A study of 74 volumes of the Berenstain Bear Series rated illustrations according to the gender orientation of the activity or occupation the pictured bear is engaged in. Each occupation was assigned a number on the continuum by 32 psychology undergraduates at Bethany College who were given a written survey in a classroom together. Results showed that: (1) male family members were pictured significantly more often than female family members in the book; (2) male nonfamily members were pictured significantly more than female nonfamily members; (3) as the years progress through the 1960s to the 1990s, there is a trend toward a less biased representation of activities and occupations in the Berenstain Bear books; (4) females were depicted in mean neutral occupations, and engaged in countergender-typed occupations more often than were males; (5) male occupation scores were significantly lower than the female occupation scores indicating that males' occupations tend to be more masculine than females' occupations are feminine. Males who engage in more feminine or gender-neutral activities may be considered "sissies" and may often feel less accepted than females labeled as "tomboys." Children may need more androgynous role models to provide an example for countergender-typed roles in activities and occupations especially during formative years. (Contains 19 references, the survey, and a list of the Berenstain books used.)
Occupation and Activity Gender
Trends in the Berenstain Bear Series
Melissa J. Kashey
Bethany College
Abstract

A review of past literature, shows that children's literature contains degrees of gender-typing. The purpose of this survey was to determine whether there was equal gender representation in the illustrations of characters performing activities and occupations in the Berenstain Bear children's series and whether those activities and occupations were gender-typed. A survey of 74 Berenstain Bear books, and a gender survey by 32 undergraduate students were performed. Overall, male characters appeared significantly more often in stories than did female characters, although this difference was attenuated across years. Male characters engaged significantly more often in masculine occupations and activities. Females engaged in more feminine activities, but were depicted in more neutral or countergender-typed occupations.
Occupation and Activity Gender
Trends in the Berenstain Bears

Developing an appropriate gender role identity is an important part of a healthy personality. Although gender role identity develops early in life, it has a great impact on one's expectations, interactions and perceptions with others and the achievement standards one sets. A narrow perception of a gender role identity in which certain actions or behaviors are directly associated with a particular gender may lead to rigid, black and white views. These views may eventually begin to dictate the person's behavior patterns. Therefore, one's gender role identity may also hinder future personal growth based on the perceived abilities and behaviors for the person's gender. These biases may also lead to the development of narrow and potentially ineffectual interpersonal problem solving styles (Barnett, 1986; McDonald, 1989).

Children as young as age four are able to determine their own gender and, when shown a doll, correctly label its gender. Rabban found that children use some physical criteria such as clothing or hair style to determine whether a doll is male or female (Cited in Maccoby, 1966). Researchers found that as early as age three, the gender-typed clothing or objects can be correctly associated to the appropriate gender and a person's gender identified from photographs (Thompson, 1975).
The early development, strength and impact of gender identity formation is illustrated by a 1992 study conducted by Many and Anderson (Cited in Purcell-Gates, 1993). 154 third graders who were read a "gender equitable" story about a young boy who wanted a doll recognized that it may be possible for a child to behave in this manner. They did not wish to behave in this way, however, simply because of their gender.

To demonstrate the internalization of gender role stereotypes, Trepanier-Street and Romatowki (1986) examined the active roles assigned to males and females in children's writing. Both male and female students assigned more stereotypic actions than nonstereotypic actions to the characters in their writing. In fact, 92% of the children wrote of characters in stereotypic pursuits while only 8% were nonstereotypic. Children between first and fourth grades assigned their male characters more action than their female characters. In all grade levels, males assigned their male characters significantly more physical actions than they did to female characters.

Many theories stress imitation of behavior based on the observation of others either directly or indirectly in the formation of one's gender role identity (Bandura & Thompson, 1963). For example, according to Bem's Gender Schema Theory
Gender-typed bears 5

(Bem, 1981), children become aware of the gender role stereotypes, associate the stereotype with their own gender and often pattern their behavior toward the observed stereotype. Since books often are a part of a child's direct experience, they too provide a model for gender role identification.

