This study investigated children's perceptions of sex roles as they are portrayed in traditional and nontraditional children's stories. Subjects were 60 white, middle-class, 4-, 5-, and 6-year-old children. Tape-recorded stories and questions (investigator-designed) specifically examined: (1) distinction of mother and father roles in parallel situations involving children, (2) perception of occupations and personality characteristics as male or female, (3) perception of roles in a nontraditional story in which the father was absent, (4) perception of roles in a nontraditional story in which the mother was absent, and (5) recognition of roles in stories with stereotyped and nonstereotyped sex role behavior. Chi-square analyses were made regarding sex, age, and responses to each item. Although no significant age relationships were found, definite sex differences were discovered. Differences were apparent in the subjects' responses to stories representing stereotyped and nonstereotyped sex role behavior. Appendixes include a transcript of test stories, a list of roles portrayed, and sample responses. (Author/CS)
THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS

THE RELATIONSHIP OF AGE AND SEX OF FOUR-, FIVE-, AND SIX-YEAR-OLDS TO THE PERCEPTIONS OF SEX ROLES
AS PORTRAYED IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

By
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A Thesis submitted to the Department of Home and Family Life in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

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I would also like to thank the people I have met in Tallahassee, especially S.J.B., all of whom have helped me in my professional and personal growth. Most deserving of thanks are my parents, Fred and Amy Kummerow, who provided the opportunity for my graduate study.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

'I'm glad she isn't a golden-haired princess. She's almost as good as a real boy.' (McKee, p. 338)

'We're not going to choose sides. It's just boys against girls. It's better that way. Boys hate girls and girls hate boys. I like to fight with girls. They're slobs. Boys are better. That's why we always win.' (Hall, Borisoff & Richards, p. 23-24)

These examples of sex role stereotyping in the elementary school readers and similar examples in preschool children's literature have become a target of the Women's Liberation Movement. Numerous studies, such as that of U'Ren (1971), have reported the predominance of males portrayed in children's literature. Where females do appear in stories they are presented in inferior positions in relation to the active role of males.

In the past, the predominant role of males in children's literature has been justified by the reasoning boys will read only stories about boys, whereas girls will read anything. Since boys have more reading difficulties than girls in the early years, it also is reasoned they need this extra encouragement of being able to read about boys. However, as publishers, authors, educators and purchasers of children's books become aware of sex role stereotyping
in children's literature they may no longer willingly accept the reasoning supporting the existence of this stereotyping. Sex role stereotyping in children's literature and its role in the socialization of children will probably be a topic of conversation and a concern for research for some time in the future.

The Scott, Foresman Company has published a brochure, "Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks" (1972). The brochure states the belief:

If females were not depicted as passive, lackluster, sweet but senseless drudges, both boys and girls would find them more interesting. Few boys have rejected Alice in Wonderland or The Wizard of Oz because the main characters are girls. (p. 3).

**Publication Guidelines**

Lillian Gerhardt, editor of *School Library Journal* and its book review section (Miles, p. 169), has said that women are freely expressing hitherto-suppressed resentments about their image and their occupational and educational tracking from early childhood forward. Gerhardt feels this may well affect the type of books published. In order to investigate this possibility, ten publishers of children's books and textbooks were polled by the investigator regarding the publication guidelines for portrayal of sex roles (See Appendix A).

Six companies from those cited in *Dick and Jane as Victims* (*Women on Words and Images*, 1972) were contacted: Harper & Row, Lyons and Carnahan (now Rand McNally),
Macmillan, Scott, Foresman and Company, SRA Comprehensive Reading Series, and Sullivan Associates. Four additional companies, Children's Press, Highlights for Children, J.B. Lippincott and Scholastic Book Services were also surveyed regarding publication policies. All ten companies indicated a conscious effort to eliminate sex role stereotyping. Half had formal guidelines. Macmillan Publishing Company summarized its guidelines as follows:

We will show women in a variety of roles in society. We will try to avoid conveying the impression that women and girls are "passive" in contrast with men and boys who are naturally "active". We will try to avoid, whether directly or by implication, conveying the impression that women are inferior to men in courage, intelligence, importance, or in any other way. We plan to enlarge our coverage of the women's role in history and in the contemporary world, and to include accounts of the contributions of individual women. (Letter from Robert Rahtz, Vice-president, Macmillan Publishing Company, March 21, 1974).

Rand McNally and Company policy is, "to present sex roles in children's literature in a manner designed to acquaint young people, both boys and girls, with the breadth of vocational opportunity available to them today" (Letter from Ellis W. King, Executive Editor, Rand McNally & Company, March 21, 1974). Several companies cautioned that changes in textbook series would require several years.

Children's Literature

Children's books fulfill a number of purposes, including the need to belong and to be accepted, to improve the child's listening skills, to develop the imagination of
a child, to develop an appreciation for good stories, to build vocabulary and to help the child relate to everyday experiences. Arbuthnot and Broderick (1968) have expressed the belief that children are introduced to a variety of good books to offer them an opportunity to grow within themselves. Lohrer (1958) stated that,

Good books in abundance are essential to help children acquire information that will satisfy their natural curiosity and inquisitiveness about the world in which they live. Good books give a consensus of basic values of social living which is important for their development into adulthood (p. 215).

*Literature with Children*, the 1961-1962 bulletin of the Association for Childhood International lists story content as one of five criteria for judging the worth of any children's book. The Association supports the belief that children's books should contain material which is factual and accurate. Kimmel (1970) summarized,

Looking over the total field of research into how children's reading affects children's values, one can conclude that books may play a significant part in shaping and reshaping an individual's thinking; yet the means by which they do this and the total significance of their role are matters still determined largely by the observer's intuition. In many cases children's readings might momentarily affect their responses, but how lasting these effects are remains to be determined (p. 214).

**Background**

Social learning theory (e.g. Mischel, 1966) would suggest that exposure to models in children's books during the period when children are developing their concepts of masculinity and femininity would be partially responsible
for the vicarious learning and continuation of traditional sex role standards. The socialization process sex-typed behaviors, giving them different value and meaning for boys and girls. In the American culture the two sex-typed behavior patterns that have received most research attention are aggression and dependency. Aggression has become one of the key variables in defining masculine behavior, and dependency has become one variable in defining feminine role behavior (Sears, 1965). A study of children's literature has reported males portrayed in aggressive roles and females in passive and dependent roles (Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada & Ross, 1972).

What are some of the consequences of sex role stereotyping in children's stories? One societal discrepancy relates to what women contribute to society as opposed to their limited role in children's stories. March, 1970, data from the Bureau of the Census indicate that 37 per cent of married women whose youngest children are three to five years old, and 49 per cent of married women whose children are old enough to be in school are in the labor force. More than one family in ten are headed by a woman. If a woman is divorced, the chances are two out of three that she will be employed. Yet, in contrast, the Dick and Jane as Victims survey (Women on Words & Images, 1972) of 134 elementary school readers found only three stories
involving working mothers. These data suggest that what women actually do in society is not portrayed in their roles in children's literature.

The studies and surveys of children's literature, such as that by Nilsen (1973), are reported from an adult perspective. A need exists for research on children's own reactions and perceptions of roles they see and hear portrayed in children's stories.

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to test in four, five and six year old children the awareness of male and female roles as they are portrayed in traditional and non-traditional children's stories and story-related questions.

**Limitations of the Study**

The following were determined to be limitations of this research:

1. The investigator-designed test schedule was not subjected to research that would establish reliability or validity.

2. Sample size was limited to Southern, White, middle-class children, four, five and six years old.

3. Variables not studied which could have affected children's responses were: (a) previous experience with books, (b) the individual classroom and teacher, (c) occupation of the mother, and (d) sex role learning atmosphere in the home.
Definition of Terms

Sex role refers to those psychological characteristics and behavioral patterns that are typical of one sex in contrast to the other sex. (Brown, 1958, p. 232)

Stereotype is a standardized mental picture which conforms to a fixed or general pattern representing oversimplified opinions. (Webster's International Dictionary)

Traditional story is defined as one about White, middle-class families whose members exhibit sex role behavior typical of their own sex: Men engage in a variety of roles, while women are presented as wives and mothers. Boys are active characters, while girls are passive characters in stories.

