

THE PROBLEMATICS OF EGALITARIANISM FOR
HIGH SCHOOL FEMALES: HEGEMONIC
INFLUENCES NEGATING EQUAL
ACCESS TO CURRICULUM

By

JULIA ELLEN CROW

Bachelor of Science in Education
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma
1974

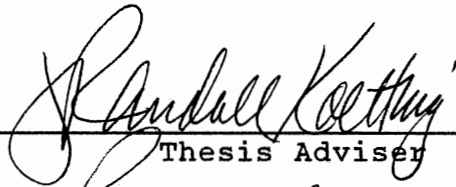
Master of Education
Northeastern State University
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
1982

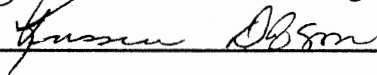
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
July, 1989

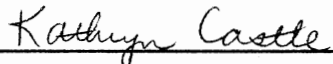
THESIS
1989D
C953P
cop. 2

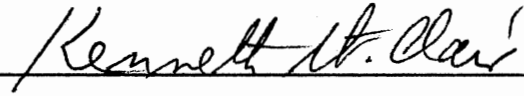
THE PROBLEMATICS OF EGALITARIANISM FOR HIGH SCHOOL
FEMALES: HEGEMONIC INFLUENCES NEGATING
EQUAL ACCESS TO CURRICULUM

Thesis Approved:


Thesis Adviser








Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The genesis for the following study did not suddenly rise during my tenure in the doctoral program; it emerged slowly from my lived experiences as a woman and as an educator. I wish to embrace the following people who have walked beside me on my evolutionary path, for without their help and influence my trek might have been in a circle, rather than a road toward understanding.

*Dr. Randall Koetting, dissertation advisor, who "practices what he preaches," thereby giving me the awesome responsibility for my own learning.

*Dr. Russell Dobson, committee chairman and advisor, who showed me that "what you are and who you are" are one in the same.

*Dr. Kenneth St. Clair, committee member, who showed sensitivity of, and patience for, my need for self-expression.

*Dr. Kathryn Castle, committee member, who helped me understand the "is" and the "ought to be" for women in education.

*Dr. Ray Archer, the epitome of a professional colleague, who shared in my time of need.

*Dr. Lonnie Fuson, who told me I could, and kept telling me and helping me until I believed it myself.

*Dr. Amy Blackburn, who was, is, and will remain my role-model.

*R.E., who understands my seagull spirit.

*Mother, who mirrors the meaning of a "strong woman."

*Storyteller and Southern Girl," who never cease to hold me with loving arms.

*Sherrilyn, my "soul-sister," who, after twenty years, still massages my heart-spirit every time it falters.

*AND ABOVE ALL, Lezlea and Laurinda, my daughters, who teach me more about love and courage than I could ever teach them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE PROBLEM	1
Introduction: Background and Need for Study	1
Purpose of the Study	5
Definition of Terms	7
Rationale for the Study	10
Basic Assumptions	12
Research Procedures	13
Organization of the Study	18
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	19
Introduction	19
Value Programming	21
The Influence of Religion	24
Standardized Testing	29
Females and Sports	33
Use of the Generic "He"	37
Influence in History and Literature	39
Math and Science	41
The Influence of Teachers	43
School Counseling Influence	47
Summary	49
III. PROCEDURES OF COLLECTING AND PROCESSING DATA	51
Dialogical Encounters/Conversations	52
Reflective Journals	56
IV. DATA: THE VOICES OF WOMEN	60
Introduction	60
Dialogue and Conversations	62
Reflective Journals	77
V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	81
Summary	81
Conclusions	83
Recommendations	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104

Chapter	Page
APPENDIX A - Dialogue/Conversation Transcription Examples110
APPENDIX B - Biographical Information and Comments from the Dialogical Encounters/ Conversations Data Gathering137
APPENDIX C - Reflective Journal Examples139

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Need for the Study

During the early seventies a new group of students began to be seen frequently in university classrooms--the older, more mature females. We came into academe with a fervor and dedication somewhat more blatant than many of our younger female sisters. We were vocal, riding on the crest of the struggles of the women's movement. Many of us believed we were paving the way for the younger females, releasing them from the muddy waters of gender bias and prejudice, and giving them access to full emancipation and liberation through education. Celebrating our newly acquired assertiveness and positive feelings of self worth, yet programmed with years of career roles "appropriate" for women, many of us became teachers in public school systems. We entered our profession consciously intending to act as role models for the younger females. Some of us aspired to enter into public school administration or faculties in higher education in order to further commit ourselves to female leadership roles in education. Like Martin Luther King, we "had a dream;" ours was to be accepted as educated, serious, equal people in the world of academe. When our

fervent idealism began to be replaced with the "real world," we instead found what was more like a long school hallway with some doors open to women, but others not. We found schools steeped with patriarchal influences that were resistant to any changes relevant to the female perspectives, and were given "logical" reasons why changes were impossible, or at best, unnecessary. We looked to our sister teachers for support for implementing curriculum changes, but many times found silence, apathy, and/or resentment. We found a lack of communication with administrations and school boards comprised almost exclusively of males; the traditional patriarchal leader/follower roles of father/daughter-husband/wife had supplanted themselves in the schools with male administrator/female teacher. Overtly, faculty females in education were being called equal; covertly, and in reality, we were not. We found ourselves confronting the closed door of patriarchy, a door opened only if we succeeded in the eyes of the patriarchs.

We also encountered a female student population that was more concerned with social roles than with serious study (either of academics or self). Many of the female students were honor students, college-bound, yet with aspirations centering on traditional career choices just as ours had been, and with plans to work only until marriage and/or children. Others aspired only to finish high school, work for minimum wages, and "find a husband to take care of them." The high school female students might complain about

feeling unequal to the male population, yet they were silent in classrooms and mixed-gender social settings, deferring to the male voices. When asked about their silences or their limited aspirations, they greeted us with puzzled looks, not comprehending the idea of controlling their own lives through autonomy. They were "other-directed" by parents, boyfriends, female peers, the media, and oftentimes, religion. The Cinderella Complex thesis of "waiting for Prince Charming" was very much intact in the high schools.

Today, seventeen years since the advent of Title IX of the Education Omnibus Act of 1972, stating that "no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance," it would seem that educational doors would not just be open, but would be removed, leaving open passageways to equal access for females in all realms of education. Stephenson (1988, pp. 300-321) tells us that women now represent 18 percent of the lawyers, 17 percent of physicians, and 25 percent of all MBA's. More women than men are now earning Bachelor and Master's degrees. Women make up 45 percent of the work force, and there are now more women working outside the home than women working inside the home. She cautions, however, to be aware of other less positive notes about women today. Females score 61 points lower on average than males in SAT tests; though girls test equal or higher in elementary

school on standardized tests, by the end of high school they are outperformed on all sections of the SAT. Women earn only 57 cents for every dollar earned by men, as the women are still clustered in traditionally female jobs that are viewed as less valuable. Additionally, only five percent of democratically elected officials worldwide are women. Women holding strategic positions of authority in education and religion are increasing, yet at a small pace. Stephenson concludes that traditions in the culture, and traditions in religion still hamper women's struggle for equality.

What those of us saw in the early seventies in education, and what Stephenson cautions is still in existence today, is a major part of the underpinning of society--the belief that women still are incapable--physically, emotionally, and/or intellectually--of achieving and maintaining equality within the "World of Man." This belief is so pervasive that it is many times considered TRUTH; legitimized to the point it is a major part of every institution, functioning at such a deep level (as will be delineated throughout this study) so as to not be thought of at all.

Schools have always been seen as a reflection of our society's beliefs. Apple (1979, p. 5) explains:

Schools are important agencies for legitimation. They are part of a complex structure through which social groups are given legitimacy and through which social and cultural ideologies are built, recreated, and maintained. Thus, schools tend to describe both their own internal workings and society's as a whole as meritocratic and as inexorably moving toward wide-spread social and economic justice. In this way, they foster the belief that the major institutions of our society

are equally responsive by race, class, and sex. Unfortunately, the available data suggest that this is less the case than we might like to think.

Berliner and Gage (1988, p. 175) enhance Apple's point even more clearly: "Sex discrimination, subtle sex bias, and unexamined but widely shared stereotypes about the sexes pervade American society and the educational system in that society from nursery school to graduate school."

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the following study is threefold: first, if gender bias is still "alive and well" in a microcosm of our society, the school, then reasons other than legal ones must be at the root of this bias, considering Title IX was implemented in 1972. These reasons need to be problematic in order to develop methods for female students to leave our schools with awareness of ways to liberate themselves from these biases as they enter the larger society. By problematic, I mean bringing the reasons for gender bias into the "conscious arena" so that we can begin to interrogate what has been taken for granted.

Secondly, Weiler (1988, p. 59) says women researchers can understand the experiences and consciousness of other women only when we come to understand ourselves and the ways in which we know; therefore, as a feminist educator who has experienced blatant and subtle gender bias, the researcher can help give personal enlightenment about what heretofore has been considered as "just feelings about...".

Third, much of the literature in education concerned with gender inequities centers on either the elementary school experience or the world of higher education. The female high school students seem to remain an elusive group. As a former high school teacher who has "lived in" the classroom with these young women struggling with their identities, and seeing them seek their identities through others who give them messages based on patriarchal emphases, I see a distinct need to study these hegemonic messages. If there is indeed a basis for which we can study reasons for gender bias, perhaps change through awareness will give a focus for the high school females so they may better become cognizant of their autonomy. Added to the focus of female student awareness, perhaps teachers of these young women will recognize the important images they portray as role models to high school females.

French (1985, p. 123) maintains that "the history of patriarchy comprises the history of the world as we have been taught it," and that patriarchy is an ideology rooted in the denial of worldly power to women. Schools are reflections of society, based on history; hence, schools also have a history of patriarchal messages. The purpose of this study is to delve into the problem areas of some of these patriarchal, hegemonic messages about females, and how these messages affect the curriculum (and hence, the females), thereby negating equal access to education for females.

Definition of Terms

Hegemony vs. Ideology

Understanding hegemony as distinctive from ideology is crucial to gaining awareness of how deeply some beliefs are embedded in our society and in our schools. Apple and Weis (1983, p. 24) warn, "we need to be cautious about assuming that ideologies are only ideas held in one's head. They are better thought of less as things than as social processes... ideologies not only subject people to a preexisting social order; they also qualify members of that order for social action and change." Raymond Williams, as related by Apple (1979, pp. 4-5), sees hegemony, however, at a much deeper level:

...hegemony supposes the existence of something which is truly total, which is not merely secondary or superstructural, like the weak sense of ideology, but which is lived at such a depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, and which...even constitutes the limit of commonsense for most people under its sway, that it corresponds to the reality of social experience very much more clearly than any notions derived from the formula of base and superstructure.

This study will contend that in today's educational institutions the ideology is a belief that females do have equal access to curriculum. The hegemony, however, lived at a much deeper level from years of patriarchal influences that created gender bias, still negates egalitarianism for females.

Praxis

Freire (1970, p. 213) defines "praxis" as "reflection and action." Praxis is more than intellectual action alone; it is more like a "revolution within ourselves" that gives impetus to action because praxis gives us an understanding of the object itself and our "place within it." Shor and Freire (1970, p. 76) explain:

...there is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis--to exist humanly is to "name" the world, to change it. Once named the world in its turn reopens to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming.

Freire (1970, p. 213) continues by describing this act of knowing:

The act of knowing involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action. For a learner to know what s/he did not know before, s/he must engage in an authentic process of abstraction by which s/he can reflect on the action-object whole, or...on forms of orientation in the world.

Praxis, then, is a "blending" of thought and action. Thought alone is only one part of the whole, as action is only one part; without both actively working together praxis is impossible. For example, we may "intellectually" know that gender bias exists in our high schools (thought), but if we fail to be actively engaged in changing (action) the inequities brought about by this situation, then praxis never happens and the inequities remain. If praxis is reached, then as the changes are happening we are able to reflect on the changes and the process continues, and a conscious, continuous process exists.

Commonsense (As Used in Connection
to Patriarchy)

Greene (1978, p. 214) sees:

the constructs normally used for mapping and interpreting the commonsense world as largely those defined by males. Inevitably, they are internalized by women as well as men. Once internalized, even such constructs as those having to do with subordination, natural inferiority, and unequally distributed rights are taken for granted . . . They begin to appear as objective characteristics of an objectively existent world.

Sex Discrimination vs. Sex/Gender Bias

Amanda Smith of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (Lehmann, p. 47) draws the following distinction:

Sex discrimination is that which is against the law--obvious stuff like unequal pay or outright banning of students from courses. A school might be in full compliance with the law, but still have each sex enrolled only in traditional areas because the school has given no thought to the power of sex bias. Sex bias, however, is the underlying network of assumptions that says men and women should be different, not only physically, but also in their tastes, talents, and interests. Every one of us is biased, even those of us who are paid not to be.

Patriarchy

Hartmann (1984, pp. 194-199) defines patriarchy as a social system characterized by:

the systematic dominance of men over women, emerging as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women. Though patriarchy is

hierarchical, and men of different classes, races, or ethnic groups have different places in the patriarchy, they also are united in their shared relationship of their dominance over women: they are dependent on each other to maintain that domination."

Hartman further says that "patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organization, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places. It is in studying patriarchy that we learn why it is women who are dominated and how."

Feminist Teachers

Feminist teachers are like many other educators who work toward a liberatory, egalitarian atmosphere for students, but with one crucial difference--feminist teachers focus on the inequality they see for the female students. That focus does not waver; it does not mean a "priority" focus of females to the exclusion of equality for males, but rather a "knowing" we have for the females, based on our autobiographies--a "knowing" forever with us, like birthmarks that never go away.

Rationale for the Study

I believe an educator should have a commitment to study any aspect of curriculum that s/he believes needs attention.

Goodlad (1984, p. xvi) concurs:

...We could do our schools and ourselves a disservice by leaving untouched an agenda begging attention. We might well relax in the mistaken belief that the needed improvements are in progress or even installed. The fact is that we are only beginning to identify the most significant problems, some of which are deeply entrenched and

virtually chronic. Sorting them out into a priority ordering and addressing them with some hope of success calls for commitment, ingenuity, and collaborations beyond anything now envisioned."

I approached writing on the subject of gender-biased hegemony with apprehension and trepidation. The subject is a personal one; yet, this is an important reason why the subject was chosen. Grumet (1981, pp. 139-144) upholds the personal involvement educators have: "It (curriculum) is a reflexive project that attempts to reclaim curriculum as we have lived it and to test our conceptual schemes and descriptions of it against the evidence of our experience." I travel as a woman through a predominately male-centered world--in life, and in curriculum--so my view will be the view of a woman and a feminist educator, juxtaposed, subjective and lived. Education is a value-laden enterprise, and my values deem gender-biased hegemony a vital injustice, therefore worthy of study.

Freire (1985, pp. 2-4) sets forth essential criteria for developing a critical posture in the act of any study:

(1) The reader should assume the role of subject of the act.

(2) The act of study, in sum, is an attitude toward the world.

(3) Studying a specific subject calls for us, whenever possible, to be familiar with a given bibliography, in either a general subject or the area of our ongoing inquiry.

(4) The act of study demands a sense of modesty.

Freire knows that deep study requires commitment, that to study is "not to consume ideas, but to create and re-create them." This study will adhere to these notions, as well as the following suggestions by Apple (1979, pp. 13-14):

If one were to point to one of the most neglected areas of educational scholarship, it would be the critical study of the relationship between ideologies and educational thought and practice, the study of the range of seemingly commonsense assumptions that guide our overly technically minded field...We need to examine critically not just 'how a study acquires more knowledge, but why and how particular aspects of the collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge.'

Basic Assumptions

The following major assumptions undergird this study:

1. As a result of hegemonic and ideological cultural beliefs steeped in paternalistic patterns that view females as secondary to males, high school curricula are presented in unequal, albeit covert, fashion for female students. Brake (1985, p. 166) concurs: "Whatever the egalitarian ideology of the school, girls and boys are seldom given equal opportunities to study." Additionally, Lewis and Simon (1986, p. 458) proffer that "patriarchy is a social form that continues to play on and through our subjectivities, affecting conceptually organized knowledge as well as elements that move us, without being consciously expressed."

- (2) Female students, as well as many of their teachers, counselors and administrators, accept these gender

roles, thereby falsifying the students' sense of themselves.

Valli (1983, p. 232) agrees:

While in minimal ways the women may have rejected the ideology of male supremacy, at a more fundamental and persistent level, they affirmed it. They conceded legitimacy to the dominance of men in a way that appeared spontaneous and natural.

(3) To gain knowledge, one must continually question what seems to be commonsense reality.

(4) Awareness, study, and consciousness-raising are the first steps toward change.

