy occurs once the child has a stable organization of ideas and concepts about gender. Thus, gender constancy is the critical aspect of gender labeling, and the relationships between sex-role knowledge and sex-role behavior (Ruble, 1988).

Altman (1988) reviewed studies concerning what promotes behavior development in very young children, focusing on the theories of Elkind, Erikson, Sears, and White. Even though the four theorists view child development from different perspectives, they do agree on three points: A child's early years are important for emotional and intellectual development; the most significant person in the life of the child is the mother, or primary caregiver; and, the environment plays a vital role in the growth and development of the child. The four theorists emphasize the need to match the environment with the maturing child by designing experiences which the child can understand (Altman, 1988).

Katz and Boswell (1986) examined kindergartners' and third graders' gender-role preferences, and found that boys exhibited stronger sex-typed preferences than girls. They also found that parents had a definite influence on children's preferences, but not as strong as peers and the media.

A study by Higgs and Weiller (1987) examined women and
men in magazines, billboards, television, and newspapers, focusing on women in traditional passive roles, and men in traditional aggressive roles. Their findings indicate that sex-role stereotypes of women are reinforced by the media.

Children who watch large amounts of television, and rock music videos with exploitation of women as sex objects, tend to have traditional, or stereotypical, sex-role attitudes (Morgan, 1987b; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Berg, 1984).

A study by Robinson and Morris (1986) investigated the gender-stereotyped qualities of Christmas toys that children, from the age of thirty-one months old to sixty-five months old, received from their parents. A list of over five hundred toys were rated and placed into gender-stereotyped groups. Toys that the children requested (approximately half of the toys received) were judged to be more gender stereotyped than non-requested toys, while the parent selected toys were judged to be more sex-role neutral and emphasized musical instruments, art supplies, and educational toys (Robinson & Morris, 1986). Roopnarine (1986) examined the sex-typed socialization of children during infancy by examining the contributions of each parent on sex-typed play of their children. Roopnarine’s prediction was that, by ten months of age, children would show a preference for same-sex activities and that parents would be more attentive to the child of their own sex.
Results from the experiment showed that in the presence of either the mother or father, girls were more likely to play with dolls than boys; fathers were more likely to give dolls to girls and blocks to boys; mothers showed no preference toward toys with girls or boys; and, the sex and age of the infant affected the parents' behavior toward the toy play of their children. Contrary to previous claims regarding fathers as the primary influence in sex-role socialization, mothers and fathers may have equal influence in the socialization of children (Roopnarine, 1986). The sex-role attitudes and experiences of the mother certainly influences the attitudes of their children (Roopnarine, 1986; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983).

McElroy (1983) examined parent-child relationships and orientations toward sports, suggesting that parents transmit their own sex-role orientations, as a result of their own sex-role socialization, to their same-sex children, but do not transmit their own sex-role orientations to their opposite-sex children. McElroy found a mother-son relationship to female sport orientations in boys, and a father-daughter relationship to female sport orientations in girls. Traditional sex-role orientations may be reinforced by both parents in their daughters but not their sons, which is consistent with recent research on sex-role socialization (McElroy, 1983). Mothers reinforce female sports orientations to sons and daughters, while fathers reinforce
female sports orientations to their daughters and male sports orientations to their sons.

Sex segregation is a powerful occurrence in childhood and generally happens when children have a choice of playmates. Findings suggest that females are first to initiate segregation to avoid being dominated by males, and that the cultures developed by boys and girls in their segregated groups are distinctive and serve different functions, although an explanation of why boys avoid playing with girls wasn’t found (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1985). There is modest evidence indicating that participation in all-girl play groups serves a positive socializing function for girls, but no such evidence was found for boys (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1985). It appears that gender segregation is relatively uncontrollable and it may not be wise for adults to try to prevent boys and girls from choosing same-sex playmates in unstructured play situations, but adults can set up structured situations in which cross-sex interactions can occur without placing a burden on children of letting their peers see that they have chosen a person of the opposite sex to play with (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1985).

Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham (1986) examined gender-role attitude formation from parents gender-role attitudes, politics, and religion, and found that parental attitudes significantly predicted children’s future orientations. Children’s attitudes can be fairly well predicted from their
parents attitudes, and although this decreased as the age of the child increased, family generations may act as a model or cause of change (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

Church attendance and a fundamentalist religious orientation tends to predict sex-role stereotypes and preserve traditional attitudes toward gender-roles (Morgan, 1987a; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983).