Weitzman et al. (1972) stated the following:

Picture books play an important role in early gender role socialization because they are a vehicle for the presentation of societal values to the young child. Through books, children learn about the world outside of their immediate environment. They learn about what boys and girls do, say and feel. They learn about what is right and wrong, and they learn what is expected of children their age. In addition books provide children with role models--images of what they can and should be when they grow up (p. 1126).

Often, the text in a picture book is not stereotypic, but the illustrations present a stereotypic view of the text and characters. For this reason, the illustrations in a picture book take an active role in maintaining and perpetuating gender role stereotypes. The Berenstains, authors and illustrators of the Berenstain Bear picture books, proclaimed during an interview with *Ratheon Magazine* the importance of illustrations for a
young "reader." The Berenstains stated, "You can't write a story that's going to be a picture book without visualizing what's going to happen. That's why the most successful children's book authors are also illustrators. Children 'read' pictures."

Since children exposed to children's literature are open to the gender role stereotyping through picture books, several surveys have analyzed the content in a variety of picture books. Both a broad and narrow selection of children's books were sampled including Caldecott Awardees honored for outstanding illustrations in picture books. Caldecott Award winners are purchased by nearly every library and frequently purchased by parents. Overall, the studies showed male characters appear more frequently in the text, pictures and titles of children's books than their female counterparts (Engel, 1981; Nilson 1971). Females are typically underrepresented and are found in a smaller number of roles than males.

After decades of unequal representation of the sexes and gender-typing, a slow but steady progression toward less gender-typed literature is occurring. According to Nilson's longitudinal survey of Caldecott Award winning books (1980), between 1951 and 1975 male dominance in the text and illustrations continued to increase. Male representation increased from 54% to 78% of all characters while female
representation dropped from 46% to 22%. Engel continued the survey of books between 1976 and 1980 and found similar, but less dramatic results. A slight, but insignificant, downward shift toward greater gender equality occurred between these years. A later survey by Engel and Dougherty (1987) showed a continued, more dramatic shift toward gender equality from 1981 to 1985. Males between those years represented 57% of the characters portrayed. Image equality also showed improvement. Between 1976 and 1980, 73% of the illustrations depicted males while only 63% depicted males between 1981 and 1985.

McDonald (1989) surveyed the helping behavior shown in children's picture books between the years 1975-1987. McDonald found picture books between these years did not significantly improve in their treatment of sexes in helping behaviors or acts. Again, females were underrepresented and given limited roles.

Although there have been various studies on the short term impact of gender stereotyped picture books on children, the long term effects have not yet been established. To determine the impact of gender stereotyped books, Ashton (1983) studied the behaviors of children who were exposed to gender stereotyped literature. She revealed that exposure to these books increased the level of gender-typed play. In
addition, she found the picture books had a greater impact on the girls' than boys' behavior. On the other hand, boys tended to be more rigidly stereotyped in the first place than the girls which may account for the difference. Flerx et al. (1976) found that females may take on the male role to a greater extent than males take on the female role.

Compared to the gender-typed child, the androgynous child is better able to adapt and react effectively to a wide variety of situations (Bem, 1975). Flerx et al. (1976) supports this view, and adds that contradictory gender role pictures in books produce more androgynous and less gender stereotyped individuals.

In regard to gender-typing in occupations, Leonard (cited in Schubert, 1980 p. 6) stated "...which occupations are appropriate is being reinforced throughout the primary grades....This process is fairly well completed by second or third grade... Boys and girls have accepted either consciously or unconsciously the fact that certain occupations are appropriate for girls."

Finally, Barclay (1974) showed the significance of using books as a means of exposing children to career roles, especially for women. She found that young children's attitudes about women in careers can be altered by using
books on this topic. The long term impact of such information has not yet been established.