Non-traditional story is defined as one about single-parent families whose members exhibit behavior counter to society's sex role behavior stereotype. Both men and women may have a paid occupation. Boys and girls may be either active or passive.

Hypotheses

1. There are no significant differences between the four, five and six year old children's responses concerning the perceptions of sex roles in children's literature.

2. There are no significant differences between the girls' and boys' responses concerning the perceptions of sex roles in children's literature.

These null hypotheses will be tested at a .05 level of significance. If no significance is indicated beyond the .05 alpha level when analyzed utilizing the chi square, the data will be examined for trends since they may suggest sex role learning of a stereotype.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature related to this study have been discussed in three categories: children's literature, sex role learning, and current actions of organizations.

Children's Literature

An early research study of children's literature by Child, Potter and Levine (1946) reported that of the central characters in stories, 73 per cent were male and 27 per cent female. Child concluded:

There can be no excuse for this greater attention to males in the claim that males have achieved more in society and hence that there is more to write about them. These stories are, with few exceptions not about individuals of outstanding achievement, but simply about the life of everyday people. The implication of this difference for a girl is that being female is a pretty bad thing, that the only people even in everyday life who are worth writing about or reading about are boys and men. If the content of these readers is typical of other social influences, small wonder that girls might develop for this reason alone an inferiority complex about their sex (p. 49).

U'Ren (1971) explored children's textbooks for second through sixth grade use in California. She found that, whereas racial biases were disappearing, sexual biases were not. At least 75 per cent of the stories' main characters were male. U'Ren discovered most stories about
girls were not only far shorter than stories about boys, but were considerably less interesting as well. Those based on what were thought to be female interests were typically restricted to domestic settings. Girls rarely received community recognition for their achievements; boys, on the other hand, were allowed great freedom of movement and choice.

Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex stereotyping in children's readers (1972) was a study of 134 elementary school readers from 14 publishers containing 2,760 stories. The authors, members of a National Organization for Women New Jersey Task Force, reported the following ratios:

- Boy-centered stories to girl-centered stories: 5:2
- Adult male main characters to adult female main characters: 3:1
- Male biographies to female biographies: 6:1
- Male animal stories to female animal stories: 2:1
- Male folk or fantasy stories to female folk or fantasy stories (p. 6): 4:1

In a study undertaken shortly after the Dick and Jane as Victims study (Women on Words and Images, 1972), Graebner (1972) investigated whether or not the role of women has changed in elementary texts over the last decade. Five hundred and fifty-four stories were analyzed utilizing texts from Scott, Foresman 1962-63 and 1971, and Ginn, 1961 and 1969. Graebner reported men and boys continue to dominate both illustrations and story texts in the newer editions of elementary readers. Graebner found the major difference between the older editions (Scott, Foresman
1962-63 and Ginn 1961) and the newer editions (Scott, Foresman 1971 and Ginn 1969) was that more occupations for women are portrayed in the new editions.

Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada and Ross (1972) reported on sex role socialization in picture books. The authors studied the Caldecott medal winners from the inception of the award in 1938 (concentrating on the years 1967-1971), the Newbery Award winners (given by the American Library Association for the best book for school-age children), the Little Golden Books (only those that had sold over three million copies) and the "prescribed behavior" or etiquette books (which are explicit in teaching sex role behavior for boys and girls). The Weitzman, et al. study noted that female characters were usually insignificant or inconspicuous in stories or not in stories at all. The authors felt that storybook characters reinforced the traditional sex role assumptions.

Nilsen (1973) surveyed Caldecott winners and runners-up 1950-1970. The Caldecott Award is presented annually by the Children's Service Committee of the American Library Association for the most distinguished picture book of the year. The Caldecott Award often means sales of 60,000 books for the publisher, and others in the industry look to the winners for guidance in what to publish. Including runners-up, 80 books received citations within the
Nilsen found in this period there has been a decline of women and girls included in the illustrations. Comparisons are:

<table>
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<th>Period</th>
<th>Per cent of females to males</th>
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<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>26%</td>
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Whereas numerous studies have reported adult perceptions and analysis of children's stories, there have been few studies of children's perceptions of children's stories. Klein (1968) studied 312 boys and girls in the fifth grade to learn if children's self-selection patterns for literature were sex-related. Klein tested the children utilizing the occupations of ballet dancer, airplane pilot and social worker, each occupation being the basis for a story with a male main character and a story with a female main character. Klein concluded:

1. Boys and girls react in different ways to the same content.

2. The occupation of a character in a story is the primary factor in determining the appeal of an article for boys, and the sex of the main character is of secondary importance. Neither the occupation nor the sex of the main character appears to affect boys' comprehension.

3. Neither boys nor girls appear to reject completely the opposite sex in a story.

4. Relative to each other, boys and girls perform with greater efficiency when reading materials they specifically enjoy (p. 63).

In summarizing, Klein stated that his search for experimental selections revealed that publishers appear to ignore
the interests of girls and often avoid using female main characters. He found the bulk of material is concerned with things boys do and like.

Jennings (1972) studied story recall and story preference of 64 children, four and five years of age. Groups of five to eight children were told a story in which the main character demonstrated the usual sex role behavior, whereas in the other story the main character behaved in a manner appropriate to the opposite sex. The main characters in the stories were always the same sex as the children in the test group. Utilizing an individual test situation, it was found the children preferred the story with the usual sex-typed behavior, but displayed a better recall of the story with reversed sex roles.

**Sex Role Learning**

In generalizing about sex differences, Margaret Mead (1949) stated that although societies differ in the way traits are assigned to men and women, all cultures set up societal norms for the sexes which go beyond the biological differences. Cross-cultural studies reveal numerous types of role reversal and combinations of roles between the sexes.

Investigating the possibility of cross-cultural patterns, Barry, Bacon and Child (1957) studied 110 cultures and reported patterns of differential socialization of children. The qualities for which girls received the most
reinforcement were nurturance (82% of the cultures), obedience (35%) and responsibility (61%). The qualities for which boys received the most reinforcement were achievement (87% of the cultures) and self-reliance (85%).

Brown (1958, 1956) reported that between two-thirds and three-fourths of children by the age of three are able to make the distinction between the sexes and to distinguish themselves as a boy or girl. By or during the fifth year most children make a clear differentiation between the more obvious biological cues of maleness and femaleness and psychological cues of masculinity and femininity. Children have learned that different behavior patterns are expected according to sex. Boys consistently make more appropriate sex-typed choices than girls. Relative lack of flexibility of boys in sex role choices probably accounts for some of the difference between boys and girls. Boys simply do not have the same freedom of choice as girls when it comes to sex-typed objects and activities.

Hartley's (1959) interviews with eight to eleven year old boys supported the hypothesis that boys in American culture are under greater pressure to conform to stringent sex role norms than are girls. To make matters more difficult, the desired behavior is rarely defined positively as something the child should do, but rather undesirable behavior is indicated as something he should not do or be. For example, a boy should not be a "sissy."
Bandura, Ross and Ross (1961) reported in the case of a highly masculine-typed behavior, such as physical aggression, both male and female children tended to imitate physical aggression in the male model to a greater degree than the female model. It was as if the children were shocked by the display of physical aggression in the aggressive female model and were not receptive to her influence. (Both boys and girls imitated the verbal aggression of the adult model of their same sex.) The children's spontaneous comments in some cases gave hints as to their feelings about what was sex-appropriate behavior. For example, after exposure to the adult female aggressive model, children made such comments as:

'Who is that lady? That's not the way for a lady to behave. Ladies are supposed to act like ladies...'