Research Procedures

Feminist methodology, emphasizing the social sciences, was the primary guideline used in this study, drawing heavily on methodology described by Kathleen Weiler (1988, pp. 58-67). Weiler says,

in the past decade feminists in various disciplines in the social sciences have been engaged in creating a new methodology...developed gradually and organically from the process of studying women in social settings, in texts, and in the media.

Women researchers believe the male experience is taken as the norm, thus women know who they are through a double process--a particular tension of being both subjects and being denied as subjects. On the one hand, women know themselves through the male hegemonic vision of reality, whereas women as human beings are subjects, and have the ability to act and critique their own experience.

Weiler specifies three guidelines to feminist methodology:

(1) Feminist researchers begin their investigation of the social world from a grounded position in their own subjective oppression. This leads them to a sensitivity to power that comes from being subordinate. This entails identifying and articulating both objective oppression in practices and relationships and the male blindness to women's experience, as well as recognizing that women's consciousness includes both hegemonic ideas for the patriarchal tradition and the possibilities of critical consciousness, of delving into our own consciousness, language, and ways of knowing.

(2) Feminist research is characterized by an emphasis on lived experience and the significance of everyday life. This cannot be achieved through the male vision of reality, in which acting subjects are men and women are "something other." Instead, women must create a new language based on women's actual lived experiences. This includes obligations and duties invisible in male studies of social reality. Focusing on the everyday world reveals the ways in which larger forces, both ideological and material, place limits and conditions on our actions.

(3) Feminist research is politically committed. In rejecting the possibility of value-free research, feminists instead assert their commitment to changing the position of women and therefore to changing society. This methodology is grounded on a commitment to praxis, to what Greene (1978, p. 223) sees as a liberatory measure:

Freedom is the power of vision and the power to choose. It involves the capacity to assess situations in such a way that lacks can be defined... It is realized only when action is taken to prepare the lacks...to try to pursue real possibilities.

Weiler cautions that feminist research can be weakened by ignoring the oppression in race and class positions as related to a study of women. However, when centering on patriarchal-hegemonic influences, another perspective appeared to conjugate more fully the elements of this study: if gender-biased hegemony is viewed as a base to every aspect of life, then there must be a "base" for women--one that encompasses all elements of women's lives, including race and class. Irigaray (1985, p. 32) alludes to this more "fundamental" level when she says, "Women do not constitute, strictly speaking, a class--and their dispersion among several classes makes their political struggle complex, their demands sometimes contradictory." For this study, the approach will be taken that women simply begin as women first; whereas race and class (although we may be "born as" or "born into") take secondary roles to our being women. Snyder (1979, p. 70) makes the distinction that will be used for this study--she differentiates between "class" and "caste." A social caste system, according to Snyder, consists of a status hierarchy into which a person is born and from which s/he is rarely able to escape. Women obviously are born female; they certainly are not able to escape that biological fact. Social class, on the other hand, has an

"escape clause;" one can escape through effort and hard work and, traditionally, women have upped their class through connection with fathers' and husbands' social class, regardless of race. Snyder makes the point that little attention has been given to the significance of studying women as members of a caste; this study attempts to stay within the concept of this little-used method. Grumet (1981, p. 139) defines reconceptualization as "to conceive again, to turn back the conceptual structures that support our actions in order to reveal the rich and abundant experience they conceal." This study is intended to reveal experiences of females, through autobiography and reflection ("conceiving again") and through study of these remembrances and how they relate to high school curriculum for females. The "train of thought," the evolving form of the study is based on "conceiving again"; from the personal vantage point of reclaiming curriculum as I have lived it, and to test my conceptual descriptions of it against the evidence of my experience as a woman first, as a high school teacher/counselor, and now as an educator of future teachers. Grumet (p. 141) calls this method of reconceptualization of curriculum "autobiography:"

The writer can turn back upon her own texts and see there her own processes and biases of selection at work. It is here that curriculum as thought is revealed as the screen through which we pass curriculum as lived...it is information that pulls the past into the present, drawing it together to confirm what I anticipate will be my next move.

This study attempts to include this autobiographical method of curriculum research by scrutinizing what I, as well as others, remember as the "real picture" of high school curriculum.

Conversational interviews will be used as one emphasis of the study. Carson (1986, pp. 73-85) sees conversation as a mode of inquiry as a philosophical hermeneutical endeavor, allowing us to understand that inquirers into curriculum

do not begin their thinking and research from scratch...they partake in a continuing and evolving conversation on curriculum theory and classroom practice which has begun long before their arrival and which now continues with their participation.

Questioning arises out of the negativity of experience; things are not as we had assumed them to be; hermeneutic inquiry begins with an attempt to understand the question itself. This is compatible with Grumet's autobiographical research method because, as Carson maintains, there is "an experience of the world which directs our attention to the question in the first place." To become partners in conversation in the research enables personal commitment and reflection on what one should do plus an enabling of moral discourse among women colleagues who speak from their own personal meanings about being female and being educators, and how they view curriculum. This way we can make possible a deeper understanding of our situations as females and educators, and see, as Carson propounds, that "beyond the policy statements and directives of curricula there lurks a more basic meaning of teaching as a deeply moral human

activity." Excerpts from female educators' journals will be used to further substantiate the autobiographical emphasis to research. The method by which these journal entries were obtained is delineated more fully in Chapter III of this study. An investigation and analysis of available related literature and research were made in developing a background for the study. No one genre of literature was chosen, rather a diversity of sources that reflect problematic hegemonic gender-biased influences on female students (with emphasis as much as possible on the high school experience), within social and cultural perspectives of education.

A conscious attempt to use literature and research from the time of the onset of Title IX was used for this study, centering mostly on research done within the past fifteen years. This was done to counter the attitude that legal maneuvers arbitrarily mandate a change in hegemonic values.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I has presented the problem and an overview of the study. Chapter II contains a review of the related literature. Chapter III outlines the procedures used to gather the data in Chapter IV, which centers on conversations and journals from women who have been through public high school. Chapter V is devoted to the summary, conclusions, and recommendations of the study, with emphasis on methods that would enhance equal access to high school curriculum for females.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

Introduction

Within the past decade, literature about women's struggles for equal rights has generated lively dialogue in most types of institutions--marriage, industry, religion, public education and academe. Feminist writers, grasping for a voice to propound their philosophy of equality "crossed boundaries" within the publishing world; in fact, toward the beginning of the women's movement the trade magazines became a focal point for feminist writers because the trade magazines "hit" all women, not just those for a specific audience. The first time I remember reading about feminism and the fight for equality was on a college campus; however, I was not reading from educational publications but from MS magazine. Later, particularly after the implementation of Title IX, feminist writers within academe began to propound their views to the educational audiences, and research began to appear in education oriented books and periodicals. Because of my reading background and the consciousness that I am a woman first, and an educator second, the research chosen for this study has been taken from a diverse arena of feminist writings and writings from those sympathetic to

educational bias of any type--because it is through diversified reading that I began to formulate my opinions about the influences of patriarchal gender-biased hegemony and its inclusion within all realms of education. This study concentrates on this hegemony in the high school curriculum.

We now have Title IX to guarantee equal access to school curriculum for women. In public schools, they may elect to take any course of study they choose, and many are choosing areas of study traditionally held as "male" studies. As an example, an increase of female students in high school upper mathematics and science courses has evolved, according to conversations with high school administrators who are quick to point out this increase as an answer to equality. Additionally, women's athletics, receiving additional funding now, attracts more females than twenty years ago. For all intents and purposes, females have the same chance as males to enhance their educational process as they choose; hence public school systems can assure the public and the student body that the educational process is indeed egalitarian for the first time in history. On the surface educational leaders can now point to the "equal system" with pride, with a tacit assumption that closure can be brought to the subject of equality for females in education since Title IX protects them. Yet laws alone do not assure equality in the educational experiences for women; laws cannot enforce values and beliefs, cultural "mindsets" that create gaps between what laws can mandate

and the reality of everyday life in the schools. A critical scrutiny of recent literature suggests a large gap still between "what is" and "what ought to be" equally available for females in education. The following literature review is an attempt to delineate some of the academic, social and cultural gaps that make equality problematic for high school females (specifically) in today's lived-in school curriculum.

Value Programming

McGrath (1976, pp. 37-42) discusses obstacles to full equality in education by saying these hindrances exist in people's minds in the forms of prejudice, traditional beliefs, and cultural stereotypes. She sees this as discouraging, but at the same time, reassuring--discouraging because traditions tend to change much more slowly than do laws, but reassuring in that there is nothing immutable about intangible ideas. She make two clear points concerning hegemonic beliefs about women: first, most education takes place within a system that was developed by and for men; therefore, the entry of women was an "accommodation." When something is accommodated an unwritten code of conduct remains intact, in this case, about women. This code silently maintains that, secondly, educational expectations for women remain unequal largely because marriage is still regarded as the ideal career for women, while the necessity of earning a living is reinforced for males from an early

age. This cultural imperative discourages women from making full use of their intellectual talents.

Doyle (1985, p. 201) enhances McGrath's points by reminding us that the educational system is one of the most critical social institutions for lasting imprintings on people's lives. He cautions that, even today, this system treats males and females differently; that many of these differences flow from the gender-based expectations found in our society into the school, and into the students.

Burr, Dunn and Farquhar (1972, p. 841) offer an avenue to explore hegemonic beliefs about expectations for women--the label of "language." The authors see language as more than a means of communicating; they maintain language expresses shared assumptions about people and their values, thereby acting as a behavioral model for all people who use it. Additionally many times the language is implicit, rather than explicit, buried within a culture where it is not recognizable without conscious study. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985, p. 65) concur by quoting Wittgenstein, who calls language "a form of life...bound up with social relations, entwined with the ways of the world of which it is both an expression and through which the world lives." Bourdieu (1977, p. 645) additionally proposes that through bodily and linguistic discipline "...the choices constituting a certain relation to the world are internalized in the form of durable patternings not accessible to consciousness nor even, in part, amenable to will." Using language as a

catalyst, we can begin to explore some of the hegemonic beliefs relative to women. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986, pp. 5-24) believe there is a "language of women" that prolongates equality. The authors articulate what women have grown up having to deal with, both historically and culturally, concerning the language--"women, like children, should be seen and not heard." The authors interviewed one hundred and thirty-five women ranging in age from early twenties to middle-sixties, women from different socio-economic backgrounds, educational levels, marital status, and parenting status. The intent of the study was to dwell on women's development of self, voice, and mind. Those women among the youngest and most socially, economically, and educationally deprived felt they had no voice, no language they could call their own; the metaphor of feeling "deaf and dumb" was used to poignantly depict these women's feelings of silence. Although they talked among themselves, they felt that their language had no worth. They felt men automatically had the power of language over them; consequently, the men were viewed as also having control over all facets of these women's lives. Only women who had emerged through an educational process beyond high school, or through numerous life experiences had been able to see themselves as having a strong command of their own voice, self, and mind.

The Influence of Religion

Fiorenze (1976, pp. 39-40) discusses how religion blatantly determines our views of women and language because of its patriarchal base:

The Hebrew and Christian scriptures originated in a patriarchal society and perpetuated the androcentric (male-centered) traditions of their culture...Biblical texts were not only recorded from an androcentric point of view but were also consciously or unconsciously interpreted by exegetes and preachers from a perspective of male dominance.

Fiorenze goes on to say that the patriarchal religious view saturated the national as well as the religious community with the values of male superiority and priority. That view accorded Christian women the "rules of conduct" relegated by the contemporary patriarchal definitions--to be modest, submissive, and silent. Women were accorded a dependent role of a lifetime "minor;" daughters were dependent upon a father or brother, and wives were dependent all their lives on their husbands.

Russell (1976, p. 16) connects this dependency of early Christian women with the concept of language:

...the way we use language is an indicator of our commitment to the full human community. In every culture, language plays an important role in addressing problems of discrimination in church and society. Our words reflect the nature of reality as we see it, and they can be a power tool, either for oppression or liberation...Generally, the ruling group of a given society tends to impose its value system through the connotations of language usage. Powerless groups usually have little part in the formation of standard language and tend to

internalize the social structure mirrored in that language."

In recent religious history, women have been accorded a spiritual status of equality, but according to Hyde and Rosenberg (1980, pp. 30-34) this theme has been obscured to a great extent because of the 2000 year history of patriarchal cultural influences. Two last hegemonic themes show great persistence pertaining to religious influences: attitudes toward women have been ambivalent, and the male is normative. These themes are found often in research on women. Hyde and Rosenberg (p. 34) offer a profound example of the non-conscious, religious hegemony still acting on women:

In earliest childhood, the little girl learns that she, Eve, was created from Adam's rib, and that God is male. Mythical creation stories...are not subject to rational argument and debate. They are not, after all, supposed to represent actual historical fact. But will the little girl know that these stories represent the experience of a patriarchal society? Or will she simply believe that God is male, and that women are the source of evil in the world?

Snyder (1979, p. 64-65) adds still another dimension to the patriarchal religious imagery of women: the "dualism image" of females. Mary, Mother of Jesus, is totally good, whereas Eve is totally evil. This is but one example showing women to be unidimensional, whereas men, such as Abraham, are multidimensional, showing both positive and negative characteristics. Further, she suggests that since we recognize life is not an either/or situation, and that no one can attain the worldly comparison of Mary, that females,

when thinking about their self-images, see their "female natures" characterized as inferior--intellectually, physically, morally. They are the subordinate sex, Peter's "weaker vessel" (I Peter 3:1-7), and that only by becoming obedient wives, sacrificial mothers, and/or purified virgins may women actualize positive potentials. Snyder (1979, p. 280) further relates:

To this day, women struggle...to get across to ordination, control over their own sexual morality, and recognition that God is female as much as male. Plagued by such impossible models as the virgin-mother, the whore-angel, they have yet to win from his followers Jesus' simple treatment of them as persons--as beings as human as men.

Snyder also notes that very little research has been done on the impact that religious imagery has on gender roles, but even more importantly, related to hegemony, she calls for more study on the degree to which this unquestioned gender-role dualism has permeated our thinking, writing, and behaving.

Thinking, writing, and behaving are essential ingredients of language, of education, and of life. If our religious influences have traditionally affected our modes of discourse, then the dualism possibly exists today. Lewis and Simon (1986, pp. 457-464) relate succinctly an example of such a dualism, clearly showing that hegemonic patriarchal language barriers have been carried into today's educational system. Their research setting was a graduate, higher-education seminar; not related directly to high school females, yet women and men with the baggage of that

time with them. The seminar was held to explore questions concerning the relation between text and discourse seen in light of a consideration of the relation between language and power. What happened during the seminar was in juxtaposition to the course of study and the "living in the subject." The males dominated the social dynamics in the class; the men monopolized not only the speaking time but the theoretical and social agenda as well. Lewis (1986, pp. 460-461) commented:

They (men) sparred, duelled, and charged at each other like gladiators in a Roman arena. Yet their camaraderie intensified with each encounter. Throughout this exchange, the women were regulated to the position of spectators. When a woman speaks, it means that a man cannot speak, and when a man cannot speak it means that the social relations among the men are disrupted. Women, therefore, have no place in this playing field...we felt our exclusion more and more intensely the more we struggled to find room for our voices and to locate ourselves in the discourse.

Lewis (p. 462) further stated that women, both in the seminar and in the world, have found legitimation only to the extent that they have been able to enter into the male agenda. Because this process is man-made, it is neither natural nor neutral. Women's experience and language forms are defined by men as illegitimate "within the terms of men's experience and men's discursive forms." This gives the men tacit power over women.

Struggs (1981, pp. 6-11) contends that the education system in the United States today is generally structured along these same attitudinal lines of society; men run the

business of education and women nurture the learners because women are not as capable of holding leadership positions as men. This conditioning is covertly perpetuated by the definitive language of male vs. female traits; positive male definitions traditionally are dominate, independent, competitive and aggressive, whereas women's are submissive, dependent, sensitive and passive. Struggs also purports that the unfortunate part is women sometimes see themselves as being less competent, less independent, less objective and less logical than men. Women who do exercise their full human capabilities are still considered by many the imitators of men, or as women who wish to be men. Societal terminology does not provide adequately for non-sexist descriptions of a woman who is competent. The supreme complement a competent woman can receive is to be described as "thinking like a man." This terminology presumes that "male" serves as the standard of excellence, and that "female" is the standard of ineffectiveness.

Combs (1962, p. 2) expresses thoughts that include all humans when he says:

Whatever we do in education depends upon what we think people will like. The goals we set, the judgments we make, even our willingness to experiment are determined by our beliefs about the nature of man (sic) and his capacities.

By examining school curriculum for possible language that perpetuates, covertly and hegemonically, the language of silence for women, perhaps we can determine whether our schools are, in fact, equal, or whether they are

perpetuating inequality for female high school students.