Although there is a general trend toward less gender-typing in activities, helping behaviors, clothing and occupations, in children's picture books, it is evident that more equality needs to be present in both the text and illustrations of picture books. Through a content analysis of the illustrations within a particular series of books by the same authors, I examined the frequency with which female and male characters were shown to participate in gender stereotypic and gender nonstereotypic occupations and activities. In addition, I also surveyed the frequency of female and male representation in illustrations. Finally, the distribution of the scores were analyzed to find trends occurring over the past thirty years. Results verifying the general longitudinal trends of illustrations were expected in occupational and activity gender-tying.

Methods

Sample and Subjects

Only books written by Jan and Stan Berenstain were considered for analysis. To be included, at least one of the immediate Berenstain Bear family members had to be in the story. If the story's main focus was not an immediate family member, the book was not included. Seventy-four books
published between 1962 and 1992 were included in the sample (See Appendix A for Berenstain Bear books surveyed). I obtained the list of books from Books In Print 92-93 and gathered the books from five public libraries and several children living in Bethany, West Virginia.

The subjects were 32 undergraduate Bethany College students in Psychology 287 and 315. Sixteen females and sixteen males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three received extra credit for their participation.

Apparatus and Procedure

There were four steps in the procedure. First, I analyzed the seventy-four books. A book title, publishing date, and number of male and female family and nonfamily members were recorded. Only bears wearing clothes were recorded as characters. I counted each bear character separately unless a character performing the same activity appeared in a sequence of pictures indicating a passage of time without a division of the picture frame. In this case, I counted each character only once.

The illustration count began on the title page and ended on the last page of the story. Each character was identified as a family or nonfamily member. Within these categories, gender subcategories of female and male were listed. Since many
children base their identification of gender on physical appearance and attire (clothing), I determined character gender in the same manner, and verified it, if necessary, by referenced descriptors in the text. Once the analysis was complete, the total for each category was computed.

Second, on a different analysis sheet I listed the title and publishing date of the book as well as the character's occupations and activities depicted by the illustrations. Gender subcategories of male and female were listed under each recorded occupation and activity. I defined occupations as careers or jobs one does to acquire a main source of income whereas activities are recreational, entertainment or actions in which one does not get paid or receives only a minimum reimbursement.

Once I surveyed the books, I constructed a survey from the master list by compiling all the occupations and activities (See Appendix B for survey). A scale from one to seven was listed on the top of each page. A score of one showed a strongly masculine activity/occupation, a score of four a gender neutral activity/occupation and seven a strongly feminine activity/occupation. Subjects rated the activities/occupations by using the supplied survey. During a period of time specified specifically for the survey, the students met in a classroom. They indicated their gender, major and year in college on the
form. A psychology professor distributed the survey and explained to complete the surveys individually. On each survey there were standard directions given to each person which explained that they would find a number of activities and occupations listed on the next three pages of the survey. They were to rate the occupations using the indicated scale to show how they viewed each occupation and activity. The fact I was interested in their opinions and that there were no right or wrong answers was stressed. Once they completed the survey, the students placed it on a table in the front of the room. The means of each occupation and activity were then computed.

Fourth, I converted the book-by-book analysis of the occupations and activities into a numerical format. Each illustration depicting a certain occupation or activity was considered a separate entry and assigned the appropriate mean score obtained from the survey. The analysis sheet contained the title and publication date as well as two broad categories: occupation and activities. The first subcategory was female and male. The second subcategory was a masculine, neutral and feminine rating score for each activity/occupation. If a female participated in a typically masculine activity, I listed the score under activity, female, masculine. The cut-off assigned for each category was determined by assigning values at least two standard deviations from the mean 1-3.49
masculine, 3.50-4.49 neutral, 4.5-7 feminine. Then, I calculated a mean score for each subcategory.