Reeves and Boyette (1983) examined elementary school children’s artwork to investigate the sex-role perceptions of children, indicating that the content and form of the children’s artwork differed significantly by sex, with boys less likely to depict domestic scenes, and more likely to depict activity, angular shapes, humans in profile, and violent scenes.

In a study by Kaiser and Phinney (1983), male and female preschoolers were asked to match drawings of a girl in pants or a girl in a skirt with each of fifteen drawings of play activities. The results of their study showed that the pants were more frequently associated with the male, or active activities, with the skirt more frequently associated with the female, or quiet activities (Kaiser & Phinney, 1983). This implies the beginning of a conceptual association of clothing as a symbol in defining sex-roles.

Loesch-Griffin (1986) investigated the psychological and social processes of critical thinking and how children utilize and incorporate culture and sex-typed information.
into the development of cognitive skills, and found that due to exposure to different teaching strategies, boys and girls may be encouraged to develop, select, and apply cognitive skills differently according to situational demands. Sex differences in math and science achievement, and spacial abilities, can be accounted for from gender-stereotyped beliefs of the parents, math anxiety, and perceived value of math by the student (Jacklin, 1989).

Attitude and Behavior Change

Since the acquisition of gender roles is such a complicated process, is it possible to change sex-stereotyped behavior of children? A study by Katz (1986) found that sex-typed behavior can be changed, but not in all cases; change depends on the child's age, cognitions about gender stereotypes, and the intervention techniques. Modeling shows the most consistent results (Katz, 1986) and would agree with research results of how some behaviors are acquired in the first place. Katz (1986) notes that counter-stereotyping attempts should include the developmental level of the child, the relationship between the sex-role cognitions and behavior of the child, the consistency of the child's gender-stereotyped behavior, and the individual differences in determining the degree to which stereotypes are accepted.

Bussey and Bandura (1984) used collective modeling of
male and female behaviors, and social power to test cross-sex modeling. Social power produced cross-sex modeling in boys but not in girls and is explained by the different sex-typing forces and socialization experiences that exist for boys and girls that strengthens the attractiveness of social power for boys (Bussey & Bandura, 1984).

There frequently is a difference between a person's attitudes and behavior, and because of this we may be teaching sex stereotypes to children and adults without knowing that we are doing it: "If parents and teachers are subtly and unknowingly directing girls and boys in different directions with regard to intellectual mastery and self-confidence, then, if we agree that all children should become all that they are capable of being, further studies and parent and teacher education become not only theoretically interesting but morally imperative (Weitzman, Birns, & Friend, 1985, p. 897)." Implications would include what interests the child may develop because they think they are supposed to be interested in them, the effect that parents and teachers may have on children (parents and teachers were children once too and have learned their sex-roles and attitudes), and the behavior of children and adults toward others.

Sex-role stereotypes begin at birth when babies are given stereotyped treatment by families. In schools, sex-stereotypes can continue though teacher attitudes that
regard girls as being better behaved and boys as having better bodies and brains, by peers who continue sex-role stereotypes, especially in puberty when sex-role expectations become even clearer, with sexist language in textbooks such as Miss and Mrs. representing a woman's relationship to a man, and by not challenging women students to take mathematics and science courses (O'Reilly, 1988).

School and Teacher Effects

Schools can have a strong influence on a child's development and on reinforcing sex stereotypes (Crooks & Baur, 1987; Strong & DeVault, 1986), but they can also have a strong influence on changing stereotypes (Strong & DeVault, 1986). Textbooks also maintain sex-role stereotypes. An analysis of textbooks in the early seventies found extensive stereotyping of males as brave, strong, independent, ambitious, clever, and successful, and females as domestic, fearful, dependent, unambitious, and not very clever (Crooks & Baur, 1987).

A teachers' own stereotypes about males and females can often guide their behavior toward their students (Crooks & Baur, 1987) by encouraging different abilities and activities appropriate for males and females, such as contact sports, math, and science for males, and gymnastics and language skills for females (Strong & DeVault, 1986).

Biased interaction between teachers and children can
start very early. A study of male and female preschool teachers by Ebbeck (1984) observed teacher interactions with children. These teachers spent 60% of their time interacting with males, mostly in areas such as blocks, construction, and climbing, and 40% of their time with females, mostly in dramatic play. This can reinforce childrens' ideas of what males and females are supposed to be interested in.