'You should have seen what that girl did in there. She was acting like a man. I never saw a girl act like that before. She was punching and fighting, but no swearing...!' (p. 835).

Hampson (1965) expressed the belief that sex role is learned during the course of the many experiences of growing up. Hampson reported data from the study of hermaphrodites who, having been reared as one sex were surgically changed to the more physically appropriate sex. Data included various ages of children on which this change of sex was imposed. Hampson suggested that a significant degree of gender role development coincides with the development of language from 18 months to two years of age. Clinical
Experience indicates that only prior to this age can the sex-role orientation be successfully changed.

Sears (1965) in his research on the development of gender role pointed out the lack of an exact definition of what behavior did or did not belong to a particular gender role. Sears felt this led to the consequence of Western civilization having always defined the two gender roles as opposites, for example, activity-passivity, aggression-nonaggression, independence-dependence. Sears concluded masculinity and femininity are very complex personality qualities, without precise boundaries and with only the faintest centrality, and their definition requires careful attention to the operations of measurement.

Mischel (1966) explained the acquisition and performance of sex-typed behaviors according to social learning theory. These behaviors can be described by the same learning principles used to analyze any other aspect of an individual's behavior. Thus, sex-typing is the process by which the individual acquires masculine or feminine behavior patterns. First he or she learns to discriminate between sex-typed behavior patterns, then to generalize from these specific learning experiences to a new situation and finally to perform sex-typed behavior.

Kohlberg (1966) supported the cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex role identification. According to Kohlberg, at about the age of two, when a child begins
to think of itself as a member of its sex, the child is then predisposed to seek and value activities appropriate to its gender identity. Perceptions of what is gender-appropriate will be influenced by both the social characteristics of the child's family and by the dynamics of interpersonal relationships within it and with influences from the external environment.

Studies have explored the degree of sex role learning. Chasen (1974) studied the self-image of four and five year old children and reported that they have stereotyped beliefs about themselves and their parents. In general, girls and boys believed that males were smarter, stronger, fixed cars better, drove better, worked better and were better, though females cooked better. Siegel (1973) questioned sixty-one second graders concerning occupational choices and reported results which indicated distinct sex differences. The boys chose almost twice the number of occupations that the girls chose. The range of occupations chosen was greater for boys than for girls; i.e. of twenty-nine girls, twenty selected either "teacher" or "nurse." Hartley (1961) presented eight and eleven year old children with one hundred fifty activities covering aspects of social and family living. The subjects clearly differentiated one group of items which they assigned to men, one group to women and one group assigned to both sexes equally. Hartley concluded that it appeared by the
second grade, children have absorbed the societal expectations of "sex-appropriate" work, are aware of their own sexual identity at some level, and have selected the traditional cultural stereotype.

In summary, the preschool child is exploring the type of person he or she will become. A learned sex role directs the child's behavior, emotional reactions, cognitive functioning, attitudes and general adjustment. It is probable that all the sex role learning theories play a part in children's literature. Whereas studies of children's literature have reported the existence of sex role stereotyping there is little research on children's perceptions of roles portrayed in their stories.

Current Action

In conjunction with letters to children's book publishers, the investigator has attempted to learn the involvement of educational organizations regarding sex role stereotyping and children's literature.

The National Education Association publishes a brochure which details the NEA materials available on sex role stereotyping in the schools. The title of one such pamphlet is, "A Child's Right of Equal Reading - exercises in the liberation of children's books from the limitations of sexual stereotypes" (Moberg).
The American Federation of Teachers' Women's Rights Committee has published a booklet, "Women in Education: Changing Sexist Practices in the Classroom." The booklet includes articles on children's books.

A "Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education" was begun in 1973 under a grant from the Ford Foundation. The Resource Center is a project of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. The Resource Center expresses this belief:

In our schools, as in our society, we are beginning to examine the ways in which we limit the aspirations, growth, achievements, and contributions of children and adults when we view them and treat them not as individuals with unique characteristics and potentials but as members of a group defined by sex, race, or ethnic background. Not only does such stereotyping limit the optimal development of individuals and contributing members of our society, but it is contrary to our democratic principles and in violation of federal legislation. (Mimeographed).

Women's Action Alliance, Inc. is developing a non-sexist early childhood curriculum. The Education Committee of the National Organization for Women has published a "Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools" (1973). Included are reports on Sesame Street, elementary textbooks and toys.

A growing concern among children's librarians about how women are portrayed in children's literature has led to the formation of a discussion group on Sexism in Children's Literature. The discussion group is set up under the Children's Services Division of the American Library Association. The group publishes a newsletter called, "The
Acorn Groweth. The group's purposes are:

1. To exchange ideas and information on the presentation of sex roles in library materials and children's programs, and the effect of these materials on the child's self image.


In addition to these organizations concerned with (sex) role stereotyping, groups of women have formed their own publishing companies. Their policies are to publish children's books free of racial, class or sex role stereotyping. The publishers include Lollipop Power, New Seed Press, All of Us and the Feminist Press.
CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Selection of Subjects

The subjects in the study were 60 children, ages 4, 5, and 6 enrolled in the Florida State University Developmental Research School. The study was limited to White, middle-class children as a result of the decision not to test differences in socio-economic class. Eligibility was determined from the school records of parents' income level and the educational goals for university student parents.

The four-year-old group included six boys and six girls due to the small number enrolled which qualified. The five- and six-year-old categories each included twenty-four children (twelve boys and twelve girls) randomly selected from those who qualified. Within each age category there were some children who had had recent birthdays. The four-year-old group included children ages four years one month to five years four months. The five-year-old group included children ages five years five months to six years four months. The six-year-old group included children ages six years six months to seven years four months.

Anonymity was maintained by assigning a number to each of the subjects. The number assigned gave no indication
of the age or sex of the subject so that impartiality of the judges was assured as they scored the transcripts of the subjects' responses.

Permission to conduct the study at the Developmental Research School was granted by Dr. Janice Smith, research coordinator at the school. Testing sessions were arranged in consultation with the children's teachers.

**Description of the Test**

The stories and story-related items were selected to determine the child's awareness of roles. The stories were chosen to be representative of children's stories for this age group. Vocabulary and the wording of questions were considered representative of the language readily understood by this age group. A pilot study was conducted with children 4, 5, and 6 years of age who were not enrolled in the Florida State University Developmental Research School. The pilot study facilitated the decisions concerning what questions to ask, wording of the questions and the use of the tape recorder.

The format of the test consisted of short stories and story items. The stories and some story items were pre-recorded by an experienced speaker. The investigator asked the questions related to the recorded stories in order to maintain the interest of the subject. It was determined that the continual turning off and on of the tape recorder
for one question at a time would be disruptive to the flow of the testing session. Each testing session was approximately ten minutes. The children were tested twice with materials following the same theme.

The Test

First Session: Introduction to become acquainted with the subject. Investigator explained that she was learning about stories which children liked to listen to so that she could learn how to write stories for children. The presence of the tape recorders was explained.

1. Tape:
   This story is about a mother with many children. Help me decide what the mother should do to take care of her children in this story (pause for subject's response).
   
   This story is about a father with many children. Help me decide what the father should do to take care of his children in this story (pause).

2. I'm writing stories about children and what they want to do when they grow up. Would you help by giving these children names? (brief pause)

   Tape:
   The first story I'm writing is about a child who wants to be a singer when the child is older. What shall we name the singer? (pause)
   
   The next story is about a child who wants to be a ballet dancer. What shall we name the ballet dancer? (pause)
   
   The next story is about a child who wants to be an airplane pilot. What shall we name the pilot? (pause)
   
   The last story I'm writing will be about a child who wants to be a parent. What shall we name the parent? (A parent is defined as a grown-up with children.) (Pause for subject's response.)