Results

Female and male illustration count

The illustration count of characters in the 74 books was analyzed using a related measures t-test. In general, male family members were pictured significantly more often than female family members in each book. The mean number of depictions of female family members across all stories was 35.00 while the mean number of depicted male family members was 42.59, t(73)=2.69, p<.01. In addition, there were significantly more illustrations depicting male nonfamily members than ones depicting female nonfamily members. The mean number of nonfamily females across all stories was 12.48 while the mean for nonfamily males was 29.16, t(73)=5.65, p<.001.

Mean Score Occupations and Activities

Of 74 stories, the 31 books containing illustrations of both females and males engaging in occupations were selected. The mean occupation scores across all stories containing females and males in occupations were 4.05 for the females and 3.16 for the males. The mean male occupation scores were significantly lower than the mean female scores; therefore
males occupations were significantly more masculine, \( t(30)=3.34, p<.005 \).

Fifty-five books containing illustrations depicting both females and males in activities were selected. The mean activity scores across all stories containing females and males in occupations were 4.36 for females and 3.43 for males. Like the occupation data, the overall mean activity score for males across all stories is also significantly lower than the mean female score; therefore the mean male score was significantly more masculine, \( t(54)=6.55, p<.001 \).

**Gender-typed and Nongender-typed Occupations**

Using a related measures t-test, the percent of males and females participating in typically masculine and feminine occupations was determined from the 49 books picturing both males and females in occupations. The mean proportion of males performing masculine occupations was .77 while the mean proportion of males performing feminine occupations was .08. There were significantly more males performing masculine rather than feminine occupations \( t(48)=7.94, p<.001 \).

The proportion of females performing feminine occupations was .43 while the proportion of females performing masculine occupations was .56. The difference between these scores was not significant.
Gender-typed and Nongender-typed Activities

Sixty-seven books illustrating both females and males engaging in masculine or feminine activities were sampled. The mean proportion of males engaging in masculine activities was .43 while the mean proportion of males in feminine activities was .15. Again, using a related measures t-test, the proportion of males engaging in masculine activities was significantly greater than the proportion of males engaging in female activities, t(66)=4.09, p<.001.

Fifty-eight books depicting both males and females were used to calculate the proportion of females engaging in masculine or feminine activities sample. The mean proportion of females engaging in feminine activities was .56 while the proportion of females engaging in masculine activities was .19. The proportion of females engaging in feminine activities was significantly greater than the proportion of females engaging in masculine activities, t(58)=-4.31, p<.001.

Gender-typing and Nongender-typing Longitudinally

The correlation between the difference of total of male illustrations and total of female illustrations with the year of publication was -.557 (df=72, p<.01). As the years progressed, there was a decreasing difference between the numbers of pictured females and males. The correlation between total illustrations and year of publication was not significant.
Although there were no significant results from the longitudinal examination of activities and occupations, some basic trends are evident. In more recent years, there have been a higher number of males in feminine occupations or a lower number of males in masculine occupations. There have also been more females in masculine occupations or fewer in feminine occupations. The males tend to participate in a higher number of masculine activities than they do in feminine activities. On the other hand, females tend to participate in a higher number of feminine activities than masculine activities.

Discussion

Consistent with the general patterns found in other studies, I found a basic, but insignificant, trend toward a less biased representation of activities and occupations in the Berenstain Bear books as the years progressed. The story themes reflect the era; however, illustrations could more accurately reflect the text by being less gender-typed.

For example, in the 60's editions, story themes focused on males. When mother was pictured, she was often shown sewing or performing household chores. In the 70's, illustrations began to picture women more actively involved in different occupations; however, men still greatly outnumbered women in the books. Many books in the 80's reflected the increase in men's shared participation in household chores and
focused on themes relating more to children's experiences such as going to the dentist, camp and mama gets a job in one of the books. These books may stress family togetherness because the family does just about "everything" together. If women and men were more equally represented in a variety of activities and occupations, the illustrations would be less gender-typed.