Standardized Testing

By high school, all students have taken standardized tests of various types--diagnostic, achievement, formative or summative, ACT, SAT--a mish-mash of testing that is supposed to help both students and teachers determine the capabilities of students; testing that goes in cumulative records for future pertinent information. Yet research can yield information that makes the validity of testing problematic for females, even testing that began early in the century. As an example, French (1985, p. 385) researched an area of testing that is perceived by the public as extremely significant--the Stanford-Binet IQ test. She maintains IQ tests can be geared to produce a desired result, and gives the following as an example: Lewis Terman first published the Stanford-Binet IQ test in 1916. The results of the testing showed that girls outscored the males at all levels by two to four percent. Consequently, Terman and his colleagues changed the test, removing the questions on which girls did especially well. Their reasoning for this was to create girls and boys more equal. The question French poses is what would have happened had boys outscored girls--would the test have been changed, or been used as proof that boys were more intelligent than girls?

McGrath (1976, p. 22) describes a study based on nationwide achievement tests released in 1975 by the

National Assessment of Educational Progress, showing that girls from ages nine to seventeen slowly but steadily lose academic ground to boys of the same age. The data indicate that with increasing years of schooling, the distance widens between male and female achievement in traditionally male subjects like math and science. She suggests that though this sex-differential phenomenon cannot be explained conclusively, it has been argued that girls often score lower and achieve less in later years because "society expects them to." Ironically, lower expectations are learned by females in the school environment itself as elsewhere. For instance, McGrath related a study of school texts where findings were that 69 percent of the people in illustrations were male and that 75 percent of the reading stories were about boys. McGrath purports the belief that the public education system seems to be unwittingly nurturing and perpetuating inequality for females.

Rosser (1986, pp. 48-53) adds similar comments to McGrath's by questioning why, if standardized tests work against females, that the problem is worse now, when their aspirations are higher compared to the past decade. Young women, Rosser suggests, find such tests less "user-friendly" because of the emphasis on content that is male-oriented. The reading comprehension passages consistently have more male references than female ones, and the content often features male accomplishments in politics and science, thus sanctioning those fields covertly as male domains. In June,

1986, Rosser analyzed one of the SATs being given at that time and found nine men mentioned, but only one woman. Seven of the men were famous, the woman was a fictional character of meager importance. Rosser notes that we cannot estimate the psychological damage that may be done by the tests, and the lower scores by females, which often become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Olson (1987, p. 1) reports the results of a study done by the National Center for Fair and Open Testing, entitled "Sex Bias in College-Admissions Tests: Why Women Lose Out." Citing Phyllis Rosser, principal author of the work, Olson says admissions tests widely used as bases for college scholarships are supposed to predict future academic performance. Women consistently score lower on standardized tests than men, yet women earn better grades than men in both high school and college. The group reports that in 1985-86, girls received 36 percent of the National Merit Scholarships, while men received 64 percent. That year some 643,000 women took the P.S.A.T., compared with 537,000 men. In addition to the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, more than 800 other private and government scholarship agencies rely at least partially on admissions tests to select winners. Because women so many times score lower than men, they are less likely to become contenders for the awards.

From the perspective of unconscious, hegemonic influences on testing bias, two comments used toward the end of the article, and almost as afterthoughts, bear scrutiny.

Fred Moreno, a spokesperson for the College Board, which contracts with the Scholastic Aptitude Test, said,

Fundamentally, we don't think the P.S.A.T. is biased. There is a difference in how men and women score on both the P.S.A.T. and the S.A.T., but we don't know all the answers and the reasons why.

Additionally, Marianne Roderick, senior vice-president for the organization that provides more than \$23 million in National Merit awards to students each year, maintained that other criteria are considered in making the awards, including students' academic records, extracurricular activities, intended majors, leadership potential, and principals' recommendations. When these comments are considered, an argument for gender bias comes into the forefront: evidence shows that males score higher, therefore obtain more scholarships, yet there does not seem to be enough interest from one of the most widely used testing services in education to determine the reasons behind women's lower scores. Additionally, the criteria mentioned by Ms. Roderick for making the awards suggest an underlying, albeit unrecognized, reason women do not receive scholarships, even with lower test scores. Many females in high school tend to list intended majors that are traditionally called "women's majors," i.e., education, home economics, drama, music, secretarial science, nursing, etc., as compared to young men listing math, science, engineering, medicine--courses traditionally viewed as "more important." Furthermore, when extracurricular activities are considered, a perhaps

unspoken, but widely observed "rule of thumb" reigns: the most "important" extracurricular activity is sports, particularly football. All sports are considered covertly a male domain. Leadership potential, during high school, is many times connected to how well, and how diligently a student is involved in sports; hence, the male might be viewed as a better candidate. Principals' recommendations tend to be based on study of transcripts, direct observation, and the principals' own perspective of the students. The majority of high school principals are male, many are sports-oriented, and consequently, may view leadership potential from the "normative" male point of view. This could cause principals, without conscious thought of gender bias, to choose young men as better candidates for scholarships.

Females and Sports

Since achievement in sports seems to be held in such high esteem by adults and students alike, and since sports is traditionally a male-dominated domain, it is fitting to explore attitudes about, and roles of, females in sports. For instance, the medium of the newspaper can be an effective source in studying language used about young women and sports. A June 8, 1988, Tulsa Daily World article headline read, "Parents Believe Sports Important to Daughters." The first line substantiates the headline by saying, "Most parents believe sports are as important for their daughters

as their sons..." Dorothy Harris, education director of the Women's Sports Foundation was quoted in the article as stating that the parental opinion has deleted the word "tomboy" from the athletic dictionary. However, further into the text, the language of Ms. Harris' quotes begins to depict the hegemonic influence that girls do not have full and equal serious acceptance yet: "...it's popular for girls to play sports. It's the sexy thing to do." (underlining mine) The point is also made that girls say the biggest motivator is "fun." Girls tend to drop out of sports as they get older when, Harris says, "girls become more interested in boys." As compared to the seriousness to which male athletic programs are accorded in school curriculum, words like "fun," "sexy," and "popular" certainly do not seem as important.

Phillips (1987, page missing) expresses the need for more females to be in sports. He states that, although boys and girls may receive the same classroom instruction, the time spent on the courts, fields, and in the gyms gives students a much different message. He believes sports teach values, skills, teamwork, cooperation, direction-taking, and respect for rules; these, he maintains, are the same values that are important in all areas in life, regardless of gender. Many professionals, he states, believe that boys have an edge over girls when competing for a job because of the time and learning spent in athletics, and secondly, that the jargon of business parallels sports (hence the normative

language of patriarchy). Yet boys receive eight hours of athletic instruction to each hour girls receive. Phillips' concluding point is that strong athletic training today, for both sexes, can pay off in the future.

Vadar (1987, p. 100), promoting a light-hearted articulation in order to make a serious point about girls in sports, says, "smart girls like sports." He discusses the unscientific, undocumented point that girls who excel in sports also tend to improve their spatial awareness (a long-held belief, based on test results, is that females lack spatial skills.) He quotes Alice Miller, director of the Women's Center at Brooklyn College, who administered a four-week program for disadvantaged girls in New York City. The purpose of the program was to offer intensive training in math and sports, with the premise that lessons in sports relate to math--advising strategies, solving problems, competition, relationships among speed, time and distance. The results of the program were not given, but the point was made that the limitation of the girls' sports experiences was surprising; the girls tended to be limited to "double-Dutch jump rope." Vada suggest that one way we can close the math gap, which arises during the early teen years, is to make a concentrated effort to stress sports for girls:

Sports are nothing if not numbers: scores, seconds, inches, pounds, meters, kilometers, dollars. Think about it: How far can you read through any sports story before you hit some figures? The repeated manipulation of numbers starting at a young age, even on a simple level, has to have some lasting effect. Typically, little boys trade baseball cards covered with sugar dust and

statistics, while little girls search the shag rug for an itty-bitty high heel for a Barbie doll. Twelve-year-old boys know how to calculate a batting average; girls can tell the difference between periwinkle and cornflower blue. Both useful skills, sure, but the SAT is in black and white.

Berliner (1987, pp. 10-11) does not mention sports *per se*, but discusses a sideline of sports--games--another area where males seem to excel more strongly than females. He contends this is related to the commonly researched problem that males outperform females in math. Teachers tend to teach lower-level math skills with timed tests and instructional games. Boys seem to excel in these kinds of activities and therefore are more visible; consequently, the teachers unconsciously interact more with the boys. For example, in a game "Around the World," the loudest and quickest wins the game. Since males tend to be more competitive and aggressive they have the advantage over the females. While the boys' achievement was enhanced, such competitions seemed to hurt the achievement of girls, since they tended to lose. Berliner also noted that girls were permitted more time to socialize, perhaps because girls are less disruptive; therefore, boys engaged in more math while girls were more likely to concentrate on social activities.

McGrath (1976, p. 40) connects both sex-differentiated courses and athletics as hindering women in education. When the majority of young women are in courses such as literature, languages, sewing and cooking, and young men take metal work, science and mathematics, both the women and the

men are placed on an uneven footing for giving equal consideration to the full range of vocational and career possibilities open to them. She believes, too, that a de-emphasis of girls' athletic activities deprives many girls of an important means of learning certain cooperative and competitive habits, attitudes, and skills that would be helpful in their personal development in their relationship with others.

The Use of the Generic "He"

Another area of language emphasis that is steeped in patriarchal, "male as normative" terms that enhances gender bias based on hegemony is the use of the generic term "he." Textbooks, literature, articulated language--all use this term to be "gender-neutral;" yet, Mahony (1985, pp. 7-14) emphasizes the futility of the neutrality when she says, "Even though I read somewhere, and was told MAN is not gender-specific in literature, when I read it I read MAN and not WMan." Mahony alleges that WMan is only used in specific cases where only WMan can fit, as in childbearing. WMan is "tacked on," giving females another feeling of lack of voice in language. Mahony maintains that for women there is always a decoding exercise to be done to find out whether or not women are included. The He/Man language always includes man; women are included only when specifying to the gender-specific subject.

Kelly and Nihien (1982, pp. 170-171) discuss the rigid

stereotyping in the textbooks that is even more enhanced by the use of the generic "he." The use of the male pronoun and nouns, propound the authors, conveys the message that only males act or are important; "she" is not. The example is given of studies of mathematics texts where "he" always solves the problem.

Barr, Dunn and Farquhar (1972, pp. 841-845) substantiate further the inequality of the generic term "he." They believe a young reader does not form a mental image of a female when the term is read or used. It is of no avail for a teacher to explain that "men" means "both men and women," or that "he" means "both he and she; even an adult would be unlikely to picture a group of amicable females, for instance, when reading about 'men of good will.'" The authors give many examples taken from school texts that reflect the opinion that females are of no consequence. They offer suggestions for changing terms to include women as integral part of our history and our future, saying this is imperative because:

Authors tend to blur 'men' with 'people in general;' i.e., they are willing to let 'men' stand for 'people in general' and to let the deeds of 'people in general' be attributed to 'men.' At the same time, they are not willing to blur 'women' with 'people in general.' One never sees a picture of 'women' captioned simply 'farmers' or pioneers."

The authors conclude that linguistic failure to permit women to be people mirrors a long tradition of male supremacy that delivers the hegemonic message of the need to keep women in

a separate and unequal category--to keep them "in their place."

Influences in History and Literature

Added to the ambiguity of the generic "he" in textbooks is the portrayal of women (or lack of it). Treckler (1973, pp. 133-139) studied secondary school history texts and found that in the rare instances they mentioned women, they distorted women despite the advancements in knowledge about women's history since the mid-1960's. Women were sidelined to roles of pioneer wife, sewer of flags, social worker, nurse, presidential helpmates. The women's suffrage movement, women's trade unionism, etc., were either ignored or relegated to one line. Women simply were shown not as shaping history; rather, they were just present and their contributions were ancillary to men's and were domestic in nature.

Much of the research on gender-based sexism in literature has been centered in the elementary school curriculum; Rodgers (1979, pp. 228-230) however, adds to the documented literature sexism to include what junior and senior students read. Being, myself, a former American literature teacher, the points Rogers makes were poignantly reflective of my own observations in the classroom from 1974-1985. Rodgers discussed authors' depictions of women--renowned authors found in literature textbooks throughout the United States today. Rodgers maintains many authors carry a continuation

of the themes found in the Bible: Nathaniel Hawthorne's *THE SCARLET LETTER*, whose character of Hester Prynne is the antithesis of the "fair maiden," becoming the "dark lady," depicting hidden sexuality and evil; Daisy, in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *THE GREAT GATSBY*, who is the charming betrayer, the "bitch" goddess; Stephen Crane's main character in *MAGGIE; A GIRL OF THE STREETS*, who portrays the violated woman; Ernest Hemingway's stories, preferred by many high school male students as reading material, depict women as innocent victims of something beyond their control, or bitches who are sexually exciting and mysterious; Faulkner's women characters are cowlike, mindless, corrupters even to the point of transforming men into various forms of madness; O'Neill's female characters become "seductive bitches" whose love suffocates men to madness and murder; and Tennessee Williams, who writes women to be neurotic, nymphomaniacal, guilt-ridden and/or alcoholic.

Madsen (1979, p. 222) adds to Rodger's research, saying that junior and senior high school students read these "good books" that perpetuate the myth of "weak and/or evil" female characters taught from childhood--Cinderella, the down-trodden weak girl only saved by the prince; and Hansel and Gretel's wicked stepmother, only stopped in death. Madsen purports that students, through their sensory memory impressions, are learning a set of values from these stories they read in school:

Along with basic information and skills in specific subject areas, they are also learning...

'latent content'...content that is heavily laden with norms and standards that influence the actions of most children and adults. It appears to reflect a monolithic value system.

Rizzo and Weitzman (1980, pp. 22-23) analyzed over 8000 textbook pictures, finding that more than 5500 of the pictures were of males; of the textbook total, females are 30 percent, males are 69 percent. The percentage of females varies by grade level. They are 32 percent in the second grade, but decline to only 20 percent by the sixth grade. This means that by sixth grade there are four pictures of males for every one picture of a female. The percentage of males, in contrast, increases with each grade level. As a greater proportion of the pictures become adults, females become less numerous, and by implication, less important as role models. Their findings indicate that the textbook world is a world of white males, and with each grade level, women become increasingly invisible.

Math and Science

The two most discussed study disciplines where females consistently under-perform in comparison to males are mathematics and science. Norman (1987, p. 660) found what all researchers of gender differences have found: boys and girls perform equally well in math courses through the first years of high school, but in the final years, fewer girls than boys opt for more advanced math courses. According to a study by Aiken (1986-87, p. 28), the average mathematical

problem-solving score of 1452 thirteen-year-old girls was nearly equal to that of the same aged boys, but the girls' averages on computation and spatial visualization were higher than those of the boys. However, by the end of high school, the situation had changed. The average score of 1788 twelfth-grade boys was superior to girls in problem solving scores, and girls had lost their earlier advantage in spatial visualization.

Aiken (1986-87, pp. 30-35) believes that males may practice math skills more outside of school than females; too, girls are usually expected to be more accomplished in language and other social-oriented skills. Among the environmental factors that might contribute to sex differences in mathematical achievement are teachers' attitudes and expectations, inadequate mathematical training of girls in high school, and poor role models, including parents. Aiken also notes that high school counselors often discourage girls from pursuing mathematics and/or preparing careers requiring quantitative abilities because counselors do not view such activities as providing sufficient opportunities for girls.

McNergney and Haberman (1989, p. 1) say that girls are not taking courses that will keep their options for scientific careers open. They believe the best predictors of women's entrance into technical fields are the math and science courses they have taken in high school; however, "research shows that the pool of young women who might

pursue math or science careers is established and reaches a maximum size before ninth grade."

Within the science classroom, Kahle (1983, p. 3) points out the effects of gender-biased differences on the science education of males and females:

The most critical differences in the science education of boys and girls occurs in the science classroom...girls have fewer experiences with the instruments, materials, or techniques of science ...As long as (they) have fewer opportunities to observe natural phenomena, to use scientific instruments, to perform scientific experiments, or to go on science-related field trips, they are disadvantaged in terms of their science education.

Jones (1989, p. 34) sees the data about teacher-student behavior in math and science classrooms to reveal that these classes may be hostile climates for young women:

Male students received more of every type of interaction. Male students received significantly more praise and behavioral criticism, and males asked significantly more procedural questions of teachers. Teachers sex-type occupations and use sex-typed language. Teachers tended to ask more males than females to carry out experiments and to demonstrate equipment.