A study conducted by Anderegg and Chess (1983) tested teachers' ratings of children's social competence using fourth- and fifth-grade children and their teachers from four public schools representing upper middle class suburban and urban disadvantaged populations in the greater Boston area. Students in each class were administered the Minnesota Revision of the Class Play Inventory (CPI) which returns a score on popularity and leadership, aggressiveness and disruptiveness, and sensitivity and isolation. Teachers were given a paragraph describing three categories of social behavior (socially inhibited, aggressive, and socially competent) and then asked to choose three children who matched the descriptions. The childrens' CPI score and the teachers choices of children were correlated according to the sex of the child chosen. What Anderegg and Chess found was that male and female teachers rarely chose females for the aggressive category paragraph. These teachers had stereotyped ideas about how male and female children should
behave. Stake and Katz (1982) also observed teachers giving more reprimands to males than to females, but do males really misbehave more than females. If so, then perhaps their behavior is reinforced by the added attention received through reprimands and from the biased attitudes and behaviors of some teachers.

Yeger and Miezitis (1985) suggest that a possible explanation for sex differences, such as lower achievement from males, greater compliance from females, and overall success as students, may be due to how teachers respond to needs that children bring to the classroom. While there are some teachers with stereotyped ideas and behaviors, there appears to be signs of change.

Griffin and Gillis (1983), using a questionnaire survey about attitudes toward sex-affirmative teaching and professional behaviors, studied undergraduates enrolled in upper level teacher education courses seeking certification as elementary or secondary school teachers, and found that preservice teachers were in strong to moderate agreement with sex-affirmative teaching and professional behaviors. These results are encouraging since research shows that the younger a child is, the greater the influence a teacher has on modifying stereotyped beliefs and behaviors (Griffin & Gillis, 1983).

It appears that inservice teacher programs and intervention programs are needed to help teachers to develop
and maintain positive, non-stereotyped attitudes and behaviors. A search for intervention and teacher training programs resulted in only one program that, to my knowledge, has been adequately researched and validated. That program is the Gender Expectations and Student Achievement program, or GESA, researched, developed, and validated by Dolores A. Grayson.

GESA

For more than a decade research evidence of differential treatment and teachers' biased expectations of males and females shows different achievement results for males and females due to some teachers interaction patterns (Grayson, 1985). Grayson has identified gender discrepancies in five areas: instructional content, grouping and organization, classroom control, enhancing self-esteem, and evaluation of student performance. As a result of her research, Grayson developed the Gender Expectations and Student Achievement (GESA) program. The GESA program is designed to reduce the variations in how teachers interact with males and females; to reduce stereotyping by teachers; to increase non-stereotyped interaction with students; and, to produce an increased achievement, particularly in math and reading, by males and females. This is accomplished through curriculum, the learning environment, and classroom interactions. In a workshop format the teachers are
introduced to the literature, given additional information on areas of deviation of behavior, and given examples of the impact on students. A major part of the GESA training includes a component where teachers observe and code specific behaviors with the data to be used to increase awareness and to assess the program's effectiveness. GESA was originally designed as an intervention program for K through post-secondary based on proven effective educational strategies and resources. The developmental and pilot phase of the program was conducted in the Los Angeles County, California public school districts. Los Angeles County has 95 school districts with over 1.2 million students representing a wide range of demographics. A second field test was conducted with the Palmdale, California school district. During the 1985-86 school year, GESA was implemented in San Diego, California. There have been significant gains in math and reading achievement in the pilot phase and in the implementation phase of the GESA program; the GESA program has been found to have positive impacts on gender bias and other forms of discrimination such as race, national origin, and culture; and, both teachers and students indicated benefits from participating in GESA (Grayson, 1985; Grayson, 1987).
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The intent of this project was to provide an overview of sex-role and stereotype development, the effects due to teachers and schools, and what sort of intervention was possible. The events occurring during the course of this project included an extensive literature search on PsychLit and ERIC CD-ROM literature databases. Most of the literature concerning sex-roles and sex-role stereotype development came from PsychLit, and most of the literature related to effects due to schools and to teachers are from ERIC. All of the literature was published during approximately a ten year period. Some of the literature were longitudinal studies requiring ten to fifteen years for the author to complete.