There were significantly fewer female members depicted in illustrations. In addition, there were significantly more pictures of male nonfamily members than female nonfamily members. The nonfamily member results indicated that there was more gender-typing than in the family member illustrations. It was nearly two-and-a-half times more likely that a male nonfamily member would appear in the story than a female. This does not correspond with the 1990 U.S. census statistics from the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Dept. of Commerce which indicate a near 1:1 ratio between women and men.

If children are capable of determining the gender of people in pictures by associating gender-typed clothing to the appropriate gender (Thompson, 1975), then they may consciously or unconsciously recognize that there are significantly more males pictured in a world which actually has more women than men according to the U.S. census statistics. Seeing fewer females depicted in illustrations may convey to
children that girls are less important and inactive in the world while boys are the active achievers. This may affect their treatment of both genders as well as the expectations they set for themselves.

On a positive note, females were depicted in mean neutral occupations, and engaged in countergender-typed occupations more often than did males. The mean female occupation score of 4.05 rated the mean occupation for women as neutral rather than feminine. In addition, the proportion of females performing feminine occupations was lower than the proportion of females performing masculine occupations. These results seemed inconsistent with the trends found in general gender-typing studies.

There are two general findings involving the male occupation occurrence which deserve comment. First, the male occupation scores were significantly lower than the female occupation scores indicating that males' occupations tend to be more masculine than females' occupations are feminine. This may indicate the author's depiction of a trend for women to engage in fewer feminine, more masculine or more neutral occupations than males. Males who engage in more feminine or neutral activities may be considered "sissies" and may often feel less accepted than females labeled as "tomboys" who engage in more masculine or neutral activities.
Children may need more androgynous role models to provide an example for countergender-typed roles in activities and occupations especially during formative years. According to the results, males are at a definite disadvantage. The illustrations provided are significantly biased toward masculine activities and occupations for males. Females are provided a more flexible model for occupations. Providing examples of androgynous role models may be one step in overcoming some of the "accepted" barriers set for both males and females and promote a broader range of options for both genders. Eventually, this could improve their interpersonal problem solving styles (Barnett, 1986) as well as the level of security one has in his or her masculinity and femininity, therefore resulting in a healthier personality.

Second, the fact that fewer males performed feminine occupations than masculine occupations and that most of the males were engaged in masculine occupations rather than feminine occupations may reflect society's cultural expectations. Because society expects it, males may feel obligated to choose a masculine occupation, earn more money or be the main income source. This could place undue pressure on the male affecting interpersonal problem solving styles, stress levels as well as a healthy personality. Whether the books reflect these cultural expectations or not, children
reading the Berenstain Bears are exposed to the gender-typing. These general results accurately reflect those reported by Flerx et al. (1976) who state that females tend to take on the masculine role to a greater extent than males take on the feminine role.

The mean male score for activities showed that not only are males engaging in more masculine occupations, but also activities. This implies a continued rigid view of male occupations and activities. As a result, males who gain role values by reading Berenstain Bear books may in the future continue the same pattern as the past. Males may not feel comfortable performing various feminine duties or engaging in more feminine activities simply because of cultural gender-typing which could lead to implications stated before.

In contrast, females could be given mixed signals. Although the mean occupation scores may be neutral, the mean female score for activities is feminine. This may indicate the message that although women are becoming more accepted in the workplace, they should still engage in more feminine activities while not working. This divided image could lead to confusion and frustration perhaps decreasing androgyny.

Berenstain Bear books currently are one of the most popular picture book series. They are frequently checked out of local libraries. They can be found on supermarket shelves
and now appear on video. Since these books are read by a wide but young audience, these findings determine that a wide group of children are exposed to gender-typing.

Because children's gender role identity is formed so early in life, children who read or are read these books probably would still be forming their gender role identity or verifying their already formed identity. As children often associate a stereotype with their own gender and pattern their behavior toward the observed stereotype (Bem, 1981), children may "read" illustrations and gauge appropriate gender role behavior by using the pictures as models. I did not read the text in the story, but I could retell the story by recalling the pictures. One college student interviewed described the pictures in a book and asked if I had used this book in the study. Although he could not remember the name of the book or the basic plot, he vividly recalled illustrations from when it was read to him as a child.