The Influence of Teachers

Another basic part of the curriculum to be scrutinized for unequal access for females based on hegemony is the role of the teacher. Kelly and Nihlen (1982, p. 173) suggest that through schooling, teachers, regardless of their gender, tend to interact less with females than with males, and that this pattern intensifies at secondary and college levels. This may mean that the female student is taught

that education is not as important for her as it is for her male peers. Teachers tend to interact with girls less frequently than with boys; when they do, they tend to respond to them either neutrally or negatively. While teachers tend to reinforce girls less frequently than boys, what they reinforce is of itself important. Reinforcement tends to be for passivity and neatness, not for "getting the right answer." The few studies on classroom knowledge distribution by gender, according to Kelly and Nihlen, suggest that teachers do not take female students seriously and that within the classroom girls' academic performance is systematically devaluated. This implies that the school is not "for keeps" for the female. This is borne out by achievement studies that base themselves on standardized tests and indicate that girls out-achieve boys across the board until tenth grade; thereafter, boys score higher. Yet, girls get higher marks than boys throughout the primary and secondary schools regardless of subject matter area.

Teachers tend to be unaware that their language of teaching is directed toward males. Sadker and Sadker (1985, pp. 54-57) completed a three-year study and found that, although teachers claim that girls have equal access in the classroom, boys clearly dominated the vocal time spent in the room; they were out-talking the girls at a ratio of three to one. The Sadkers conclude one reason for teachers not recognizing this inequality is that teachers fail to see this communications gender gap even when it is "right before

their eyes." Their study further found that teachers behave differently to male and female students. When boys call out comments without raising their hands, teachers accept their answers. However, when girls call out, teachers reprimand the inappropriate behavior. The authors see this message as subtle but powerful: Boys should be academically assertive; girls should act like ladies and keep quiet.

The Sadkers believe girls are often shortchanged in quality as well as in quantity of teacher attention. They relate a 1975 study by psychologists Servin and O'Leary who found that teachers were twice as likely to give male students detailed instructions on how to do things for themselves. With female students, teachers were more likely to do it for them. The result was that boys learned to become independent, girls learned to become dependent. Additionally, teachers rarely told the girls if their answers were excellent, need to be improved, or just plain wrong. Unfortunately, acceptance, the imprecise response packing the least educational punch, gets the most equitable sex distribution in classrooms. Active students receiving precise feedback are more likely to achieve academically--and they are more likely to be boys.

Greene (1978, pp. 246-248) makes the cogent suggestion that contemporary classroom teachers have not tended to divide children into "sides," but very few have as yet confronted the effects of sexism on textbooks, curriculum, and their language spoken day to day; they have tended to

avoid the problems presented by sexism over the years.

To underscore further Greene's emphasis of teachers avoiding the problems of gender bias in curriculum and language, Valli (1983, pp. 213-234) relates her ethnographic study of a cooperative office education program in which senior high students went to school part time and worked part time in offices. Valli's main concern in the study was women's acquisition of a work identity. The majority of the girls who participated in the program already had their social roles as females formed in their minds, seeing themselves as future mothers, part time workers, wives first/job second, and working only as long as they "needed to." The teacher's role, in perpetuating hegemonic beliefs that reinforced the ones already intact for females, deserves study also. The teacher, Mrs. Shapiro, had directed this program for twelve years. She declared herself a feminist, a person who believed in and worked for equality of women, especially in the business world. Yet, Valli described her as delivering two focal messages during classes--the office worker as sex object, and the office worker as wife and mother. The students were told to "sell" themselves by "dressing like you would in order to find a boyfriend," and "speak as though you were in the Miss America contest." Shapiro, at one point, complimented a student for wearing "sexy" shoes. Paradoxically, the females were warned to control their sexuality; they were not to wear attire that was too "skimpy," and to be careful in the way they

presented themselves, implying that if they were not careful they could be blamed if sexual improprieties occurred at work. Secondly, Mrs. Shapiro related the idea of "Mother Image" by knitting baby clothes during class time, by warning students not to shout because "it's not ladylike" and to learn to control their emotionalism. This, juxtaposed with the on-the-job experiences of making coffee, cleaning up, running errands for the boss, further strengthened the messages of patriarchal values for the young females.

School Counseling Influence

Counselors, like classroom teachers, can directly impact attitudes female students have about their roles of women in the world. Kelly and Nihlen (1982, p. 172) point to vocational testing and guidance procedures as active agents in sex role reproduction. They maintain that on the basis of standardized tests, high school counselors may actively channel young females into educational programs that prepare them for only female roles. Deem (1978, pp. 51-81) substantiates this point by saying that since the "real" place of women in capitalist societies is believed to be in the family, any career advice that girls receive at school is likely to be limited in extent, and frequently not taken seriously either by those offering it or those receiving it. Careers talk generally has two main criteria outlined for choosing a job: whether a pupil has a preference for liking "people" or "things." Since females are taught

from an early age that nurturance is a female trait, they many times assume they prefer people to things, thereby choosing careers from lack of information about other possibilities. Deem adds that a working-class girl may be particularly vulnerable to pressures by others to choose subjects/careers which will fit in with her expected future vocation as wife and mother, rather than being as aware as some middle class girls that they may be likely to want or need interesting work outside the home. Consequently, any career advice which girls receive at school is likely to be limited in extent, causing limited aspirations. Doyle (1985, p. 202) charges the educational system for being a large factor in this limitation, saying that the pervasive "view" in the high schools is that females and/or their activities are less important than males and/or their activities.

Frazier and Sadker (1973, p. 23) believe that one way high school females learn to stop achieving is simply by listening to what their teachers and counselors tell them (dichotomizing professions into those "appropriate" for men and those "appropriate" for women), and by sensing intuitively the more positive response from counselors when the females make the traditionally feminine choices. The authors see the need (p. 128) to achieve that the young girl takes with her into high school as not being obliterated, but rather rerouted into "appropriate" channels. The young high school woman learns, then, to direct her achievement

motive into social rather than academic areas. Frazier and Sadker believe the gender bias in the high school curriculum is so pervasive that only when consciousness is intensely heightened can we begin to comprehend its harmful impact.

Howe (1984, p. 86) recognizes that public school officials maintain that males and females are treated alike in the school curriculum; that, indeed, in most classrooms, females and males hear the same lectures, read the same books, do the same assignments, and take the same examinations. Howe does, however, substantiate the problem set forth in this study by warning that "the content of the curriculum is male-biased; women are absent or are presented in passive, limited, and limiting roles...in effect, the 'sexual politics' of schools is no different from that in the world outside."

Summary

A review of the literature reveals pointedly that inequities remain in our schools, as well as in our society, that hamper females in their quests to become fully autonomous humans with full membership in the world. The language of education, like life "outside," is structured from the perspective of "male as normative," and is so accepted as to not be thought of at all in relation to curriculum areas where females consistently lag behind their male counterparts. The inequalities exist, but the reasons remain elusive, cloaked in patriarchal language; hence, the intent

of the proceeding chapters is to interpret women's lived experiences within patriarchy, moving their position of "women as other" into the forefront to "women as women" as they examine their lives through the language of female reflection.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES OF COLLECTING AND PROCESSING DATA

Two data gathering techniques were used for this study in order to substantiate further (along with the Review of the Literature) the thesis that the problematics of equality for high school females in school curriculum is related to the hegemony of patriarchal values that perpetuate gender bias. Dialogical Encounters/Conversations, and women's journals formed the basis of showing how deeply the disparity of women's "place" is embedded within consciousness. Only women were chosen for the study in order to further form a picture of "women as others," for it is women's view of themselves, brought out by their voices, that we can begin to see how the patriarchal influences of a world where "male is normative" have affected their lives.

Both methods of data gathering relied heavily on women's autobiography (including my own), for as Polakow (1984, p. 108) delineates:

It is only when we re-situate the research process in the full social and historical horizons of daily life, when we recognize and reclaim our own lived subjectivity as an essential component of the ongoing life context, that we find ourselves participating in this experience together with our informants.

Greene (1978, p. 108) adds similar thoughts to Polakow by maintaining:

It is at that point that the research process as 'dialogical encounter' can be carried on by persons who are situated in the concreteness of the world, by persons equipped for interrogations, for problematization, and for hermeneutic interpretation of the culture--of the present and the past.

"Dialogical Encounters", as a method to interpret the world, is hardly new to women; we have traditionally learned much about ourselves and our relation to the world by sitting around kitchen tables doing what is called "coffee klatching." We shared personal life experiences as a method of making sense of our lives and our minds. Much of our conversations centered on family life, an area that Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1985, p. 14) believe can give much insight about women's sense of being rooted in connection, and the role of human development. The authors (p. 21) see women's dialogue as a way of cultivating "connected knowing," that rises out of the experience of relationships, connected knowing requires "intimacy and equality between self and object, not distance and impersonality; its goal is understanding, not proof." Women listen, wait, question, argue, interrupt and interpret one another, and form new questions--all as ways to connect themselves with the world, and as avenues for change. As Freire (1970, p. 76) maintains, "there is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis--to exist humanly is to 'name' the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reopens to

the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming."

To create a dialogical encounter whereby a group of women could discuss their place in the dual worlds of life and education, and what that means to them and other, younger females, the following procedure was used: a group of five women, plus myself, came together seven times for conversation lasting from forty-five minutes to two hours. The women were not chosen with any regard to age, race, or class; rather, they were chosen because they belonged to the "caste of women," as explained in Chapter I. All the group members were graduate students enrolled in a psychology class called "Group Processes," at a regional educational institution in eastern Oklahoma. The Group Processes course is the study of group counseling theory, dynamics and techniques applicable to agency, industry and private practice setting in developing personal-social interaction skills.

The professor and the group of women agreed for me to act as co-leader/facilitator of the group. This was important because in the regular procedure of group process, the professor stipulates that leaders not be chosen, rather they "emerge" as the group progresses in their discussions. The women also gave me permission to use any comments they made during our conversations, as well as any other information about them that would enhance my data.

Additionally, the professor told the group that criteria other than our conversations would be determinates of their final grades for the course. This was important since

the group was serving two purposes; one as a method for my data gathering, the other for the purposes of the professor's class. Neither of us wanted the women to be apprehensive about their final grades as they went into meetings. Grading criteria came from the class time earlier in the evenings before the groups went into session. The only connective element of our group's subject matter and the rest of the course was that each group member was to spend time each week working with a group outside the university class where the group member acted as leader/facilitator, in order to put their learning experience (from "our group") into practice; hence, the professor and I shared the objective that these women, as a result of our dialogical encounter, would reach praxis during their outside groups where they would be connected with other females.

The Group Process class, in its entirety, had approximately twenty students. The semester-long class met once a week for three hours. The first half of the time was spent in "whole group" with the professor. The second half was set aside for "small group" discussions. At the first class meeting the professor, during his procedural instructions (that included the point that groups would constitute five members each) asked me to tell the class what I needed. My comment was deliberately simple--"I would like to have five women volunteers to be a part of a research project I am doing." I then went to a room the professor had designated for me, and the first five women who came through the door

became our small group.

I did not want the group process to become an "interview" situation with specific questions to be answered; consequently, during the first few sessions, only very topical, yet personal questions were used in order to enhance a comfortable, trusting atmosphere conducive for sharing autobiographical reflections. Once the process of sharing became comfortable, the women were able to form their own questions about their roles as women based on hegemony. As Carson (1986, p. 76) says:

Hermeneutic interpretation begins not with direct research into the problem but with an uncovering of the question to which the problem statement is the answer. This process is inherently conversational in that the participants in the conversation seek to deepen their understanding of the topic of conversation itself.

We began slowly, with autobiographical reflection as the important aspect of research in a conversational mode. I also assumed that, as Carson (p. 78) says, "conversation is a moral discourse among colleagues who are members of the community." With this group and this study, we were the community of womankind and educators.

The dynamics of the group changed weekly, as did the topics of the conversations. The women eventually recognized that I needed their reflections about their high school experiences, so sometimes they would try to "please" me, but always they would connect other areas of their lives to their educational process. It was in the reflections of their feelings about life in ALL areas that the ways in

which their high school experiences followed them into their present reality.

Our group had a total of seven meetings. I taped each meeting in its entirety and later transcribed the tapes without any editing. Three of these unedited transcriptions, of meetings five, six, and seven, appear in Appendix A of this study. These three transcriptions were chosen to be included because, by session five, a trusting relationship had evolved and the women were talking more freely about their experiences.

Appendix B of this study gives biographical data of, and additional comments from, the women in the group. I did not give the women the forms until the last session because I did not want to direct their conversation in group time to the form's contents.

The second data-gathering method used for this dissertation study was that of personal, reflective journals written by undergraduate females. My original thought of the value of journals for research was based on my own experience, typical (I realize now) of many feminist writers and educators. We, as research in prior chapters shows, tend to connect our own lives to what we speculate about for others--another way of explaining what Gloria Steinem (1987, p. 61) means when she says "women should be the empathy experts." We feel with others because we feel that way about ourselves, or have at some point in our lives.

I began keeping a reflective journal in 1974, the same

year I re-entered a university to finish undergraduate work that had been postponed because of marriage and raising young children. At the time I merely thought of keeping a journal as an "outlet" for my "new" thoughts. I was being bombarded with learning experiences I could not verbally articulate, so I wrote phrases and incomplete thoughts as a way of telling myself I was not crazy but that I was the only person who probably thought I was not! Through the years I have filled many spiral notebooks with my thoughts, others' thoughts. Several years ago, I realized the importance of these notebooks; they tell me of my evolution--as a woman, mother, teacher, student, professor--in life. In written, connected form, my history tells me where I've been, my dreams tell me where I want to go, and my language tells me what kind of creation I am. Fortinberry (1987, p. 63) agrees:

Keeping a journal gives us a chart of our lives; it expands and deepens our vision of ourselves. As it helps us integrate the various levels of our personalities, our lives become richer and more focused. Rather than searching for meaning outside ourselves, we create it within.

When I began teaching two years ago in higher education, I implemented the component of journal writing as a class assignment. Specifically (although "loosely" in actuality) the assignment is always to "write about your reflections of your public school years." Meanwhile, during semester classwork, at my facilitation, the students discuss their roles as teachers of the future and how their past

influences their ideas of "what an effective teacher should be." Each semester we also discuss how gender is viewed during public school years and how they remember being conscious (or not) of their gender during school.

Several of the female students chose to further their thoughts in their journal entries regarding their reflections of "being female." Interestingly, several entries were written by females who said little during class discussion. At one time I asked some of the women the reason for writing, rather than speaking, about their experiences. The reply was that they were afraid of being made fun of by the males in the class. An additional observation was that the younger females tended to be less vocal than the older ones about their gender...a point that substantiates research reviewed in Chapter II, Review of the Literature.

The excerpts from college women's journals were "pulled" from several thousand entries I have read over the past two years. The specific assignment for all students was to write about ten experiences they remembered from public school. They were graded only on the number of entries, not on content, style, or grammar. During my reading, when I would find an entry that corresponded with my research on gender bias, I would photocopy that entry. Then, as I handed back the journals, I would ask the women if I could use their entries in my dissertation, and I would ask the age of the writer.

Excerpts from these various "pulled journals" are the

data used for this study. Examples of entire entries can be found in Appendix C.

The women who wrote these entries, each at different levels of intellectual and emotional development, have shared their thoughts as females in a patriarchal educational system. Gender-biased hegemonic messages are received by the females as a group, but seen by individuals first. These women's stories speak for both.

CHAPTER IV

THE VOICE OF A WOMAN'S REALITY IS HER TRUTH

Today intuition plays a conscious and major role in my decision-making. For many years I "down-played" intuition because the connotative representation of the word conjured nebulous, vague, and "feminine" meanings that were antithetical to logical thinking. Women were intuitive; men were logical, and "never the twain shall meet." Actually, journal writing offered personal affirmation of the credibility of my strong feelings about people, events, relationships and path-choices; most of my positive decisions, when read in reflection, were made quickly, spontaneously, and based on quick, "gut-level" feelings of what seemed "right."

I attended the first Group Process class meeting of the semester strictly as an observer. Each student offered chosen segments of his/her autobiography. Knowing that several women in the class would be in my group for data gathering, and trusting my intuition, I jotted notes as each person talked, and put a big star beside the women's names who I felt might choose to be a part of my group. I marked seven names; five of those seven volunteered (from thirteen women). When the group came together, one of the women

remarked, "I knew this was where I wanted to be; I felt it." The others nodded concurrence, and at that moment, one element of a trusting relationship evidenced itself.

Five women and myself came together, each of us in our respective realities, ages, backgrounds, evolutionary periods in life, and all of us with one absolute commonality--a history of being women. Ages ranged from twenty-nine to forty-nine; marital status varied from married to separated to divorced; children's ages were from two to thirty; religion from protestant to Catholic. One woman's divorce was granted during the time of our sessions. We all, however, had gained enough time-space to reflect on our lives, including our high school years, with connectedness of yesterday and today, and with our mind-lenses colored from patriarchal hegemonic messages about our gender.