3. Joshua's Day (See Appendix B) - investigator turns the pages of the story while the child listens to the tape recording.
Investigator: Tell me about some of the people in this story. (Show page of story with Joshua's two teachers pictured.) Show me Joshua's teachers and tell me what they each do. (pause)

(Turn to page with Joshua's mother pictured at work.) Tell me what Joshua's mother does. (pause)

Is there a picture of Joshua's father in this story? (pause) What does Joshua's father do? (pause)

Second Session:

4. Martin's Father (See Appendix B) - investigator turns the pages of the story while the child listens to the tape recording.

Investigator: What are some of the things Martin and his father did in this story? (pause for response)

Is Martin's mother in this story? (pause)
(If no) Where is she?
(If yes) Tell me about her.

5. Investigator: The next questions ask for names for children for stories I will write.

Tape:
Help me name a child in a story who is strong and brave (pause for response).
Help me name a child in a story who is shy and afraid (pause).

6. Family Helpers (See Appendix B) - investigator turns the pages of the story while the child listens to the tape recording.

Investigator: Tell me about the people in this story. First tell me, what does the father do? (pause)
What does the mother do? (pause)
What does the boy, Jim, do? (pause)
What does the girl, Janet, do? (pause for response)
Test Rational

Item 1 was chosen to indicate if children distinguish the male and female roles in similar situations involving children. If the child had learned the traditional sex role standard, the two answers would be different. This question was reversed, on a random basis, for half the subjects tested to avoid any effect of order of presentation.

Item 2 revealed the child's perceptions of various occupations. The singer role was chosen since it was not a typically male or female role. The ballet dancer would traditionally be labeled as a female occupation, and the airplane pilot traditionally a male occupation. The parent role was chosen to test children's perceptions concerning a stereotype of a parent.

Item 3 was based on the non-traditional story, Joshua's Day. This story was about a day in Joshua's life. The adult reader may assume Joshua's mother was divorced. Joshua attends a Day Care Center all day while his mother works as a photographer. Joshua's two teachers are a male and a female, both of whom did non-stereotyped activities. This test item checked to see if a child perceived the roles portrayed and the absence of the father.

Item 4 was the presentation of a non-traditional story, Martin's Father, which was centered around Martin and his fathers' activities. The adult reader might assume Martin's father was divorced and he was rearing Martin.
The test item demonstrated the child's awareness of roles by asking the activities of Martin and his father and by asking about Martin's mother.

Item 5 presented stereotyped characteristics of a boy and girl as they are often portrayed in children's stories. This item tested whether or not a child is cognizant of this stereotype. These two questions were reversed, on a random basis, for half of the subjects tested to avoid any effect as a result of order of presentation.

Item 6 involved a traditional story, *Family Helpers*, with a father, mother, brother and sister who perform various tasks. The subject was asked to describe each person's role to test role recognition.

**Collection of Data**

The investigator met with each of the teachers whose students were involved in the study and a testing schedule was arranged. Each subject was tested twice with one week between testing sessions. All data were collected during the Spring of 1974.

Each subject was individually tested in a room apart from the classroom. Two tape recorders were utilized; one for the pre-recorded items and one to record the subject's responses (See sample responses, Appendix C). The investigator also recorded the subject's responses on an answer sheet (See Appendix C). After each day of testing, the tape recording was replayed and the answer sheets
checked for accuracy. After all data were collected, a typewritten copy of the complete answer sheets was made for the judges to score.

The judges were two acquaintances of the investigator who were interested in children. One judge, Mary Heaton, has a Master's Degree in early childhood education from Florida State University. The other judge, Karen Rowland, has a Master's Degree in art history. The judges had expressed an interest in learning about the area of this research, but had not read the prospectus of the research. Inter-rater reliability was established between the judges for each item. A correlation of .90 was obtained prior to scoring actual transcripts of data.

**Analysis of Data**

Test item one tested the subject's perception of the mother and the father role in taking care of their children. The responses for each role were categorized as non-traditional (not reflecting a learned stereotype) or as traditional (reflecting a stereotyped role). If the subject gave no response, no score was tallied. For scoring purposes traditional and non-traditional roles were defined by the investigator and judges.

Test item two and five were scored similarly. Test item two consisted of the subject's naming a singer, parent, ballet dancer and airplane pilot. Test item five consisted of the subject's naming a child who was strong
and brave and naming a child who was shy and afraid. The responses in each case were tallied according to assignment of male or female. In some cases the subject gave no response or assigned both male and female to the role. For purposes of chi square analysis when only a few subjects gave these type responses the two categories were combined.

Test item three, based on the story Joshua's Day, tested the subject's recognition of the roles of the teachers, mother and father (See Appendix B). Recognition of teachers' roles involved pointing to each teacher's picture and stating their activities. The scores, based on the subjects' correct identification of the different roles of the teachers, were converted to low, medium or high degree of recognition. Recognition of the roles of the mother and father were scored as either correct or incorrect recognition.

Test item four concerned a non-traditional story Martin's Father and item six concerned a traditional story Family Helpers. The subject's perceptions of roles was scored as plus one for each correct role and minus one for each incorrect role (See Appendix B). A question concerning Martin's mother was not scored because many subjects confused this question with Joshua's Day. In order to compare the role recognition in a non-traditional story to role recognition in a traditional story, equivalent scores were calculated and Z-scores were assigned. These scores were then
categorized on the basis of low (-∞ to -.49), medium (-.50 to +.50) or high (+.51 to +∞) role recognition.

Chi square analysis involved: comparing boys' and girls' responses to each test item, comparing the four, five and six year old age groups' responses to each test item and comparing all sixty subjects' responses to the total item.

The chi square statistics were analyzed utilizing the Florida State University Computer Center. Alpha level was set at .05 which is a stringent level of significance to test in the social sciences. A chi square statistic of p < .05 represents a rejection of the null hypothesis which would indicate a difference in how the subjects respond based on age and sex. A chi square statistic which failed to reject (p > .05) may suggest a trend toward a learned stereotype if both males and females answer similarly or if the pattern is apparent in the three age groups.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Description of Subjects

The subjects included in this study were White, middle-class four, five and six year old children enrolled in the Florida State University Developmental Research School. Twelve four-year-olds, twenty-four five-year-olds and twenty-four six-year-olds were tested in this study. Each age category was evenly divided by sex. Each subject was individually tested in a room apart from the other children. The subjects were tested twice in a two week period.

Description of Test

The instrument was designed by the investigator. Item one of the test asked the subject to describe what a mother in a story should do to take care of her children. The question was repeated asking what the father should do to take care of his children. Item two requested the subject to name a child for a story who wanted to be: (1) a singer, (2) a ballet dancer, (3) an airplane pilot and (4) a parent when the child was grown-up. Item three consisted of the non-traditional story Joshua's Day. The subject was asked to describe the roles of the teachers, Mother and Father.
The second testing session began with item four, a non-traditional story Martin's Father. The subject was asked to describe the activities Martin and his father did together. A question concerning Martin's mother was not scored as some subjects confused this question to Joshua's Day. In item five the investigator asked the subject to name, for a story being written, a child who was strong and brave and a child who was shy and afraid. Item six consisted of a traditional story, Family Helpers. The subject was asked to describe what each person did in the story.

**Analysis of Data**

Two judges who had established inter-rater reliability of .90 scored the data. Subjects' responses to item one were scored relative to a pre-established definition of a traditional and non-traditional role for a mother and father. Scoring for items two and five involved a tally of the assignment male, female, male or female or no responses to the singer, parent, ballet dancer, airplane pilot; strong and brave child and shy and afraid child. Items three, four and six were analyzed concerning recognition of roles portrayed. For Joshua's Day the subject was scored on the basis of recognition of the roles of the teachers, Mother and Father. For both Martin's Father and Family Helpers the number of incorrectly identified activities was subtracted from the correctly identified
activities. Equivalent scores were calculated utilizing standard deviations and Z-scores. These scores were categorized on the basis of low, medium or high role recognition.