The first task was to eliminate a large number of articles from over a thousand pieces of literature. With PsychLit and ERIC you enter key-words that you want the database to search for. Initially this gives you hundreds, or even thousands, of literature articles. As you add more key-words, the search is narrowed until the list of articles reduces to a manageable size. After the list was down to approximately two hundred, the author downloaded the list of citations to a diskette. The second phase was to review the
titles of the articles from the final database search. There were many articles that were too specific. One example was, "Language and the problem of male salience in early childhood classroom environments" by Steven Gelb. This article, while touching on sex differences and teacher behavior, appeared to concentrate mostly on language development and would be of greater use to someone who is researching such a topic. The next phase was to read and analyze the remaining literature and further eliminate literature that was too specific or that did not fit with in with the author's goals. Finally, the author again read and analyzed the fifty-four remaining pieces of literature and attempted to organize and to present the information in a clear manner.
"Children learn their sex roles through manipulation, channeling, verbal appellation, and activity exposure. Parents, teachers, peers, and the media are important agents of socialization during childhood and adolescence (Strong & DeVault, 1986, p. 110)."

Children show surprisingly complex and well defined cognitive structures regarding gender-roles, being flexible in some areas and rigid in others (Katz & Boswell, 1986). Gender issues are very complicated, too complicated to be explained with just one theory or view. There are biological, social, and cognitive explanations for our behavior. We need to be more aware and informed of what how we learn, of how we teach others, and the causes and effects of our behavior. The acquisition and change of sex-role behaviors cannot be accounted for by a single theory, modeling, reinforcement, and cognition all play a role (Katz & Boswell, 1986). It appears that the development of sex-roles begins at birth, and that at least part of our attitudes and behaviors toward sex roles are from cognitive development, gender-schemas, modeling, social learning, and biology. I would suggest that the development of sex-roles, attitudes, and stereotypes is a dynamic interaction of cognition, schemas, social learning, modeling, and biology.
Sex-role stereotypes often persist because of peers, especially in puberty when sex-role expectations become even more apparent (O'Reilly, 1988), and when interacting during play. Sex segregation is a powerful phenomenon in childhood and occurs whenever children have a choice of playmates (Jacklin, 1985), but adults can play a very large role in setting up structured situations in which cross-sex interactions can occur (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1985).

Educational institutions can perpetuate sex-role stereotypes through some teachers' conscious or unconscious attitudes, sexist language in textbooks, regarding girls as better behaved and boys as having better bodies and brains, and by not challenging women students to take adequate mathematics and science courses (O'Reilly, 1988).

Teachers can have a significant effect on the development of children's sex-role attitudes, stereotypes, and behavior. Teachers must be made aware of the effect they have on the development of children's attitudes, and taught ways to avoid modeling sex-stereotyped behaviors to children.

The Gender Expectations and Student Achievement (GESA) program demonstrates what teachers and the educational system can do to become more aware of their own behaviors; how to avoid reinforcing stereotyped behavior in children; and to help eliminate gender differences in achievement. These principles and concepts can and should be applied to
all areas where stereotypes and discrimination occur.

"Knowing how socialization works would help parents to raise a nonsexist child in a sexist society (Jacklin, 1989, p. 130)," and perhaps this is happening to some degree. While sex stereotyped attitudes and behaviors toward men and women still exist, there are signs of change. An eighteen year study by Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn (1983) shows a definite trend toward a more conceptual equality of women’s roles through the mid-1970s and into the 1980s. Intons-Peterson (1985) found that current fathers who do have some similar expectations for their sons and daughters do not have all of the same expectations and stereotypes of fathers of thirty years ago. Collins, Ingoldsby, and Dellmann (1984) reviewed a sample of Caldecott Medal award winning preschool picture books and found that these books reflect an increasing trend to attribute traditionally male traits to females, demonstrating a move toward greater sexual equality in children’s literature. And, the differences of intellectual abilities between girls and boys has become less over the past two decades (Jacklin, 1989).

"The times are changing. Change may be occurring too quickly for some, but change is not occurring quickly enough for many boys and girls limited by their gender-roles to less than full lives (Jacklin, 1989, p. 132)."

When everyone treats others as individual human beings, and respect for the individual is achieved, then people can
begin to change sexism in society (O’Reilly, 1988).
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