Helen, the oldest, was the most stereotypical of the group; stereotypical in that she teaches kindergarten (an almost exclusively female profession within education), has been married for many years to the same man, and although she speaks of equality for women, does so only when reference in her relationship with her family. She did not see herself as a feminist, but did believe her four daughters can "do and be" whatever they choose. During the weeks of our meetings, Helen had several discussions with her fourteen-year-old daughter, asking her questions she had not asked before, and when relating these conversations, gave insights of hegemonic language both from herself and her

daughter:

...I've been telling you here in this group that I've taught her that anything a boy can do, she can do better; and don't let them put you down for being female...But, I can't tell her 'if you want to go out and drink all night, or sleep around, then you just go ahead and do it.'...she wants to be moral...so she is living within the guidelines of society to be a nice girl, doing what society expects her to do. But she's intelligent enough to resent it--which I didn't resent it--I just did it! So maybe generations down the road this will all change, but it's not going to be overnight, not in my lifetime, probably.

Helen's values, perpetuated much by her conservative religious background plus her personal life experiences, surface in her daughter's seeming conflict in attempting to live in a fourteen-year-old's "today"; Snyder's (1979, p. 64-65) "dualism image" of females having to be either totally good or totally bad comes out when Helen says, "I can't tell her 'if you want to go out and drink all night, or sleep around, then go ahead and do it'." The daughter, trying to be a "nice girl" within the guidelines of society, is struggling with her resentment of some of these messages. Ianni (1989, p. 675) points out that a teenager's development takes place within a specific community, and is nurtured or stifled by what is available; also, that adolescents may question adult values, but few teens completely reject those values. So Helen's daughter is within a triad of message-giving about her femaleness--parents, peers, and school. The teenager, though, now recognizes some of the mixed messages. Helen relates:

I asked my daughter, 'were you ever discriminated against for being female?'...she said, 'The thing

that really gripes me is the double values. All the high school boys can go out and get drunk, party all night, mess around with the girls, and they are just being boys. Aren't they cute?' She said let a girl do that and they are whores and sluts...for the same behaviors.

A lawyer would tell me that Helen's words about her teenage daughter would be inadmissible--hearsay. But listening to Helen's stories, and her reflections of conversations with her daughter, brought a focus to me of just how stringently the aforementioned triad works for the teenage girl. The "old and new" messages from others were being ingested cognitively and emotionally, forming a way of thinking for this young female not unlike thousands of others:

My girl wants to be a doctor, dentist, or physical therapist...She's taking all the math and science courses, right up there with the boys. Nobody has ever put her down for being female; she has just picked this up on her own...Ninth grade she has a boyfriend...now she's working academics around her social life, where before it was the reverse.

Brake (1985, p. 175) gives credence to Helen's teenage daughter's struggle for "place" when he says that "the... female role is problematic, but concrete; their knowledge of it is not abstract theory, but directly experiential." At age fourteen, she is at what seems to be a very crucial time for young females, a time, as Brake (p. 166) says, they begin to underachieve and become self-conscious about femininity. Although Helen's daughter has high career aspirations, already the acceptance of the other--her connection to males in order to form her sexuality--is taking shape.

Without concentrated help from parents, and conscious help in school, her view of self-success may become embedded in the traditional, hegemonic role of "other," even though she recognizes more options are available today.

Where Helen represented more stereotypical thinking about acceptance of women's roles in society, Leslie, the youngest in the group, was able to articulate more easily her view of young females today:

It's societal expectations, 'behind every great man stood a great women.' I'm saying society's changing but there's still a lot of that left over...The roles are not as clear cut as they used to be, but there's still that feeling the man is dominant and the lady basically should be submissive...he's not expected to change his career and plans; she's the one to change to meet his needs ...that's the way a lot of girls are brought up whether it's intentional or not. We're the mothers, nurturers, caretakers; we're the ones responsible to meet their needs...that's the message a lot of them still hear. 'Mixed messages'...we're saying everything is more equal now, but it really isn't still--it's in the process of changing--moving toward that.

Ruthann, the most quiet of the group, and self-admittedly one who easily reverts to "over-feminization with difficulty being androgenous in a relationship," substantiated Leslie's viewpoint:

Seems to me they have more conflicts, more of a complex time than we had growing up. Male/female roles have changed; people making more of their own decisions about what kind of role they'll take...It's just more complex, faster. More opportunities but more things to think about too, in terms of fear...having more choices makes it complex; it gives you more to deal with.

The group agreed that young females do have more equality, more choices, and the addition of more complexities as

to their roles in the world today. In listening to the group dialogue, some of these new complexities began to emerge into a kind of distinguishable pattern. Through Helen's input about her own daughters and her elementary school females, she verbally substantiated how many of us as teachers (and as women) accept the differences in boys and girls as common sense, or as Helen puts it, "I think there's some basic difference in the hormones or something." Behind the dialogue the gender hegemonic influences can be heard:

Helen: I teach Kindergarten. Today was Valentine's Day and we had a party last hour. It was wild--it's just the difference in male/female behavior. Girls at age five are already more self-contained and hold their emotions. They were excited, but the boys were literally bouncing off the walls physically. So we did some real exercise games and songs. The girls did them like they were supposed to, but the boys...used it as an opportunity to get attention.

Leslie: I think it's rearing. My two-year-old boy is very active; he's rough and tumbling, and he's playing or he's throwing his football or basketballs. I look at him and say, 'he's just all boy;' I really do this! (And if I had a girl I'd say, 'that's not lady-like,' or 'you need to settle down,'...I'm not saying I would choose to, not consciously, but I think there would be a difference. And I consider myself fairly liberal and open-minded...There's just more of wanting the girl to have constraint.

By age five, girls are acting "like they're supposed to," already showing constraint, which is much like the messages I was raised with of "pretty is as pretty does" and "act like a little lady." Between hearing how I was supposed to act and how I was weaker than boys physically, my received role was to be inactive physically (example: not playing sports), but active creatively (examples: play

piano, read books). The group related similar childhood messages, with the added touch that the onset of menstruation affected their view of themselves.

Julie, however, views herself as coming from the "hippie-type era," so that even during puberty she fought to retain her tomboy image:

I kind of thought of it (menstruation) as a quietening-type thing. I had climbed trees, fought with the boys, was just as ornery as they were. So I would think, 'how many more days is this going to be?' I'd ask Mom, and she'd say, 'Now, Julie, you have got to...settle down and act like a young lady now.' And I'd say, 'Why?' I didn't relate it to anything sexual at all; I'd fight with this 'thing!' Mom meant it as a sexual thing, like now you've got to stop wearing jeans and wear dresses, and do this with your hair. And I thought 'gross...I'm a happy child who likes to do all these things with the boys I wasn't about to stop because of that. She tried to make that happen though. But she never quite succeeded; I was never the prim and proper little girl Mom wanted...I could have cared less. I had no intentions of ever having babies or being with a man other than to play baseball.

Julie, now age thirty-three, is still wrestling with the hegemony of women as "other." She is divorced, has two young children, and a new relationship. During the weeks our group met, Julie began the mental process of planning for her long-term future, a process that was both agitating and liberating for her emotionally. She admits to being "angry at the world," but now sees the need to work through her anger in order to be a fully functioning person, for herself and for her children. Too, like each of us, Julie views women through her own reality:

My ex-husband is a nuclear engineer...they would get female engineers...it was a big joke. The

guys would go out on Friday nights and it was 'what can we do to her to put on her next week to see if she can handle it;' like can you imagine the arrogance of this woman thinking she can be a good engineer. And, as far as my field, education, that was a joke too...anyone who even thought about being a teacher--it was such a demeaning position...I think their (the female engineers) intelligence intimidated the men.

While Julie believes that females who have entered what traditionally have been male careers may intimidate the men, the entire group agreed when Leslie commented:

Women have to excel at a higher level to receive the same recognition as a male...for the woman to be considered she would have to have higher credentials or more experience to be chosen.

Ruthann added another point, "to change their mannerisms. Women are brought up to act in a certain way so that people don't pay attention. Females have learned to be non-assertive, nurturing...They need to be more like somebody who will stand up and talk." Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986, p. 5) concur:

All women grow up having to deal with historically and culturally engrained definitions of femininity...one common theme being that women, like children, should be seen and not heard...In everyday and professional life, as well as in the classroom, women often feel unheard even when they believe they have something to say...they are painfully aware that men succeed better than they in getting and holding the attention of others for their ideas and opinions.

Joyce, at the last meeting, most eloquently reiterated women's "lack of voice." Joyce works as an Adult Education Director for the Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. Decisions are made by a board of eight tribal chiefs. Joyce had attended a national conference in Washington where she had been asked

to return to the chiefs with a message that they should "go to Washington on this issue:"

So I get up with them (the chiefs) and say, 'you need to go to Washington and support this issue.' And it was like I wasn't even there! And I was trying to get support for a grant for some more monies for education, and it was like they wouldn't listen to me...because I was a woman. So I thought, 'I am going to get this grant if I have to sign the resolution myself!'...We've got this EDA guy that all the chiefs...liked, so I said, 'Okay, I'll tell him everything...and have him present it.' And the chiefs thought it was a great idea! He took all the credit though...I still feel like I succeeded because I figured out a way...even though we (women) are directors and head of our departments...they won't listen to women...it's pretty bad when you have to figure out a way.

Joyce continued to defend her avenue to success, one that came about only through the voice of her male co-worker; yet, she later questioned, "Where do they listen to a woman?" She decided her answer is "if you're in a woman's occupation and you have the knowledge and authority they will listen to you, but I think if you don't have the degree...they won't listen as much."

Joyce's conversation about what it takes to become "heard," drew the topic of leadership to the forefront; and Leslie voiced similar words to Gilligan's (1982, p. 171) view of women's sense of integrity that "appears to be entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see themselves as women is to see themselves in a relationship of connection." Leslie commented:

I think women have a more cooperative view toward leadership. They will enlist more suggestions, and possibly hear alternatives, at least be open for some suggestion...males tend to be more

directive...men have been taught to assume responsibility and make decisions, to 'be strong,' and females don't always feel the need to be; they don't have the same need for power that men are raised to think they need...

But it is Ruthann's words that bring the female hegemonic view of women and power into clear view, whether it is in the boardroom or a high school classroom:

...if you compete with men directly, a lot of them (women) think it's too threatening to them...like you'll be discounted as a woman...so they (women) relinquish...so they can have...their 'cake and eat it too.' Women do have a certain power in that traditional system, but it's a sort of dishonest type of power...manipulative. It's not really direct...it's game playing...it's deliberate...it's learned.

"It's deliberate...it's learned;" the traditional ways in which women have gained a sense of power. Or is it a sense of survival? Leslie relates:

Watching some of the women where I work and thinking, 'yeah, I know how they got promoted.' And I don't mean just subtle sexual favors, but more a flirtatiousness, real coy tilting of the head, and swinging of the shoulders when they speak with a male administrator, kind of playing up to them.

Interspersed throughout all the group's meetings could be heard the equivalent of "it's learned;" female behavior that, by unconscious or conscious, verbal or non-verbal messages have taught the gender hegemony that women are "different." While being "different" may not be construed as negative by itself, when put into the context of mainstream society and education where the male-as-normative exists, being "different" takes on a pattern internalized by females that, once recognized, causes conflict; and conflict

is the antithesis of women's messages to be cooperative, caring, nurturing, pleasing. When leadership, whether of one's self or in the world of education and work, is viewed by women through the lenses of conflicting ways to the male-oriented norm, women may revert to the hegemonic messages that they cannot succeed without someone "stronger" to help them, as did Joyce when she maneuvered to get what she wanted by using a male's voice that she knew would be heard. Joyce, and the women Leslie talked about, when viewed by stereotypical perspectives of male leadership styles could then easily be thought at most as ineffectual, or at least as "less than." When these hegemonic messages are heard today, even though equal access for females has been mandated and is overtly being implemented, they hamper the process. Mandates are something to be carried out because they "have to be;" values and beliefs are many times our unconscious "want to be's," thought of as part of our very existence as humans.

The following is an apt example of the difference of mandates and beliefs: Leslie works for the Department of Human Services. In a group session on April 11, 1989, Leslie made the following comments about her reality at work:

The number of female employees far outweigh the male employees in social work positions. On the first level of supervision, county, there is a large number of female supervisors. But once it raises above the county level it goes to predominately male. All the upper administrative positions are filled by males...in ratio it really is disproportionate...like most of your principals

are going to be male...Men are typically seen as more competent...there are a lot of concerns that some women, such as, 'oh, is she going to get grouchy at a certain time each month? Is she going to have to take off because her kid's in a play at school? When her kids are sick can we count on her to be here?' They are going to assume women have other priorities. They want men who make their job the priority."

Leslie speaks through what she sees as reality in her workplace--she "believes that they believe" because the undercurrent of gender hegemony is a daily part of her experience. On May 34, 1989, an article appeared in the TULSA DAILY WORLD that substantiates Leslie's words. A three-year plan of affirmative action has been recommended to DHS based on a report that confirmed sexual discrimination within the DHS. The reasons given for the alleged discrimination were:

'Highly subjective' personnel practices and double standards in job performance criteria are two roadblocks faced by women who try to climb the administrative ladder in the massive state agency...A 'good ol' boy' network at the county office level and a lack of teeth in current affirmative action policies also hamper women.

When gender bias hegemony comes into conflict with regulations, it is no surprise that a "lack of teeth" in action happens. And, when females both feel that "lack of teeth" and feel they are not "heard," as the group said, they learn they are not "important," which can get mixed up with other areas in their lives that are not "important." Julie's husband's pet name for her for years was "Dummy." Her comment shows that for a long time she had not connected this derogatory term to her sense of self: "I don't think I

really paid any attention to it for several years...then I started realizing, 'He's just not saying Dummy, he means DUMMY!'" At various times during the group meetings, the other women voiced similar comments about their lack of awareness as to the accepted messages that they were not as important.

Joyce: I have come to the rude awakening that I have allowed myself to be stifled.

Julie: It's like WHERE DID I LIVE?!

Leslie: All of the messages that we had gotten, that this was a man's job...that then it just wasn't an item of importance to us and we didn't pay attention...

Leslie: ...I accepted (male church leaders) without thought.

These adult women spent many years accepting their positions of "other," of "less than," because, at the time, they had little experience in reflecting, connecting, becoming aware of options. Even Julie, who remembered saying as a young teenager that she was not going to give up her "tomboy" ways, by high school had decided anything superfluous to finding the right husband so she could raise a family was unimportant. Her comments about her attitude when taking the ACT showed how irrelevant she believed it to be.

...it didn't make any difference whether you did well...when I took the ACT I didn't care whether I did good on it. I took it because everyone else was taking it. I really had no aspirations for going to college...I didn't have any direction...I was going to marry my high school boyfriend...he was going to take care of me.

When I shared some of the research that girls in high school make better grades, yet score lower on standardized tests than males, the group expressed surprise. Helen's elementary teaching experience had shown that girls outperformed boys. Joyce had read an article that she believed disputed the research, but when she bought the article we learned it was based on seventh grade students. Leslie then related a conversation she had just had with a teenager who had recently taken the ACT.

She's graduating in the top ten percent of her class...from a private school system that's well respected for the quality of education. But she took the ACT and scored a ten!...I think (her lowest areas) were the traditional math and science...She said, 'I don't have to worry about it. I can still get into college from being in the top of my class.' But she hasn't set any goals for herself. Her first goal...is just getting out of the house.

If teachers, counselors, parents, and female teenagers have accepted the data that males outperform females on standardized tests--accepted without question, accepted to the point it has become a belief, then it is little wonder that high school females rarely view the tests with scholarship possibilities in mind. Leslie Wolfe, the director for the Center for Women's Policy Studies (TULSA DAILY WORLD, 1989), along with Phyllis Rosser, a longtime critic of SAT's, sees such tests as being sexually biased. Wolfe charges that biased tests have cost young women millions of dollars in college scholarships. Yet for the SAT, at least, Nancy Burton, one of the tests developers refuses to believe

any bias exists. If educators, test developers, and female students do not recognize gaps in performance for females, and hence, do not question why gaps exist, then young women will continue to accept their secondary role.

Another avenue for scholarships that the group discussed was sports for females. Helen's school had a large following for their female basketball team because, in her words, "it was a WINNING team...if they had been mediocre ...they would not have had all this attention." I asked whether any of the female players had gained college scholarships as a result of their outstanding playing. Helen did not know, and further commented:

I don't know if any of the girls would even be interested in an athletic scholarship...there are very few girls that play with the hopes that this is going to be their livelihood to get through college. But I think it's common practice for boys to hope they'll get a scholarship to college for football or basketball...the chances are less that girls will? I don't know.

Julie injected, "The chances are less that they (females) will be recognized professionally." At that point, Helen's comment speaks to a significant element of society's attitudes about women in sports, "On a professional level there's no place like there is for males. I hadn't thought about that."

When there is "no place" for women they, consequently, learn to perform in that context. Football is considered by many as the ultimate professional sport; it is exclusively a male domain from elementary school through the professional

arena. Basketball, the sport played second to football in schools across our country, is a team sport played by both males and females, but, as Helen said, it takes a winning female team for society to take notice; otherwise, on game nights in any high school the crowd begins to enter after half-time of the girls' game--in time for the important game--the boys'.