Data were analyzed utilizing the chi square. Level of significance was designated at the .05 level.

Statistical Analysis

Item One

The subject was asked, "What should a father do to take care of his children in a story?" and "What should a mother do to take care of her children in a story?" The subjects' responses were scored on the basis of traditional or non-traditional role perception for the father and the mother.

Results of chi square analysis revealed that the children as a whole perceived a difference in the role of mothers and fathers significant at .005 level, almost half seeing Father's role as non-traditional and over ninety per cent characterizing Mother's role as traditional. The boys' and girls' perceptions of traditional and non-traditional roles for Father were significant at the .05 level, boys perceiving a traditional role and girls a non-traditional one. However, there was no significant difference in the ways boys and girls perceived Mother's role, it being seen as traditional by both. There was no significant difference in role perception among four-, five- and six-year-olds for mothers or fathers (See Table 1).
TABLE 1

TRADITIONAL AND NON-TRADITIONAL ROLE PERCEPTION OF FATHER & MOTHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Analyzed</th>
<th>$\chi^2$ Obtained</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assigned Father &amp; Mother roles vs. traditional or non-traditional response</td>
<td>29.77</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subject vs. traditional or non-trad. role assignment to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subject vs. traditional or non-trad. role assignment to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 illustrates the male subjects' tendency to express a traditional role for the father and female subjects' tendency to express a non-traditional role for him (significant at .05 level).

TABLE 2

PERCEPTION OF FATHER ROLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Traditional Projection</th>
<th>Non-traditional Projection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although not statistically significant, a trend was apparent in both boys' and girls' perception of the mother role as a traditional role (See Table 3).

**TABLE 3**
PERCEPTION OF MOTHER ROLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Traditional Projection</th>
<th>Non-traditional Projection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 illustrates all subjects' father and mother role projections of either traditional or non-traditional (significant at p < .005). The father is portrayed in both traditional and non-traditional roles, while the mother is portrayed in the traditional role (See Table 4).

**TABLE 4**
COMPARISON OF ROLE PERCEPTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Traditional Projection</th>
<th>Non-traditional Projection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item Two

This item requested the subjects' naming of a child in a story who wants to become as an adult a singer, parent, ballet dancer, airplane pilot. Some subjects responded with both a boy's name and a girl's name or gave no response; these answers were assumed to represent indecision.

Analysis of the data using chi square indicated that at the .005 level, boys and girls assigned their own sex to the singer and to the parent. There was no significant difference by sex with regard to sex assignment to the ballet dancer and airplane pilot; the vast majority perceived the former as female and the latter male.

There was a .01 level of significance in the assignment of sex to the singer when the variable of subjects' age was considered. Younger children were less able to make this decision and six year old respondents showed a decided tendency to assign the male sex. There were no significant differences with regard to sex assignment of parent, ballet dancer or airplane pilot. Considering the total sample's response with respect to the assignment of sex to the four occupations, there was a .005 level of significance (See Table 5).

The children's tendency to assign their own sex to the singer was significant at the .005 level. However,
indecision was reported by 20 subjects, or one-third, who named the singer both male and female or gave no response (See Table 6).

TABLE 5
ASSIGNMENT OF SEX TO OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Analyzed</th>
<th>$\chi^2$ Obtained</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subject vs. sex assigned to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>31.58</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>15.46</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet dancer</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airplane pilot</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subject vs. sex assigned to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>18.10</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>8.95</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet dancer</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airplane pilot</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Roles -- singer, parent, ballet dancer, airplane pilot vs. sex assigned to roles</td>
<td>95.07</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 6
ASSIGNMENT OF SEX TO SINGER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Response: Female</th>
<th>Indecision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The children's tendency to assign their own sex to the parent was significant at the .005 level. It was interesting to note that 23 of the 30 female subjects named the parent as female. Only 9 of 60 subjects reported indecision in naming the parent (See Table 7).

**TABLE 7**

**ASSIGNMENT OF SEX TO PARENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Indecision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A trend was suggested in the boys' and girls' assignment of sex to the ballet dancer and airplane pilot. Both sexes categorized the ballet dancer as female and the airplane pilot as male (See Table 8).

Significant at the .01 level was the four-, five- and six-year-olds' assignment of sex to the singer. It was interesting to note that assignment of the male sex to the singer increased from 0 per cent for four-year-olds to 33.3 per cent for five-year-olds to 54.2 per cent for six-year-olds. There was no similar trend in the assignment of the female sex to the singer. The older the subject, the less likely the subjects were to report male or female or give no response (See Table 9).
TABLE 8
ASSIGNMENT OF SEX TO BALLET DANCER & AIRPLANE PILOT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subject</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Indecision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male Ballet Dancer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Ballet Dancer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Airplane Pilot</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Airplane Pilot</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9
COMPARISON OF AGE & SEX ASSIGNED TO SINGER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Subjects</th>
<th>Per Cent of Responses:</th>
<th>No Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All subjects' responses to the four roles and the sex assigned was significant at .005. Results indicate the singer was assigned each category, male, female and indecision, on an equal basis. The parent was assigned the male role by 33.3 per cent of the subjects and assigned the female role by
51.7 per cent of the subjects. The ballet dancer role was perceived as female by 81.7 per cent of the subjects, and the airplane pilot was perceived as male by 80 per cent of the subjects (See Table 10).

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATION AND SEX ASSIGNED

<p>| Roles           | Number of Male Response: | Number of Female Response: | Indecision |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet dancer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airplane pilot</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item Three

Item three was related to the non-traditional story Joshua's Day. The subject was tested on recognition of the roles of the mother (who was a photographer), the father (who was not in the story) and Joshua's two teachers.

There was no significant chi square statistic found with regard to boys' and girls' recognition of the role of either the mother or the father. Age seemed to have no significant relationship to the recognition of the role of
either the mother or the father. When all 60 subjects’ responses to mother and father role were compared to correct or incorrect role recognition, significance was at the .005 level.

There was no significant chi square statistic found with regard to boys’ and girls’ recognition of the teacher roles. No significance was indicated in the comparison of age to recognition of the teacher roles (See Table 11).

TABLE 11
ROLE RECOGNITION IN NON-TRADITIONAL STORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Analyzed</th>
<th>$\chi^2$ Obtained</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subject vs. correct or incorrect recognition of role of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subject vs. correct or incorrect recognition of role of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition of mother &amp; father role vs. correct or incorrect response</td>
<td>33.35</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subject vs. high, med., or low recognition of teacher roles</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subject vs. high, med., or low recognition of teacher roles</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was no significant difference in boys' and girls' recognition of the mother's role; at least 75 per cent of both sexes correctly identified her occupation as a photographer (See Table 12). There was no significant difference in boys' and girls' recognition of the father's role; over 70 per cent of both sexes incorrectly identified his role (See Table 13).

**TABLE 12**

**RECOGNITION OF MOTHER AS PHOTOGRAPHER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Per Cent Response As:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>76.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 13**

**RECOGNITION OF FATHER AS NOT BEING IN STORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Per Cent Response As:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 indicates the total number of correct and incorrect responses to the mother and father roles, significant at the .005 level. The mother's role was correctly
identified by 46 subjects. The father's role was incorrectly identified by 45 subjects (See Table 14).

**TABLE 14**

MOTHER & FATHER ROLE RECOGNITION AS CORRECT OR INCORRECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roles</th>
<th>Number of Responses:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother as Photographer</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father as not in story</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no significant difference in boys' and girls' degree of recognition of the teacher's roles. Both groups indicated medium to high recognition of the roles. High recognition was indicated by 43.3 per cent of the males and 53.3 per cent of the females (See Table 15).