These findings support Trepanier-Street and Bandura's modeling studies which state internalization of gender role stereotyping may occur. This gender-typing may appear in the child's writing, the child's level of expectation set for him or herself, short term gender-typed play or even ineffectual interpersonal problem solving styles.
Although the Berenstain Bear books are gender-typed in the ways outlined above, they are still an excellent means of teaching children in a humorous manner about different situations in life such as manners, taking care of pets and being a friend. Although these books have great value in children's literature, they should be used as a part of a varied book program including different literature containing nongender-typed pictures and text.

Gender-typing is indoctrinated in our society and may be so subtle that people are often unaware that it may quietly condition those who have been exposed to it. It is this subtlety that can be so dangerous. We may begin to accept unquestionably the models presented as though other options were not available. If one is unaware of the gender-typing problem, then one cannot recognize it and is therefore not prepared to arm against it.

Mem Fox, a children's author, explains that many young children may already be conditioned. She receives letters from children as young as five who explain how much they like Hush, a character who is obviously female both in the text and illustrations in her book *Possum Magic*. The children write that they like him (Hush) best when he (Hush) gets invisible (Fox, 1993). She gave another example of the invidious nature of sexism related to college students. In her children's
literature class, she asked her students to write the beginning of a children's story. The students were surprised to find that for some unknown reason approximately 85% wrote about male characters (Fox, 1993). When questioned, the students realized that their story themes could remain unchanged if the gender of the character were changed.

Because children may be read to and usually learn how to read with the help of adults, teachers, friends or guardians, these people are provided the unique opportunity to provide early intervention by discussing with the child the role models illustrated. Children could be encouraged to explore the various uses of gender in writing as well as identify a variety of real androgynous, masculine and feminine role models in society. These are a few steps that could undermine the subtle gender-typing in the books by helping the child recognize it and in the process open additional avenues for the child. With the combined efforts of illustrators, authors, teachers and parents, perhaps the future direction and long-term implications of gender-typing in children's literature could be explored.
References


Appendix A

Berenstain Bear books by Berenstain, J. & S. New York: Random

(1962). The big honey hunt.
(1964). The bike lesson.
(1966). The Bears' picnic.
(1967). The bear scouts.
(1968). The Bears' vacation.
(1968). Inside, outside, upside down.
(1971). Bears in the night.
(1973). The Berenstain Bears' nursery tales.
(1975). The bear detectives.
(1975). The Berenstain Bears' nature guide.
(1978). The Berenstain Bears and the spooky old tree.
(1978). The Berenstain Bears go to school.
(1980). The Berenstain Bears and the missing dinosaur bone.
(1981). The Berenstain Bears go to the doctor.
(1981). The Berenstain Bears' moving day.
(1981). The Berenstain Bears visit the dentist.
(1982). The Berenstain Bears get in a fight.
(1982). The Berenstain Bears go to camp.
(1983). The Berenstain Bears and the messy room.
(1983). The Berenstain Bears and the wild, wild honey.
(1983). The Berenstain Bears to the rescue.
(1984). The Berenstain Bears and too much T.V.
(1985). The Berenstain Bears and too much junk food.
(1985). The Berenstain Bears forget their manners.
(1985). The Berenstain Bears learn about strangers.
(1985). The Berenstain Bears on the moon.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears an the bad habit.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears and the week at grandma's.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears and too much birthday.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears' trouble at school.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears and trouble with friends.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears get stage fright.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears go out for the team.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears' knight to remember.
(1986). The Berenstain Bears no girls allowed.
(1988). The Berenstain Bears and the ghost of the forest.
(1988). The Berenstain Bears get the gimmies.
(1989). The Berenstain Bears and the in-crowd.
(1989). The Berenstain Bears trick or treat.
(1990). The Berenstain Bears and the prize pumpkin.
(1990). The Berenstain Bears and the slumber party.
(1991). The Berenstain Bears are a family.
Appendix B