Hegemonic messages that restrict females' career aspirations, given without awareness of the consequence of placing females in stereotypical careers, can be ingested by young women without much thought. Julie, as a youngster, aspired to be either a heavy equipment operator or a jockey, both male dominated positions.

I remember Dad would take my little brother out on the backhoe jobs with him. I'd say, 'Daddy can I go?' He'd say, 'No, men talk too bad for little girls to hear.' And all through high school my only aspiration was to be a jockey. People... would tell me, 'No, you can't be a jockey. Girls can't be jockeys. It's not ladylike.'

Leslie thought about being a welder:

I can remember my father training my brothers... (Dad) said, 'That hot lead will jump off and get on your skin and scar you up. Men sometimes, it will just roll off their skin, but sometimes it gets caught in a woman's bra and it'll scar her up.' And I thought, 'Oh, I don't want to be scarred, so forget that!'

Julie and Leslie's messages came from their fathers and other people whom they knew. In today's schools, teachers and counselors add to parental influence as females begin to think about careers. Julie, at age thirty-three, remembers counseling in public high school much like the rest of the

group:

I can remember going to the counselor and planning out my classes for the next year. I didn't feel it was necessary to have courses like science, algebra, geometry or trigonometry. And I ended up in home economics classes. I resent that now... they didn't direct me in another direction. They're the adults, and they are there to direct the children. If it had been a required course, I would have passed it. I might not have thought I was going to ever use the information, but the point was that no one made me take those courses. See, I just wanted out and would slide by, not realizing I was hurting myself.

My own daughters, now ages twenty-six and twenty-seven, received counseling so very similar to Julie's that the span of age difference becomes a moot point. They were counseled both by teachers and counselors to become teachers because they had such "good communication skills," and "teaching is a good field for women." One daughter, who at fifteen thought cosmetology to be her ultimate aspiration, would have been given that opportunity in the public school system by counselors strictly on a fifteen-year-old's comments. The important point, though, is not what career a young woman chooses, but the problematics of restrictive choices given to young women who, during their teen years, have not gained awareness in making long-term decisions. As Julie said, "They're (teachers/counselors) the adults, they are there to direct the children."

Other women with whom I've come in contact with through teaching college courses, offer very similar reflective stories about their high school guidance, and how they accepted what they received as truth. As described in

Chapter III, journal entries from university women now in their twenties, thirties, and fourties, emphasize the hegemonic thinking about women and the roles "they were supposed to play" (and did):

Donna, age 35: No fine arts classes or drama for this girl--it was shorthand, transcription, and general office education. Why? Because if I wanted to go to college, I had to pay my way, and that meant a secretarial job. Why not a lab technician, a newspaper paste-up artist, or even a delivery truck driver as a means of college financial support? I don't know; the secretarial stuff was just understood. What happened, predictably, was that I became a secretary for five years and gave up college altogether until much later.

Debbie, age 23: Classes were regulated...only boys were allowed to participate in shop classes and I never saw any guys in home ec, shorthand or business machines classes. We weren't told we couldn't...we were guided without words. Society had set the stage and we just went along. I wonder how I would have reacted if I had been aware of a choice?

Within the disciplines, teachers bear a responsibility to assure each student equal access. These teachers also, both ethically and morally, are to create an environment to enhance each student's self-esteem. The following women did not find either component:

Marsha, age 27: When I was a senior I was annual editor...the teacher wouldn't let the girls solicit ads because he said it was improper...for girls to walk around in town, going from door to door selling ads. The girls had to stay in the classroom and proofread and do layouts...He felt that the businesses wouldn't take the girls serious enough. It was more 'businesslike' for the boys to go.

Suzy, age 22: In science, special lab projects were given to the guys. I never questioned this until now. The teacher would say, 'Now, you girls might be a little squeamish around some of the experiments.'...I guess it was expected of us to

find certain things grotesque rather than interesting.

Cyndi, age 30: As a freshman in Algebra...all I learned...is that a woman can use her body and looks to get things...Mr. P. would put the most attractive girls on the front row seats. If you wore a dress on test day you got an automatic 'A'. I wanted to learn and I needed help but I wouldn't ask because I didn't want his arm around me...I became very adept at weaseling by him and I acted as if I knew it all so he wouldn't bother me. To a certain extent I played the game--I wore a dress on test day for insurance.

Kay, age 40: I asked my Algebra teacher to explain things to me...I was having difficulty... one day he said, 'girls have difficulty with numbers and abstract thinking, so just pay attention in class and turn in your homework and you won't fail the class.' That's exactly what I did and received my first 'D'. I never took another math class after that. My impression was that women wouldn't need this information.

Brenda, age 38: My least favorite subject was math...I had a math teacher in junior high school...whenever a student got in trouble he made you stand in front of the class with your arms stretched to the side horizontally. Your palms had to be turned up with books balanced on them.

Jana's (age 22) journal entry describes not a teacher's influence, but a panel of judges intent on choosing winners for a scholarship. The entire entry is included because Jana describes her school involvement, her feelings, and the gender biased views of her interviewers so adeptly.

While in high school I was involved in cheer-leading, basketball, track, Student Council, and National Honor Society. I attended Girls' State and was a page in Oklahoma City.

Only the top 25 percent can receive an application to apply for the biggest scholarship through the high school I attended. The Class of 1940 always gives six deserving seniors those scholarships. A panel interviews you. The scholarship is given on the basis of involvement, grade point and extra-curricular activities. Four men ask a series of questions about college and why

you wanted to attend.

The last man asked me why I didn't attend flight attendant school; he felt I would make a great flight attendant, instead of going to college. The other men agreed.

After my answer I can see why I didn't get the scholarship--but it made me leave with a bad attitude about college, myself, and the scholarship. Four of the six went to boys. Two of the boys dropped out of college before their second semester. Here I am, at 22, ready to graduate and I'm glad I didn't become a flight attendant!

The preceding women's reflections offer not just comments about experiences directly related to high school; they also include stories about parents, spouses and significant others who touched their lives with gender-biased messages that were many times accepted by the women "in that moment" of their reality. This is not a hindrance to the directed focus on high school in this study, but rather an enhancement of the depth of gender-bias hegemony that females encounter throughout their lives. It is the connecting elements of life messages and school messages that, on reflection, give the women their clear picture of their high school years as females. By looking at the "whole picture" of women's remembrances, all of the women's reflections offered help to verify the purpose of this study; namely, that gender bias, perpetuated through messages based on our patriarchal history of viewing women as "other," create problems for gaining equal access to curriculum for high school females. These women, of varying ages and backgrounds, share a high school history indicative of unequal access. They also share feelings of conflict, lack of

self-confidence in some academic areas (even though they are university students) that had their high school education stemmed from the perspective of equality, rather than inclusion into a patriarchal-based system, their views of women's roles might have been quite different. Many of these women either are already teaching in public school, or will be in the future. They have minimal awareness of their role in perpetuating these hegemonic messages; consequently, high school females are still being faced with much of the same hegemony as those of the past. Additionally, high school females today are continuing to be unaware of their own cognitive strengths, as shown in the review of the literature.

Even though Title IX has given females overt equal access to curriculum, as educators we are still continuing gender bias, from our own unawareness, that will cause females in the future to reflect, as did Julie, when she said, "Why? Why were we so 'in the dark' then? Why weren't we told? Why weren't we led better?"...and the gender bias programming will continue in the minds of high school females, giving limited choices for their futures.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to analyze areas of gender-bias against females within today's high school curriculum, seventeen years after the implementation of Title IX.

More specifically, the intent of the study was to:

(1) investigate the sociological element of curriculum that perpetuates gender bias because of patriarchal influences of the past.

(2) review literature that spoke to relevant issues dealing with gender studies in order to determine specific areas where discrepancies in equality for high school females tend to be the greatest;

(3) study the conversations of women in order to reveal their "lived experiences" in a male normative society and how those experiences carried into their views of self and education;

(4) develop an awareness, for self and others, of how the gender bias inequities hamper the process of high school females' emotional and cognitive development;

(5) recommend ways intended to reconceptualize the high

school curriculum into a more liberating, egalitarian, bias-free curriculum.

Feminist methodology was used to investigate the proposed problematics of hegemonic gender bias. Feminist methodology is characterized by an emphasis on lived experiences; hence, a strong focus was the inclusion of autobiography and journals. The literature review centered on women writers or researchers whose areas of concentration gave emphasis to liberatory curriculum theory and practice for all women.

The literature review, women's conversation/journals, and my personal reflective comments acknowledge that young women in today's schools have more opportunities for educational equality than before Title IX; the legal equal access to curriculum, if defined as "courses to be taken," can be viewed as a "given." Young women, however, continue to gather in courses stereotypically thought of as "girls' courses," such as secretarial and home economics courses. The further females advance in high school, the less likely they are to take advanced mathematics and science courses. Additionally, although many females participate in sports, neither they, nor the educational system and the public at large view their participation with the same degree of seriousness as they do male-oriented sports. Textbooks continue to be dominated with male-centered examples, including the abundant use of the generic "he." Teachers give more attention to male students than females. School

counselors many times channel young females into subjects and careers that lead only to traditional female careers. Young females continue to make better grades than young males, yet consistently score lower on standardized tests, thereby hampering scholarship opportunities.

A major contributing factor to a young female's success is her view of self. The history of patriarchy, passed down through religion, education, and family, is that males take primary place in our society, thereby causing women to think of themselves as "others." Because of this, many females are still being value programmed to believe they can only be successful, valued, and happy if connected to society's view of what is acceptable--"women are to be seen and not heard." When this hegemonic message is coupled with today's message that women are equal, females may experience conflict and confusion about their "sense of self." As a result, they tend to remain in comfortable territory out of fear of the reprisal they feel others will give them. Last, when the adults within education, out of their unawareness or their biases about gender, do not "hear the women's voices," then curriculum areas remain unequal for high school females.

Conclusions

Definitive conclusions from this study, will, in fact, be as subjective as the study itself, for when beliefs and values come into play in reaching conclusions, what is seen as truth is steeped in one's personal reality; however,

objectivity and awareness can become enhanced through serious study and research. A former graduate student (enrolled in my university course, Instructional Strategies), and high school chemistry teacher, voices personal conclusions about young female students that mirror much of my own conclusions based on this study:

I have a theory that women are more eager to please others than men are. Maybe it's not my theory--maybe I read it somewhere, but I do believe it. I also believe that schools are the training ground for this behavior, and that girls are taught to make others happy, beginning with the teacher. As a child, I would strive for excellence in my academic performance, but for the wrong reasons--kudos from the teacher, kind comments in red ink in the margin of my paper, praise for a job well done, and ultimately, my mother's smiles, elicited by high marks on the report card. It wasn't until high school that I realized I didn't have to please anybody but myself. And for awhile I was pretty pleased with myself simply because I was doing a bang-up job of displeasing everyone as much as possible...I thought of school as something to get through, out of, and over with...I feel that now I've done this (her degree) I can do anything. I wish I had known this back in high school, but better late than never.

Throughout this study, research has shown that females during their public education tenure consistently make better grades than males, yet teachers give more attention to males. In high school, the females "lose ground," to the point they do not perform as well as expected on standardized tests, restrict themselves to short-term career goals, and place more emphasis on their social life than their academic life--doing these things while simultaneously remaining eager to please, whether for friends, boyfriends, parents, teachers, or the ambiguous "everybody." This

display of what can appear to be a positive attitude creates a kind of "smokescreen" to educators, as well as the females themselves. Our society is so entrenched with the perceived role of females to be "nice" (i.e., quiet, passive, and easily directed), that these hegemonic attitudes go unnoticed, thereby masking whether or not girls are ingesting the knowledge then need to educate themselves for today's world. A cliché comes to mind--females in high school have "learned to play the game, but they don't know the rules;" but this is not recognized by many teachers since the girls have learned to go through the motions so adeptly. As an example, many girls make good grades in math until they have to apply higher order cognitive skills in advanced courses. The girls then become apprehensive when they realize they are behind "somehow," and will remain in courses where they can continue to make good grades so they will not appear "dumb."

Education, religion, politics, and family life all have a patriarchal base, where men originated both the rules and the games. With the evolution of time, we have come to recognize women's equality legally, yet the emotional environmental climates have remained male-normative. The ambiguity of the past and the present differences can cause confusion and conflict within a teenage female's decisions about her life. Over and over, females past the teen years relate in conversations how they did not "understand," "comprehend," or "feel smart," until years after high

school; and, many of the women are now trying to "catch up" with a dedication bordering on vengeance.

Meanwhile, in our public schools, the curricula, particularly during high school, has "added" females, but has failed to "include" them in such a way to give them the grounded-in-experience, connective ways of learning so many females need. Biases, based on hegemonical thinking, are so "commonsensical" they are rarely thought of at all. Feminist curriculum theory that delineates approaches to enhance the more intuitive, creative, cooperative, and unoppressive strategies to learning is many times thought to be merely esoteric, therefore minimally important. The connective elements of emotion, attitude and sense of self within the learning process (the affective realm) remain secondary to the traditional "ground to be covered" approach to high school curriculum.

Until curriculum theorists and school practitioners recognize and analyze their own hegemonical gender biases about expectations for females; these biases will continue to perpetuate. High school females, in turn, will not recognize their own embedded patriarchal messages of "women as other," and the cycle of unequal access in our schools will continue.

Recommendations

When Title IX mandated changes geared to eliminate gender bias in public school systems, overt improvements did

seem to evolve. Remembering the school system where I was teaching at the time, I recall the focus for change was centered primarily on girls' sports; all new rules and regulations were "imposed" by that "Big Brother, Government," and I remember the attitude openly held by both administration and coaches was "grin and bear it." All I remember happening outside of sports was that we were told both males and females could take any course they chose; otherwise, we would lose federal funds. After a while, the topic of Title IX died down and we "went on with the business of school-as-usual," save for a few male students enrolling in Family Living and some female students who chose to take Agriculture. The changes in my school, like others, were made with a preconceived outcome dictated by the government, as Combs (1988, pp. 38-40) says, that was "addressing a problem someone thinks we should have instead of the problems we do have." Combs, so adeptly getting to the heart of such changes, maintains that reforms that are imposed without acceptance or commitment by those who must implement the changes only add to the frustration and resentment (or apathy) of already over-worked teachers who view the mandates as just more busywork. He propounds that if people are going to be motivated to deal with change reforms they must "own the problem;" that no matter how promising a strategy for reform, if it is not incorporated into teachers' and administrators' personal belief systems,

it will be unlikely to affect behavior in the desired directions.

Gaining equal access to curriculum for high school females, using Combs' premise, therefore cannot be achieved by simple outside mandates. Title IX is an established law, in 1989, in every school system in the United States--on paper. Title IX is not, though, in the consciousness of every educator in the United States. Greene (1978, p. 247), like Combs, succinctly makes the point that sexist practices in education cannot be altered by changing rules or laws, that little authentic change is likely to take place until the educators involved are "wide awake to such matters, and present to themselves." Becoming present to ourselves delves into the personal, not the institutional part of education, for deep within our very natures is where our biases live, wrapped in the cocoon of hegemony. Giroux (1983, p. 197) concurs that hegemony does not simply refer to the formal curriculum of schools; it is much more than that; it refers to the way such school knowledge is structured--the routines and practices embedded in different social structures, becoming "natural" to the institution. Without conscious awareness, this social structure can cause educators, according to Pritzkau (1970, p. 3) to become encapsulated within the system where it is difficult to escape, "because one is not sure what s/he is escaping from and where s/he is escaping to." Teachers become alienated

from the self and from the real, whereby the role becomes more important than the person.

The mandated role of equal access lives in our schools, yet according to much research on female gender bias in education, equal access is not a conscious part of our "real," our "selves." The system, as Pritzkau (p. 31) says, has unwittingly put teachers, students, and other people into a state of "out-of-awareness" to what is real. Greene (1978, pp. 240-241) concurs that there is little explicit recognition of the need for critical consciousness to overcome internalized oppression and perhaps to bring about (even within an equitable system) a kind of equity. Greene maintains there must be a demystification of areas of oppression and inequality, ongoing, by an enlarging conversation among those who have the courage to identify themselves as subordinate, as oppressed. Therefore, if schools are to become integrated, democratic institutions, constantly working toward equality for female students, the educators within the schools (Giroux, McLaren, 1986, p. 236) must become aware of both the transformative strengths and the structures of oppression and develop this awareness into curriculum strategies where students have a direct voice in their learning.

Combs (1988, pp. 38-40) offers the following methods as areas that must be addressed before effective change can happen in our schools:

1. Concentrate on changing people's beliefs.
2. Emphasize processes, not preconceived outcomes.

3. Determine what is important.
4. Begin from local problems.
5. Eliminate barriers to reform.
6. Encourage innovation and change.