**TABLE 15**

RECOGNITION OF TEACHER'S ROLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Per Cent Response As:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Items Four and Six

Item four was related to the non-traditional story *Martin's Father*. The subject was asked what Martin and his father did in the story. Item six was concerned with a traditional story *Family Helpers*. The subject was asked what the father, mother and their children, Jim and Janet, each did in the story.

The sex and age of the subjects was compared to their degree of recognition (low, medium and high) of the roles in the traditional and non-traditional stories. There were no significant differences indicated by chi square analysis (See Table 16).

**TABLE 16**

**ROLE PERCEPTIONS OF NON-TRADITIONAL AND TRADITIONAL STORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Analyzed</th>
<th>$\chi^2$ Obtained</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subject vs. low, medium, or high recognition in:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-traditional story</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional story</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subject vs. low, med., or high recognition in:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-traditional story</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional story</td>
<td>8.63</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-traditional &amp; traditional story vs. low, medium or high role recognition</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was no significant difference between boys' and girls' recognition of roles in the non-traditional or the traditional story. Table 17 illustrates the distribution of scores categorized as low, medium and high role recognition. It is interesting to note that whereas 50 percent of the males' and 40 percent of the females' responses were categorized as medium with respect to the traditional story, no subjects of either sex gave responses in the medium range with regard to the non-traditional one (See Table 17).

TABLE 17
ROLE RECOGNITION IN NON-TRADITIONAL AND TRADITIONAL STORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-traditional Story</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Story</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no significant difference in the four-, five- and six-year-olds' low, medium and high role recognition in the non-traditional or in the traditional story. When all subjects' responses to both stories were compared, there was no significant differences in their perception of roles.
Item Five

This item required the subjects' naming as male or female a strong and brave child and a shy and afraid child. Chi square analysis were conducted with respect to: boys' and girls' assignment of male or female to the strong and brave child and the shy and afraid child; each age groups' assignment of male or female to the strong and brave child and the shy and afraid child; and the 60 subjects' assignment of male or female to the two roles of strong and brave and shy and afraid.

There was no significant chi square statistic found with regard to assignment of sex to the strong and brave child. The children's tendency to assign their own sex to the shy and afraid child was significant at the .01 level. Age seemed to have no significant bearing on responses to this item. When all subjects' responses to the two personality characteristics were compared, significance was at the .005 level (See Table 18).

Table 19 indicates the children's tendency to assign their own sex to the shy and afraid child, which was significant at the .01 level. Fifty-three per cent of both boys and girls chose according to their own sex. A third of the boys and 23 per cent of girls were undecided in the matter (See Table 19).
TABLE 18
PERCEPTION OF SEX AND PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Analyzed</th>
<th>$\chi^2$ Obtained</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subject vs. sex assigned to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong/brave child</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shy/afraid child</td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subject vs. sex assigned to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong/brave child</td>
<td>5.94</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shy/afraid child</td>
<td>11.17</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong/brave and shy/afraid child vs. sex assigned</td>
<td>22.17</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 19
ANALYSIS OF SEX ASSIGNMENT FOR SHY/AFRAID CHILD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Subjects</th>
<th>Per Cent Responses:</th>
<th>Indecision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 60 children perceived a strong and brave child to be male, but indicated the shy and afraid one might be male or female, at the .005 level of significance. However, over
a fourth of the respondents were undecided on this response (See Table 20).

TABLE 20

COMPARISON OF STRONG/BRAVE CHILD AND SHY/AFRAID CHILD TO SEX ASSIGNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child who is:</th>
<th>Per Cent Sex Assignment:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Female No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong/brave</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shy/afraid</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the data, it is not possible to reject the first hypothesis with respect to age since the results were inconclusive. However, it is possible to reject hypothesis number two relative to sex as a factor in sex role perceptions.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The studies and surveys of children's literature such as Dick and Jane as Victims (Women on Words & Images, 1972) were reports from the adult perspective of sex role stereotyping in children's literature. This study was undertaken to test children's own perceptions of the roles that they see and hear portrayed in children's stories to determine if age and sex were significantly related to these perceptions.

The sample for this study included sixty White, middle-class children enrolled in the Florida State University Developmental Research School: twelve four-year-olds, twenty-four five-year-olds and twenty-four six-year-olds. Each age category included an equal number of boys and girls. Each child was individually tested utilizing a story and story-related instrument developed by the investigator. The data were analyzed using the chi square with the .05 level of significance necessary to reject the hypotheses.

Data analysis revealed the following statistically significant results:
1. All 60 subjects assigned the father both a traditional and non-traditional role, while the majority assigned a traditional role to the mother (p < .005).

2. Boys tended to project a traditional role for the father, and girls tended to project a non-traditional role for the father (p < .05).

3. Two-thirds of the children tended to assign their own sex to the singer, while one-third reported indecision (p < .005).

4. The children tended to assign their own sex to the parent; 53.3 per cent of the males named a parent male (20 per cent indecision) and 76.7 per cent of the females named a parent female (10 per cent indecision) (p < .005).

5. Older children indicated greater decision-making ability in their assignment of sex to the singer (p < .01). Four-year-olds reported 50 per cent no response, whereas 54 per cent of the six-year-olds reported the singer as male.

6. Sex assignment of the four roles was (p < .005): (a) Singer was assigned each category, male, female and indecision, on an equal basis, (b) Parent was assigned the male role by 33.3 per cent of the subjects and assigned the female role by 51.7 per cent of the subjects, (c) Ballet dancer was named female by 81.7 per cent of the subjects, (d) Airplane pilot was named male by 80.0 per cent of the subjects.

7. Subjects correctly identified the role of the mother in Joshua's Day and incorrectly identified the role of the father (p < .005).

8. Over 50 per cent of both boys and girls reported the shy and afraid child as being of their own sex (p < .01).

9. Three-fourths of the subjects perceived a strong and brave child to be male, but indicated the shy and afraid child might be male or female (p < .005). Over one-fourth of the subjects were undecided on this question.

Although not statistically significant, boys' and girls' tendencies to respond similarly to some items suggest a degree of learned stereotyping: Both boys and girls projected a traditional role for the mother. Both boys and
girls categorized the ballet dancer as female and the airplane pilot as male.

Also interesting to note were the children's responses to the non-traditional story Joshua's Day. Over 75 per cent of both boys and girls correctly identified the role of the mother as photographer. However, over 70 per cent of the boys and girls did not recognize that Joshua's father was not in the story. Most of the subjects stated that Joshua's father was at work all day.

More than 80 per cent of the subjects reported medium or high teacher role recognition for Joshua's Day. This high degree of recall might have been because the male and female teachers performed non-traditional activities; the male teacher prepared the children's snack and the female teacher helped the children play with blocks. Testing the subjects in a school setting with a story about a child at school may have influenced the subjects' identification with this story.

Although not statistically significant, differences were apparent in the role recognition of the non-traditional story Martin's Father and the traditional story Family Helpers. No subjects scored in the medium range of role recognition in Martin's Father, whereas 50 per cent of the males and 40 per cent of the females scored in the medium range of role recognition in Family Helpers. It is unclear
why the subjects' role recognition in Martin's Father was only low or high. Perhaps some subjects could not identify with the story or perhaps the story was so unusual they recalled a great deal of it. If the individual child's father did not play with him or her as Martin's father played all day with Martin, than this experience would have been foreign to the child's experience.

Comparison of these findings with research findings cited in the Chapter II reveals that children of these ages have not yet achieved the dichotomous distinction of sex roles as stated by Sears (1965). The children appeared to be learning to discriminate between sex-typed behavior patterns as reported by Mischel (1966), when they assigned the male sex to the strong and brave child while assigning both male and female to the shy and afraid child. The findings of this study seem to be most closely allied with Kohlberg's (1966) cognitive-developmental model for sex-role identification, in that the mother's role was perceived as traditional, as were sex assignment to the ballet dancer and airplane pilot. Responses indicating strong and brave as male characteristics were another example of this learning of gender appropriate behavior.