your year in college (please circle a number): 1 2 3 4

your gender (please circle one)  female  male

your major ____________________

You will find a number of activities and occupations listed on the next three pages. Please rate those activities and occupations according to how you view them on the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly masculine</th>
<th>strongly feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, if you thought an activity was strongly feminine, you would give it a rating of "7"; if you thought an activity was weakly masculine, you would give it a rating of "3", and so on.

We are interested in your opinions; there are no right or wrong answers. Please answer each item carefully, and be sure you don't skip any.
Gender-typed bears 31

strongly
masc

2 3 4 5 6 7

strongly
feminine

ACTIVITIES

1. karate
2. putting (ceramics)
3. playing basketball
4. bicycling
5. driving a car
6. playing baseball
7. acting as detectives
8. carpentry
9. playing football
10. arranging/picking flowers
11. playing an instrument
12. skateboarding
13. mowing grass
14. hiking
15. jumping rope
16. sweeping
17. playing soccer
18. cleaning the house
19. serving food in the home
20. flying a kite
21. telephoning
22. scuba diving
23. participating in a rally/demonstration
24. driving a car

___ watering flowers
___ chopping wood
___ gardening (flowers)
___ playing tennis
___ dusting
___ rafting
___ sledding
___ cub scout leader
___ home maintenance/fixing
___ farming (vegetables)
___ cooking (indoors)
___ street gang member
___ fishing
___ washing dishes
___ boating
___ surfing
___ hang gliding
___ photography
___ carving
___ skiing
___ playing hockey
___ ice skating
___ cooking outdoors/BBQ
___ snowmobiling
___ swimming
___ raking leaves

BEST COPY AVAILABLE
Gender-typed bears

strongly masculine

1 2 3 4 5

__ vacuuming
__ air ballooning
__ constructing a kite
__ sewing/stitchery
__ shoveling snow
__ biting fingernails
__ serving as a nurse
__ playing with airplanes

strongly feminine

6 7

__ car racer
__ check-out clerk/cashier
__ car race flagger
__ doctor
__ computer programmer
__ forester
__ camp director
__ scientist
__ archaeologist
__ beekeeper
__ coach (team)
__ maintenance person
__ dentist
__ miner (coal mines)
__ museum curator
__ town council candidate
__ carpenter
__ bus driver
__ painter
__ conductor (train)
__ heavy machine operator
__ fire fighter
__ astronomer
__ construction worker
__ professor
__ magician

OCCUPATIONS

__ babysitter
__ elem. school teacher
__ professional movers
__ farmer
__ librarian
__ vendor
__ weather person (TV)
__ TV game show host
__ super hero
__ acting in a food commercial
__ store owner
__ police officer
__ food server (restaurant)
__ veterinarian
__ truck driver
__ cook
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly masculine</th>
<th>Strongly feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>astronaut</td>
<td>mill worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilot</td>
<td>plumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal trainer</td>
<td>knitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secretary</td>
<td>spinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sewer (clothes)</td>
<td>gas station attendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circus acrobats</td>
<td>judge (farm contest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>band conductor</td>
<td>dance instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singer</td>
<td>mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirate</td>
<td>Santa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clown</td>
<td>sales clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knight</td>
<td>umpire (baseball)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vampire</td>
<td>jockey (horses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>queen</td>
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<tr>
<td>prince</td>
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<tr>
<td>skeleton</td>
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<tr>
<td>soldier</td>
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<tr>
<td>helicopter pilot</td>
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<tr>
<td>mower (grass)</td>
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<tr>
<td>auto mechanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>ballet dancer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westerner</td>
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<tr>
<td>carnival ride operator</td>
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<tr>
<td>captain (ship)</td>
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