With these six assumptions as guides to be used in formulating and maintaining equal access to high school curriculum, the question of who must begin the process emerges. Weiler (1988, p. 101) suggests that feminist teachers and administrators should seek ways to oppose and change the institutions in which they work, for feminists share awareness of gender bias that many others do not; hence, they are in a position to make conscious the areas where hegemonic prejudices and biases are most blatant, and ways to challenge teachers and students to reflect on their beliefs as an avenue for change.

In agreement with Weiler, and from a personal point-of-view, feminist educators must begin the process if for no other reason than we simply, through our own emergence from unconscious patriarchal influences, "see the world" differently than those who have not yet gained perspectives concerning gender oppression and how it affects lives so deeply. Too, like the adage, "kind recognizes kind," feminist educators recognize others who are struggling with belief changes, and can be supportive, knowing that the struggle can be both a liberation and an oppression of a different kind. Conflict, as Weiler (p. 111) says, "is inevitable when hegemony of any kind is being challenged." Additionally, once awareness, then conflict, then change

occur, another awareness takes place; feminists recognize that they owe other women, and society, a commitment to work always toward repaying the debt we owe humanity.

Combs (1988, p. 39), in pointing out that in order to work for any change we must first concentrate on changing people's beliefs, recognizes that changes come from within the person; it is not imposed from "without" if change is to have a lasting effect. Once hegemony of any kind is challenged, though, those of us who have "changed," recognize the process. John Steinbeck, in *SWEET THURSDAY*, so beautifully metaphors (through his protagonist, Doc) the change process:

Doc was changing in spite of himself...Change comes like a little wind that moves the curtains at dawn...Change may be announced by a small ache, so that you think you are catching cold...Where does discontent start? You are warm enough, but you shiver. You are fed, yet hunger gnaws you. You have been loved, but your yearning wanders in new fields...Men (sic) seem to be born with a debt they cannot pay...Man owes something to man. If he ignores the debt it poisons him, and if he tries to make payments the debt only increases, and the quality of his gift is the measure of a man.

I can remember vividly the day I first read Steinbeck's words, reading from an old paperback picked up at a garage sale, reading in the morning summer sunlight while sitting on the patio. I thought that Steinbeck must have been a truly brilliant man...conscious thought, MAN. And so, I translated, transferred his male thought into my own by entering the quote in my journal. The answer came: "I am a woman. I feel this way too. There must be other women like

me." The journal entry was dated 1978. Today, with change firmly in place, I am not afraid to "write the word aloud." Then, as with many women "evolving," fear of voicing aloud still lived within me, so I wrote in private where no one could see my vulnerabilities that precluded my change. Today, many hundreds of journal entries later, many hours of talking with women later, many years of college work later, many experiences with teaching later, I can voice boldly: "Woman owes something to women. If she ignores the debt it poisons her, and if she tries to make payments the debt only increases, and the quality of her gift is the measure of the woman." Feminist educators (like Steinbeck's Doc) know they must always continually repay on the debt of their gained knowledge of gender-biased hegemony, for feminist educators so clearly see that gender bias is as permeated in our schools as is the invisible pollution in our atmosphere. Feminist educators can spread an antidote called equal-access, or equality, to replace the pollution of gender-biased hegemony. Feminist administrators, teachers, and students can raise the consciousness levels of their respective peers, thereby creating the conditions for change toward a more equal, democratic, and moral curriculum for every female and male student. Feminist educators abide in every level of education, from institutions of higher education to public school kindergartens. They also fill positions at every level of institutional hierarchies, from administrative positions to classroom teaching. Each of

these women, within each of these domains, can effectively be a catalyst-person for helping to gain equal access for females in the school curriculum. As a starting point of discussion, though, teacher education programs may be seen as particularly critical. Borman and O'Reilly (1984, pp. 110-115) propound that teacher education in most institutions of higher learning reinforces the existing sexist attitudes of many undergraduates, so that most graduates go out into the public school system classrooms with a sex role ideology firmly in place, thereby perpetuating the status quo of gender-bias hegemony. Classrooms in universities are predominantly managed by male faculty. Although women in large numbers teach, the field of higher education generally is by no means supportive of women's development of career aspirations leading to opportunities beyond the classroom in a public school system. Holleran (1985, p. 27) cites that speculation on why teacher education programs remain so patriarchal and oblivious to equal access for females reaches into both lack of Women's Studies courses and lack of infused feminist strategies within the classrooms. She appeals to colleges of education to both mandate changes, AND to be sympathetic to feminist educators who teach toward attitudinal changes in their students so that the male and female students will take their enlightenment with them into their public school teaching positions. Holleran appeals to feminists that teacher education is the most promising channel to future generations' attitudes toward democratic

equality; that even though few feminist educators have the power to institute significant curricular change, the responsibility for sex equity on college campuses continues to fall on these individual feminist teachers.

In the public schools, Weiler (1988, pp. 106-111) sees the starting point for an equal, democratic curriculum that will include equal access for females as generating from within the leadership, particularly the feminist administrators. Weiler (p. 111) states, "The presence of women in positions of power (administration) changes the consciousness of everyone in a school, whether the presence of these people in these positions is welcomed, accepted, or rejected."

Halpern (1986, p. 112) acknowledges that administrators influence what goes on in school by encouraging certain kinds of curricula, by introducing certain viewpoints and topics, and by calling into question accepted "truths" about students, knowledge, and teaching. However, they are limited by their position in an hierarchical institution and they are not in actual classrooms. Consequently, classroom teachers (whether in higher education schools of education, or in public school classrooms) are the most visible; and it is the feminist classroom teacher, cognizant of those hegemonic gender-biased, belief systems, that can bring the most influence toward the changing of attitudes imperative for a democratic, equal education for high school females. Halpern believes that, in their choice of what to teach and

how to teach, feminist teachers have the opportunity to call commonsense assumptions into question and to attempt to create democratic classroom relationships. Feminist educators in particular, Halpern (p. 115) says, have a sense of themselves as teachers and are conscious of their actions as role models for students. They define themselves as gendered subjects and are conscious that their actions in the classroom have particular meanings precisely because they are women; therefore, they see themselves as symbols for possibilities in the world as women.

Although the groundwork in the behavior and development of females' attitudes is prepared during elementary school years, Hyde and Rosenberg (1980, pp. 95-102) propound that the real precipitating factors most likely occur in adolescence. During high school, a cultural rule starts to be enforced on the girl that achievement and femininity are incompatible--that is, to achieve is gender-inappropriate. Peer pressure, parental messages, reward systems, and all the prior programming about appropriate roles for females comes to bear on the female teenager. The girl is caught in a situation in which two equally important systems of values are in conflict. One is the desire for a positive sense of being a worthwhile, autonomous person. The other is to be a "good female," conforming to gender-role expectations. Hyde and Rosenberg cite studies, showing that by tenth grade, girls had significantly higher stereotyping scores than when in fifth grade. By high school, girls were increasingly

people-oriented, while boys stressed achievement and competence. By high school too, as shown in the Review of the Literature of this study, patriarchal religious beliefs have substantiated young females' sense of "place;" that being "less than" the male--intellectually, physically, and morally. By high school, the faculty is predominantly male, the administration almost totally men. Males are seen to be the achievers in mathematics and science. Male athletics gain more attention. Textbooks articulate male predominance. Teachers still pay more attention to males. All this, and the biological functions in place for future motherhood are constantly in the mind of a high school female.

Consequently, feminist teachers are crucial, for it is their educational and personal goals that separate feminist teachers from the majority. Halpern (1986, p. 114) says feminist teachers have a commitment to raising issues and questioning accepted social values and ideology. These teachers do not see teaching in terms of quantifiable results, test scores, or mastery of facts. Instead, they are describing the classroom as a place where consciousness is interrogated, where meanings are questioned and means of analysis and criticism of the social world as well as of a text or assignment are encouraged. Their goal of teaching is grounded in a respect for the human value and cultural worlds of their students. Issues of gender and sexism are important to them; but, for many, feminist goals become human goals, implying care and concern for their students as

human beings. Nodding (1984, p. 176) emphasizes this caring attitude as what should be the primary aim of education, not intended to abandon intellectual aims, but to put intellectual aims aside should their pursuit endanger the ethical ideal:

In professions where human encounter is frequent and where the ethical ideal of the other is necessarily involved, I am first and foremost one-caring and, second, enactor of specialized functions. As teacher, I am first, one-caring.

Nodding's comments epitomize the feminist beliefs about teaching, and are especially significant for teaching high school females who are deeply influenced by the patriarchal view of ethics. Steinem (1987, pp. 57-63) clarifies how feminists view the ethical ideal that Nodding talks about; Steinem makes a distinction between morals and ethics:

Ethics are the evaluation of human behavior in the light of moral intuition. Morality implies the easy immutability of a simple code, but ethics have to do with the effect, intent, and content of everything we say and do.

Steinem suggest women have learned to practice the flexible ethics of fairness without sacrificing individual differences because of our roles of nurturers and seeing the importance of empathy; she says (p. 61), "we are the empathy experts. We should be able to teach it."

For feminists, Steinem suggests, ethics are seen as guidelines, not inflexible rules. She offers these guides for us to examine for our lives; therefore, they would be applicable for study of views of feminist teachers, as well

as any educator who views ethics as something more than strict rules to be followed;

1. "Whatever means you use will become part of the ends you achieve." In education only to give a student information, and not facilitate chances for experimentation, for making mistakes, will cause a student to remain oppressed, unsure, and vulnerable to those in higher authority.

2. "No ethical decision is exactly transferable from one situation to the next." Steinem (p. 63) offers, in example, a question worthy of pondering by anyone in education: "Would ethics be served by applying to women a literal version of a Constitution that wasn't written by, for, or about women--or even with women in mind?" Feminists who understand the patriarchal influences of education relate to the knowledge that women live every day in a world posed for men, and feminist teachers will acknowledge the oppression immutable laws have caused in our past and will critique such unfair encroachments that this can cause for women in all spheres of their lives.

3. "The people with the most ethical right and responsibility to make a decision are the people who will be affected by it." Steinem's point correlates with Combs' idea that mandates given from above for teachers to adhere to are most times resented and rarely enforced. The best judgment in the world is less likely to be accepted if it has been imposed from "above." Feminist teachers have lived

through recognizing their own unacceptance of patriarchal regulations on their lives, the struggle to rise above impositions and creating their own voices and places--to be people of their own making. Hence, they can empathize with their female students as these young women struggle in becoming experts about themselves and their futures. The process, and not the product, at the high school point in females' lives, becomes a "center" for feminist teachers to enable these young women.

4. "There is a human and humane principle called simple fairness." Although any person can relate to being treated unfairly at some point, feminist teachers, because they are evolved from influences of patriarchy and understand its oppressiveness, may recognize more diligently the importance of fair treatment; such fairness is for ALL people. Feminists teachers can be conscious of themselves and how they maintain a teaching standard that includes attention and caring for all students.

5. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Such a simple thought, on the surface; yet underneath, its words transmit the crux of the feminist ethic. Noddings (1984, p. 173) phrases it, "to receive and to be received, to care and be cared for: these are the basic realities of human being and its basic aims." Female students who are channeled into courses that lead them into stereotypically female careers, who are not given opportunities to use learning styles more relevant to them, who

are not researched to determine reasons why they do not perform as acceptably as males on standardized tests, who are required to be passive in classrooms--are not being judged by the ethical Golden Rule; the Golden rule requires reflection as carefully as one would apply to oneself. Feminist teachers who have recognized how they have been judged, and even been taught to judge themselves based on "normative male" standards, are much less likely to miss the talents of high school females because they "see themselves" in these young women.

At this point, in discussing ways in which feminist educators can pave the way toward equality for females in high school, and how feminist educators can work as leaders for change in the patriarchal atmosphere of education, note should be taken that feminist educators are the best "beginners of teaching the process of belief changes about women." However, they certainly are not the only educators who recognize oppression and thereby can teach for awareness and change. If the attitudes were held that ONLY feminist educators are capable of creating a democratic environment in schooling, then we would, in Giroux's words (1983, p. 235), "establish the groundwork for a pedagogy that often disables rather than enables emancipatory hopes and strategies." That would cause, rather than eliminate, barriers to reform. Additionally, we would be creating an atmosphere for accusations of indoctrination, rather than for a democratic, caring, ethical one. Paske (1985, p. 11) makes

distinction between indoctrination and freeing in his discussion of how moral education corresponds to feminist education:

The victims of indoctrination are committed to the 'what,' but they do not understand the 'why.' Thus, even when traditional conduct is no longer appropriate, the victims remain emotionally committed to it. They have no basis of understanding on which to rationally modify their behavior. As a result they...can become moral fanatics.

An educator (compared to an indoctrinator), Paske continues, would "make it possible to allow the pros and cons of various moral positions to be articulated by responsible advocates and to allow pupils to freely choose among them." Feminist educators, with awareness and raised consciousness, who teach equality for both genders, do not view their teaching as a form of indoctrination; they strive to teach a basis of understanding on which to modify rationally the behavior of those less aware. They do this through a deep sense that equality is a basic moral component, that equality includes everyone, especially those of the future ...as the Hebrew proverb (Ferguson, 1980, p. 320) says, "Do not confine your children to your own learning, for they were born in another time."

Teaching such a libertarian base of understanding is not without its frustrations, however. Students, many times, when presented with ideas about equality that are different than that which they have been taught in the past, become very defensive (both the males and the females). Denial accompanies them into the classrooms, sitting in

their unconscious thoughts. Young men, in their uncomfortableness, may resort to humor, or become aggressive toward the teacher in order to "defend their territory." Young women may refuse to see themselves as gender-oppressed and may direct negative feelings toward the teacher rather than directing reflective thoughts to themselves and/or their hegemony of patriarchal influences. They may even offer a subterfuge topic in order to give the voice back to the more comfortable male corner. The aware feminist teacher, though, recognizes these forces and will continue with a patient and caring process in her authentic commitment to make gender disparity obvious to her students...and once awareness begins, unawareness ends.

Peer teachers who lack awareness of hegemony-based gender disparity may also react defensively toward the feminist teacher or administrator, and resort to the identical tactics the students use, and for much the same reasons. The patriarchal influence that overt results--the products--are the priority of education causes emotional turmoil when confronted with a different emphasis for effectively educating students. Clarey, Hutchins, Powers, and Thiem (1985, p. 151) recognize that learning feminism is a continuous process, and not something that happens all at once, or with a pre-specified end. But, the feminist educator already has the growth needed to react to those who yet do not with patience and caring. This personal growth assists a woman to really listen to what people say to her. Listening is a

crucial part of the feminist change-agent's repertoire of democratic methods, and once others recognize the feminist educator is genuine in her beliefs, they may find themselves challenged by new information, rather than defensive and/or antagonistic toward it. Too, she knows, as Shor and Freire (1987, p. 7) propound, that learning is cyclic and spiral; the cycle of knowing has separate phases related to each other. Again, once new knowledge is produced, the existing knowledge is relearned in a new way. Peer educators, confronted with new knowledge about gender bias for teenage females will forever see these young women in a different light. Feminist educators are like "built-in" facilitators for Comb's paradigm for educational change; they determine what is important, emphasize processes rather than products, concentrate on changing people's beliefs, work to eliminate barriers, beginning at "where they are," and encourage the challenges for change--that "ruffling of curtains" and "itch that can't be scratched" of Steinbeck's Doc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aiken, L. "Sex Differences in Mathematical Ability: A Review of the Literature." Educational Research Quarterly 10, no. 4 (1986-1987): 25-35.
- Apple, Michael. Ideology and Curriculum. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Apple, Michael, and Lois Weis. Ideology and Practice in Schooling. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983.
- Aronowitz, Stanley, and Henry Giroux. Education Under Siege. Boston: Bergin & Garvey, 1985.
- Belenky, Mary F., et al. "Epistemological Development and the Politics of Talk in Family Life." Journal of Education 167, no. 3 (1985): 9-27.
- Belenky, Mary F., et al. Women's Ways of Knowing. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986.
- Berliner, David, "Are You Helping Boys Outperform Girls in Math?" Instructor XCVII, no. 3 (October 1987): 10-11.
- Berliner, David C., and N. L. Gage, eds. Educational Psychology. 4th ed. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1988.
- Borman, Kathryn, and Patricia O'Reilly. "Sexism and Sex Discrimination in Education." Theory Into Practice 23, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 110-115.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges." Social Science Information 16 (1977): 645.
- Brake, Michael. "The Invisible Girl: The Culture of Femininity Versus Masculinism." Comparative Youth Culture. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Burr, Elizabeth, Susan Dunn, and Norma Farquhar, "Women and the Language of Inequality." Social Education, December 1972: 841-845.
- Carson, Terrance R. "Closing the Gap Between Research and Practice: Conversation as a Mode of Doing Research." Phenomenology and Pedagogy 4, no. 2 (1986): 73-85.