In conclusion, the children tested for this research were attentive listeners and cooperative subjects. In fact, some subjects were too attentive as they connected Martin's
mother to Joshua's mother even though the stories were from two separate test sessions.

The subjects' assignment of both a traditional and non-traditional role to the father in test item one may indicate there is no clear-cut definition of the role of a father in taking care of his children or that the role of the father may be changing. However, over 70 per cent of the subjects could not conceive of the absence of Joshua's father. Despite the publicity surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement, the subjects in this study overwhelmingly portrayed the mother's role to be a traditional one.

The egocentric nature of children may have been represented in the boys' and girls' assignment of their own sex to the singer, parent and shy and afraid child. However, perhaps shy and afraid is a more accurate self-portrayal of these age groups than is strong and brave. It was interesting to note that twenty-six subjects identified their response in naming a parent as being the name of their parent; some subjects utilized the title, "Mrs."

Sex differences were more apparent than age differences in this study. However, the six-year-olds generally displayed a greater decision-making ability especially when assigning names. A larger sample size would have perhaps indicated age differences.
Strengths of this research included the following:

1. The stories *Joshua's Day* and *Martin's Father* were considered to be the best non-traditional stories available and *Family Helpers* was considered to be representative of the traditional stories.

2. The use of pre-recorded stories and story-related questions assured that each testing session was the same. Tape recording the subjects' responses provided an accurate check of the responses recorded by paper and pencil during the test session.

3. The testing session was structured to determine the opinions, thoughts and responses of each subject, not to convey the impression that each question had a right or wrong answer.

4. Data were scored by independent judges who were unfamiliar with the research of sex roles in children's literature.

Weaknesses of this research included the following:

1. The investigator-designed test schedule had no established reliability or validity.

2. The sample of 60 children, including only 12 four-year-olds, needed to be increased to more accurately measure differences between age groups.

3. The instrument could have been modified.

All aspects of children's perceptions of their literature, sex role learning and current trends in society need study. Some areas of further research recommended by this investigator are:

1. Children's story writing (orally dictated to investigator), analyzed for roles portrayed, subjects chosen, and language utilized.

2. Study of children's definitions of story content: mother, father, shy, afraid, divorce, tomboy, etc.

3. Total story recall.

4. Comparison of children's stories and selected television programs, for example, the Little Golden Books and T.V. cartoons.
5. Comparisons of race and different socio-economic groups to perceptions of stories.

6. Study of parents' goals in sex role socialization of their children; age of child and number of siblings would be factors.


8. Comparisons of families where the mother does or does not work outside the home.

9. The development of a curriculum stressing individual development regardless of the sex of the child.
APPENDICES
Science Research Associates, Inc.
259 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Science Research Associates:

I am a graduate student at Florida State University, working on a Master's Degree in Child Development. My thesis is concerned with children's literature. Your company Science Research Associates was one of those cited in Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex stereotyping in children's readers by Women on Words & Images (1972). I would like to know your company's policy on portrayal of males and females in children's literature. Has this policy changed as a result of the Dick and Jane as Victims study or any other factors? Scott, Foresman Company has completely revised its policy in regard to sex role stereotyping and has published a booklet explaining this policy.

Any information on your company's policy on the portrayal of male and female roles would be appreciated. I have enclosed a return envelope. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Kay Kummerow
Ms. Kay Kummerow
412 West Jefferson #122
Tallahassee, Florida 32301

Dear Ms. Kummerow:

Thank you for your letter of February 28. Although SRA has not yet published a formal policy statement on sexism (such as the Scott Foresman booklet to which you refer), we have become sensitive to the problem and these days we are keeping the feminist viewpoint very much in mind as we select material for inclusion in our reading products.

Editors are urged to give equal representation to the achievements of real women and to make sure that girls are presented as active leading characters in fiction as often as boys. Editors are urged to avoid the wife-and-mother stereotypes for women and avoid having characters utter demeaning remarks such as "She's only a girl." The reverse of this coin is that boys and fathers should not be exempt from doing domestic chores, showing emotion, and so on. As a result, I believe SRA materials currently under development will be viewed more favorably by feminist organizations than some of our past materials have been.

We appreciate your interest in SRA and thank you for writing to us.

Sincerely yours,

George R. Paterson
Senior Editor
Language Arts
APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPT OF TEST STORIES

ROLES PORTRAIED
It was morning. Joshua opened his eyes and climbed out of bed. He looked out the window and saw the sun shining.

After breakfast Mommy and Joshua walked through the leaves that had fallen off the trees. Mommy was going to work, and Joshua was going to his school.

Mommy was a photographer. She spent her day in a large studio with many lights. She took pictures of people with a camera.

Everyday she kissed Joshua goodbye at the Riverside Day Care Center. He waved to her as she walked down the street to her studio where she worked.

Joshua liked the Day Care Center. His friends were there.

Best of all there were Sue and Ron his teachers. Sue helped the girls and boys build cities and farms. Sometimes they used every toy in the whole playroom.

This morning it was Ron's turn to slice the apples and pass out the juice and crackers.

Today Joshua decided to make a tower with the wooden blocks.

He began to build. The tower grew as Joshua put one block on top of another.

Just behind Joshua, Maria was showing Larry how to make a truck zoom. "Like this," she said as it sped forward through Larry's hands, under the painting easel, between Joshua's feet and smack right into Joshua's tower.

The tower began to move. "Oh-o-oh-o," Joshua cried. He tried to hold his tower, but some blocks fell off the top. Joshua felt angry. The more his tower shook, the angrier Joshua became.

Crash! The tower tumbled down.

Joshua was mad. He picked up a block and threw it. Then he kicked a pile of blocks. Finally he flopped down and cried.
Maria and Larry came over. "Gosh, we're sorry," Larry said, "that truck sure went fast."

"Yes," said Maria, "but I bet we could build a great super highway." They gathered the blocks together and began to build. Joshua watched for awhile, then picked up a block to help with the bridge.

By lunch time, Joshua was so hungry that he was first in line to wash his hands. At the table Ron gave him a second helping of corn. Sue poured Joshua a second glass of milk.

After lunch was naptime. The teachers covered the children with blankets for their naps.

Later the children went out to the play-yard. Joshua loved to run around the yard.

His favorite friend was Vanessa. She made monster faces on the seesaw, and Joshua always laughed so hard he thought he would fall off.

Mommy came for Joshua at five o'clock. She opened the gate, looked around the play-yard, then smiled when she saw her Josh.

Mommy and Joshua had lots to tell each other as they walked home.

Dinner-time. Joshua set the table while Mommy cooked.

Later, as Joshua got ready for bed, he talked with Mommy about his tall tower. He told how a truck had knocked over the tower and how angry he had become. Mommy listened. She knew about the feelings Joshua described, and it made him feel better to talk about them.

When Joshua got into bed, Mommy pulled the covers up to his chin.

As Joshua's eyes closed he felt a good night kiss on his forehead.
Martin had the best father in the world!

Father would roar like a lion and chase Martin through all the rooms.

They would play hide and seek.

In the morning, father would cook eggs and toast and they would eat breakfast.

Today Martin and his father did the laundry together.

Afterwards, they went out for a walk. They watched a bird and fed it crumbs.

They stopped at the swings and the father pushed Martin so high!

It was lunchtime. They went home and both made sandwiches. Father put lettuce and mayonnaise and tomatoes and cheese on his sandwich. Martin spread peanut butter and jelly on his.

They went into the yard and sat there munching their sandwiches.

It was so hot! Martin went and fetched the garden hose and his father watered him down. Martin was wet all over.

But the best of all was the evening bath. Then his father would sit on the edge of the tub. They played boats and three little ducks.

And then father rubbed him dry and carried him to his bed and tucked him in. And last of all, he played a tune on Martin's xylophone, every evening the same one. Good night, Martin.
Father says:
"Good-by Jim and Janet.
Good-by Mother and Baby Sue.
Good-by, good-by, good-by."
Father goes to work each morning.
He is away from home all day.
He works and works all day.
He is glad to work for his family.

Sometimes Father works at home.
There are many things for him to do.
He cuts the grass.
He waters the yard.
He washes the car.
When something is broken, he fixes it.
He is a busy father.

There are many things at home for Mother to do.
She washes and irons the clothes.
If there are holes in the clothes, she mends them.
Sometimes Mother makes new clothes for the family.
This keeps Mother busy.

Mother cleans the house.
She pushes the vacuum cleaner here and there.
She keeps the house nice and clean.
Mother cooks for the family.
She gets breakfast, she gets lunch, she gets dinner for the family.
Mother is a busy family helper.

It is good to have a fine helper like Jim in the family.
Jim makes his bed and cleans his room.
He always hangs up his clothes.
Jim empties the wastebaskets.
He takes the garbage out to the garbage can.

Jim helps Mother.
He goes to the store for her.
He remembers to give their dog Skipper food and water every day.
Janet is a big girl now.
She can dress herself and tie her own shoe laces.
She likes her pretty dresses.
Janet puts her toys into the toy box.
Her room looks nice and clean.

Janet can set the table.
She carries the plates carefully.
At each place Janet puts a knife, fork, spoon and napkin.

After dinner there is work for everyone in the family.
Jim brings out the dirty dishes. Mother washes them.
Father dries them. Janet puts the clean dishes away.
When Baby is bigger, she will help, too.
Scoring based on these roles portrayed in *Joshua's Day*:

Male teacher - slices the apples and passes out the juice and crackers. At lunch time Ron gave Joshua a second helping of corn.

Female teacher - helped the girls and boys build cities and farms sometimes using every toy in the playroom. At lunch time Sue poured Joshua a second glass of milk.

Both teachers covered the children with blankets for their naps.

Joshua's mother - a photographer who spent her day in a large studio with many lights. She took pictures of people with a camera.

Joshua's father - no picture or mention of Joshua's father in the story.
Roles portrayed in *Martin's Father* (scored +1 for each of the following responses given):

Martin had the best father in the world.

Father roared like a lion and chased Martin through all the rooms.

They played hide and seek.

Father cooked egg and toast and they ate breakfast.

They did the laundry together.

They went for a walk.

They watched a bird and fed it crumbs.

Father pushed Martin very high on the swing.

At lunchtime they went home and made sandwiches.

They went into the yard and sat there munching their sandwiches.

It was so hot that Martin fetched the garden hose and his father watered him down.

At the evening bath Father would sit on the edge of the tub and they would play boats and three little ducks.

Father dried Martin and carried him to bed and tucked him in.

Father played a tune on Martin's xylophone, the same tune every evening.
Roles portrayed in *Family Helpers* (scored +1 for each of the following responses given):

**Father** -

- says good-by to each family member
- goes to work each morning and is away from home all day
- works at home where there are many things for him to do
- cuts the grass
- waters the yard
- washes the car
- when something is broken, he fixes it
- dries the dishes

**Mother** -

- washes and irons the clothes
- if there are holes in the clothes, she mends them
- mother makes new clothes for the family
- cleans the house
- pushes the vacuum cleaner here and there
- keeps the house nice and clean
- cooks for the family; she gets breakfast, lunch and dinner
- washes dishes

**Jim** -

- makes his bed
- cleans his room
- always hangs up his clothes
- empties the wastebaskets
- takes the garbage out to the garbage can
- helps mother; goes to the store for her
- remembers to give their dog Skipper food and water every day
- brings the dirty dishes from the table to the kitchen

**Janet** -

- is a big girl now
- can dress herself
- can tie her own shoe laces
- likes pretty dresses
- puts her toys into the toy box
- sets the table
- puts a knife, fork, spoon and napkin at each place
- puts the clean dishes away
1. Mother should -
   Father should -

2. Singer's name -
   Ballet dancer's name -
   Airplane pilot's name -
   Parent's name -

3. Joshua's teachers:
   male -
   female -
   Joshua's mother -
   Joshua's father -

4. What Martin & Father did -
   Mother in story?

5. Name of strong & brave child -
   Name of shy & afraid child -

6. What people do -
   Father -
   Mother -
   Boy Jim
   Girl Janet
The children were delightful subjects. The investigator often wondered if the tape recording of stories and questions was always the same since the range of answers was so varied. Here are some of the children's responses:

Item 1: What should a mother do to take care of her children?
"Like the woman who lived in a shoe; gave bread, gave them a spanking and threw them in bed."
"Can't the brother do anything?"
"Almost the same thing as the father, 'cause woman can do men work too (child had said a father should, 'plow, sell his pigs and give his cow to the butcher, go kill wild animals for them')."
"Get a maid and she go to work so she can raise her family."
"Have some people adopt them."

What should a father do to take care of his children?
"Treat them the right way, treat them like real kids. When their mothers gone and the daddy has to stay and babysit he has to know what time to put them to bed and he has to know what time to give them their supper."
"Why doesn't he let some of them go out and find his own home?"
"When they grow up let them go off to seek their fortune."
"Does he have a wife?"
"Watch them so they won't go out in the deep forest."

Item 2: Name a child who wants to be parent when the child is older.
"Miss Jones."
"Parent is a grown-up. They don't do any jobs. Just like my Mom and Dad. They don't do any special things. My Daddy is a teacher, sometimes."
(After defining a parent as a grown-up with children)
"I know, I have some."

Item 3: What does Joshua's mother do?
"Takes pictures of dollies."
"Works in a camera store."
What does Joshua's father do?
"Stays at work every day."
"Goes to work before we see him."
"Works on the train tracks all day and all night, all day and all night."

Item 4: What Martin and his father did.
"Read stories, get wet, and go to the swings, and get the garden hose and go to the swings."
"His daddy played tut on his xylophone."
"This is the funniest story I ever did hear."

Is Martin's mother in this story?
"No, but I believe he has one, maybe she's on a trip or something and maybe she's dead or they got divorced or something; could be thousands of things."

Item 5: Name a child for a story who is -
Strong and brave - "Daniel Boone's son."
Shy and afraid - "Beth, a girl I know at Sunday School who is afraid."

Item 6: What do the people do in this story?
Daddy -
"He dries the baby."

Mother -
"Wash dishes, if she don't work she takes care of the children."
"She stays at home doing busy."

Jim -
"Feeds the dog - I had a doggy, she's still one year old, she's half full grown."
"Cleans up his room whenever it's dirty."

Janet -
"...and does a whole bunch of things just like the others."
"She cleans her glasses."

Baby -
"You could put what the baby did, that will be nothing."


REFERENCES

American Federation of Teachers Women's Rights Committee. Women in Education: Changing sexist practices in the classrooms, no date.


VITA

Kay Louise Kummerow was born on November 7, 1950, in Urbana, Illinois, the daughter of Amy Hildetrand Kummerow and Fred August Kummerow.

She received a Bachelor of Science Degree in Home Economics Education and Child Development from the University of Illinois in February, 1972. Kay received Honors Day recognition in 1970, 1971 and 1972. In September of 1973, she began her graduate program of study in the Department of Home and Family Life at Florida State University where she was a member of the Pi Chapter, Omicron Nu. In August of 1974, she received her Masters of Science Degree in Child Development.

Kay has taught low-income three-, four- and five-year-old children in Day Care in Champaign, Illinois. Through a University of Illinois independent study graduate course in Vocational education she taught Home Economics to juvenile delinquents in the Champaign County Youth Home.