- Clarey, Joanne, et al. "Feminist Education: Transforming the Research Seminar." Ed. Barbara Hillyer Davis. Journal of Thought 20, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 151.
- Combs, Arthur W. "New Assumptions for Educational Reform." Educational Leadership 45, no. 5 (February 1988): 38-40.
- Combs, Arthur W. Perceiving, Behaving and Becoming: A New Focus For Education. Washington D.C.: ASCD, 1962.
- Deem, Rosemary. Women and Schooling. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1978.
- Doyle, James A. Sex and Gender: The Human Experience. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1985.
- Ferguson, Marilyn. The Aquarian Conspiracy. Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher, Inc., 1980.
- Fiorenze, Elisabeth Schussler. The Liberating Word: A Guide to Nonsexist Interpretation of the Bible. Ed. Letty M. Russell. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976.
- Fortinberry, Alicia. "Keeping a Journal for Self-Discovery." New Woman, January 1987: 61-63.
- Frazier, Nancy, and Myra Sadker. Sexism in School and Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.
- Freire, Paulo. "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom." The Harvard Educational Review 40, no. 2 (May 1970).
- Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Seabury Press, 1970.
- Freire, Paulo. The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation. Boston: Bergin and Garvey, 1985.
- French, Marilyn. Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals. New York: Ballentine Books, 1985.
- Gilligan, Carol. In a Different Voice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Giroux, Henry A. Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1983.

- Giroux, Henry A, and Peter McLaren. "Teacher Education and the Politics of Engagement: The Case for Democratic Schooling." Harvard Educational Review 56, no. 3 (August 1986): 231-238.
- Goodlad, John. A Place Called School. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984.
- Greene, Maxine. The Landscapes of Learning. New York: Teachers' College Press, 1978.
- "Group Says SAT Questions Discriminate Against Women." Tulsa World, 28 April 1989: A11.
- Grumet, Madeline R. "Autobiography and Reconceptualization," Curriculum and Instruction. Eds. Henry Giroux, Anthony Penna, and William Pinar. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1981.
- Haberman, Martin, and Robert McNergney, "Women Underrepresented in Quantitative Fields." NEA Today 7, no. 7 (February 1989): 12.
- Halpern, Diane F. Sex Differences in Cognitive Abilities. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986.
- Hartmann, Heidi. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union." Education and the State: Politics, Patriarchy, and Practice. Eds. R. Dale, G. Esland, R. Ferguson, and M. McDonald. Sussex: Falmer Press, 1984.
- Holleran, Paula R., "The Feminist Curriculum: Issues for Survival in Academe." Ed. Barbara Hillyer Davis. Journal of Thought 20, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 25-35.
- Howe, Florence. Myths of Coeducation. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Hyde, Janet, and B. G. Rosenberg. Half the Human Experience: The Psychology of Women. 2nd ed. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1980.
- Ianni, Francis A. "Providing a Structure for Adolescent Development." Phi Delta Kappan 70, no. 9 (May 1989): 673-682.
- Irigaray, Luca. This Sex Which is Not One. Trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Jones, M. Gail, "Gender Issues in Teacher Education," Journal of Teacher Education (January-February 1989): 33-38.

- Kahle, J. B. The Disadvantaged Majority: Science Education for Women. Outstanding Paper for 1983, Carolina Biological Society. Burlington, North Carolina, 1983.
- Kelly, Gail, and Ann Nihlen, "Schooling and the Reproduction of Patriarchy: Unequal Workloads, Unequal Rewards." Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education. Ed. Michael Apple. Boston: Routledge & Kegan, Ltd., 1982.
- Lehmann, Phyllis. "Cutting Sex Bias Out of Vocational Education." Aspects of Learning: Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools. Ed. Elizabeth H. Weiner. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1980.
- Lewis, Magda, and Roger Simon. "A Discourse Not Intended for Her: Learning and Teaching Within Patriarchy." Harvard Educational Review 56, no. 4 (November 1986): 457-471.
- Madsen, Jane. "Women and Children's Literature: We Read What We Are and We Are What We Read." The Study of Women: Enlarging Perspectives of Social Reality. Ed. Eloise C. Snyder. New York: Harper & Row, 1979: 207-224.
- Mahony, Pat. Schools For the Boys? Coeducation Reassessed. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1985.
- McGrath, Patricia L. The Unfinished Assignment: Equal Education for Women. Worldwatch Paper 7. Worldwatch Institute, July 1976.
- Nodding, Nell. Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1984.
- Norman, C. "Female Math Anxiety on Wane." Science LLXXXVI (8 May 1987): 660-661.
- Olson, Lynn. "'Biased' Tests Said Hurting Women's Chances for Aid." Education Week, 29 April 1987: 1.
- "Parents Believe Sports Important to Daughters." The Tulsa Daily World, 8 June 1988.
- Paske, Gerald H. "The Failure of Indoctrination." Educational Leadership (December 1985/January 1986): 11-12.
- Phillips, Bob. "Sports: Much More than Just Fun." Scholastic Science World 44, no. 2 (18 September 1987).

- Polakow, Valerie. "Reflections on Pedagogy, Research and Praxis." Phenomenology - Pedagogy 2, no. 1 (1984): 29-35.
- Pritzkau, Philo T. On Education for the Authentic. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Co., 1970.
- "Report Finds Sexual Discrimination Within DHS." Tulsa Daily World, 23 May 1989: C1.
- Rizzo, Diane, and Lenore J. Weitzman. "Images of Males and Females in Elementary School Textbooks in Five Subject Areas." Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools. National Education Association's Aspects of Learning. Ed. Elizabeth H. Weiner. Washington D.C.: NEA 1980, pp. 18-21.
- Rodgers, Audrey T. "'Portrait of a Lady'" Images of Women in Twentieth Century American Literature." The Study of Women, Enlarging Perspectives of Social Reality. Ed. Eloise C. Snyder. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Rosser, Phyllis. "Girls, Boys, and the SAT: Can We Even the Score?" National Education Association. (January 1988): 48-53.
- Russell, Letty. The Liberating Word: A Guide to NonSexist Interpretation of the Bible. Ed. Letty Russell. Philadelphia: The West Minister Press, 1976.
- Sadker, David, and Myra Sadker. "Sexism in the Schoolroom of the 80's." Education 86/87. Ed. Fred Schultz. Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., (1987): 154-156.
- Shor, Ira, and Paulo Freire. A Pedagogy For Liberation. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1987.
- Snyder, Eloise C. "The Selective Eye of Sociology." The Study of Women: Enlarging Perspectives of Social Reality. Ed. Eloise Snyder. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Steinem, Gloria. "If Moral Decay is the Question, Is a Feminist Ethic the Answer?" MS, September 1987: 57-63.
- Stephenson, June. Women's Roots: Status and Achievements in Western Civilization. Napa, California: Diemer, Smith Publishing Co., 1988.
- Struggs, Callie Foster. Women in Contemporary Education. Mesquite, Texas: Ide House, 1981.

- Treckler, Janice. "Women In U.S. History High School Text-books." International Review of Education (1973): 133-139.
- Vader, J.E. "Big Plus for Females." Sports Illustrated, 23 November 1987: 100.
- Valli, Linda. "Becoming Clerical Workers: Business Education and the Culture of Femininity." Ideology and Practice in Schooling. Eds. Michael Apple and Lois Weis. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983.
- Weiler, Kathleen. Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class and Power. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1988.

APPENDIX A

TAPE #5 TRANSCRIPTION

Data gathering-dissertation, Ch. 4
Julia Crow
Recorded on March 28, 1989

Julia: What do you think is the prevailing attitude about women and sports in public schools? You either have kids in school, or you work in schools, right? So what do you see, specifically, about attitudes about women's sports?

Ruthann: By comparison with when I was in high school they are taking them seriously, but not nearly as important as male sports.

Helen: I think we talked about this before, that our girls one year had a big year...and they had a terrific following. Everyone was very supportive...because it was a WINNING team. Now if they had been mediocre like the boys were probably they would not have had all this attention.

Julia: When was that?

Helen: Just recently.

Julia: With a winning team like that, do you know if any of those girls are going to get basketball scholarships? The senior girls?

Helen: No, but I could find out. I don't know if any of the girls would even be interested in an (athletic) scholarship.

Julia: Do you know any girls in your schools, or any girls that you know in high schools who have gotten athletic scholarships?

Joyce: I don't know any of the girls, but I've seen some in the local paper. Like to NEO.

Julia: You don't have any idea the ratio male/female scholarships?

Joyce: No, I don't know the ratio, but.....

- Helen: Well, there are very few girls that play with the hopes that this is going to be their livelihood to get through college...but I think it's common practice for boys to hope they'll get a scholarship to college for football or basketball.
- Julia: Why do you suppose girls don't?
- Helen: The chances are less that they will? I don't know.
- Julie: The chances are less that they will be recognized professionally.
- Helen: True. On a professional level there's no place like for males. I hadn't thought about that.
- Joyce: Plus they're probably told, maybe by their dads, that they won't get anywhere in life, you know, if they pursue that because there really isn't...you don't hear about that in college. Except they do have girls softball. They have an older team where I'm from, but that's not scholastic, that's just for fun.
- Julia: Don't see it much on Monday night television? (laughter) Next question: Why do you think that the girls perform lower on standardized tests, like SAT, ACT, than the boys do, yet girls in high school make better grades?
- Helen: I didn't know that. That's interesting. They don't perform as well.
- Julia: That's one reason girls don't get as many scholarships...I wish I'd brought my data...but across the board, girls make better grades, but it's the boys that outperform them on tests.
- Helen: This is on the high school level? It's not true on the elementary level is it?
- Julia: No, high school...ACT, SAT.
- Helen: Because on the elementary level, girls outperform boys.
- Julia: Right. See, that's very crucial to what we're getting into here.
- Joyce: Because is has something to do with their periods? (laugh) Or women are more emotional? I know, of course, that every time you have a period you

don't take a test, but girls are more emotional.
Now I'm just surmising.

Julia: Girls just don't perform as well.

Joyce: It doesn't have anything to do with....

Helen: Their ability, their intellectual ability.

Julia: That's what I'm asking.

Helen: It couldn't have anything to do with their intellectual ability if the same children in the younger grades outperformed the boys.

Julie: I can remember thinking in high school that it didn't make any difference whether you did well on that kind of test or not...because I didn't really have any direction at that time. I was going to marry my high school boyfriend and I didn't have any other aspirations. Now HE had to do well because HE was going to have to feed us.

Joyce: Uh, huh...that makes more sense.

Julie: When I took the ACT I didn't care whether I did good on it. I took it because everyone else was taking it. I really had no aspirations for going to college or anything. He was going to take care of me.

Ruthann: I really didn't know it was like that. I think that would be a good reason...I don't know, that really surprises me to hear that.

Julia: In fact, the testing companies right now are under fire...see, it goes along the same idea that racial minorities do not perform as well...racial minorities, women, lower socio-economic groups, etc. See, supposedly we're supposed to have equal access to education, but those tests are performed better by white, middle-class and above, males.

Joyce: So they're written like for them, so they succeed?

Julia: That's the criticism of the tests...that they're geared to the white, middle-class males.

Julie: You know, I can remember going to the counselors and planning out my classes for the next year. I didn't feel it was necessary to have courses like general science, algebra, geometry or trigonometry. And I ended up in home ec classes. And I resent that now...they didn't direct me in another

direction. They're the adults, and they are there to direct the children.

Helen: Would you have done something like that though? You said earlier what your plans were in high school.

Julie: If it had been a required course, I would have passed it. I might not have thought I was going to ever use the information, but the point was that no one made me take those courses. See, I just wanted out and would just slide by, not realizing I was hurting myself.

Julia: At this point...you teach elementary, right?

Julie: Yes. Speech therapy, K-8.

Julia: Ruthann, you're not teaching, right? (reply, "No") Are you going to teach?

Ruthann: I'm getting a degree in psychology. I'd like to work in an eating disorders clinic.

Julia: That's not an area of my dissertation study, but, you know, I've read...why do you suppose that more females have anorexia and bulimia, etc. than guys?

Ruthann: Some people think it's because girls are expected to be a certain way. We have all these models, you know, that are so skinny. That's one area where they confuse "successful"...all they have to do is not put food in their body and they can be skinny.

Julia: So it's the "way they look?"

Ruthann: Yes, the way they look.

Helen: I see that at school. A fat little girl is a fat little girl. She's not popular. She's made fun of. A fat little boy is no big deal. I've wondered about that...what's the difference...a fat little boy or a fat little girl? Has to do with peers.

Ruthann: It's a way for a girl to be successful. A boy can be successful in other areas.

Julia: A "fat little boy" can grow up to be a big football player?

Ruthann: That's right. There's differences....

Helen: There's more pressure on a girl to be skinny and look like a model.

Julia: You're going to be dealing with a lot of females, Ruthann. And Julie, you're teaching special ed, elementary. Now when you get through here, are you going to go into counseling?

Julie: Yes, I am.

Julia: And Joyce, you teach?

Joyce: Yes, adults. GED preparation.

Julia: What's your ratio, male/female, in your classes?

Joyce: More women. Definitely. Usually because of a loss of spouse or divorce. Most of them, if you had a majority, would be girls that, you know, got married in high school, didn't graduate because they thought they had a breadwinner for the rest of their lives...and then the breadwinner left. So the women think here I've got all these kids, now I have to do something. Right now FDC is mandatorily telling them...the divorced or single women with children getting aid...they have to get their GED.

Julia: What's the age of your youngest student?

Joyce: They're coming out younger now. Sixteen...we cannot test her until she is seventeen. Most of them like that are with children. Right now they have an assertive discipline program...like if you're suspended for so many more days for not coming, etc. then they lose credits and have to take...

Julia: What's the attitude of these younger girls that come back? Are they back because they realize they've missed something?

Joyce: No. They don't want to mess with the structure, the discipline in the regular public schools. They want to get a diploma and graduate but they want to do it their way. Our classes...we have structure, and "one on one." We have night and day classes. They can have individual tutoring; they can have it any way they want and still reach a goal.

Julia: Do you have girls that want to go on to higher ed?

Joyce: Oh, I have one who is working on her Master's now. She started with me when I first started; now she's coming here to NSU. She wants to become a CPA. I have several (success stories). I love it; it's just so rewarding. They come back because they want to; they're so appreciative.

Julia: The motivation is different?

Julie: May I say something? I think in my case, and when I look at some of my friends, most of my girlfriends growing up through high school...I think we were given very unrealistic views about what life would be like after we got out of high school ...or maybe no view at all; in fact, I don't think any of us were taken seriously; therefore, I saw a lot of dropout rate because girls saw high school as a useless step in their life. They weren't being taken seriously. They did get married, some of them had children, or whatever. At any rate, they were bored with school because it wasn't a useful tool in their lives. Now they've gone back to school and they're absolutely furious because that was four years of their life that was absolutely wasted and thrown down the drain.

Julia: You mean like four years of home economics? I can remember I took four years of home ec when I should have had chemistry. I did take Algebra I, but I never understood it so I didn't take any more after that. We had a science class in a classroom--no lab. What I do remember is diagramming sentences and reading British Literature. No creative writing. Yeah, I have the same feeling when I look back on it. 'Course, that was a long time ago. But I've also taught "out there" eleven years and I saw a lot of the same thing.

(End of session)

TAPE #6, TRANSCRIPTION

Data Gathering-dissertation, Ch. 4.
Recorded on April 4, 1989
Julia Crow

Julia: Is there anything one of you would specifically like to talk about this evening?

Joyce: We were talking last week about girls scoring higher...

Julia: They make better grades.

Joyce: I was reading an article this week that disputed that. But it may have been out of date. It was '86 or '87.

Julia: Tell us what it said.

Joyce: The gist of it was that boys didn't do as well as girls did on standardized tests.

Julia: I would like a copy, because I have never seen one that disputes that...it's just over and over that...now, girls sometimes perform better on the verbal part...

Joyce: This was like seventh grade.

Helen: But she was talking about like the ACT on going into college.

Julia: Yeah, that may make the difference if it's seventh grade. I still would like a copy of the article.

Leslie: I spoke to a teenager last week on those subjects. She's graduating in the top ten percent of her class. But she took her ACT and scored a ten! And this is a private school system in Muskogee that's well-respected for the quality of education.

Julia: That's her composite score? (Affirmative nod)
Did you ask her what area she scored the lowest?

Leslie: I think it was the traditional...math and science.

Julia: Did you ask her what she wanted to do with her life?

Leslie: She said, "I don't have to worry about it. I can still get into college from being in the top of my class." But she hasn't set any goals for herself. Her first goal right now is just getting out of the house.

Joyce: They're going to place her in low classes and she's going to be bored.

Julia: I bet she did best on the verbal section of the ACT. Social studies drags kids down sometimes; in the school where I taught even the highest scoring students, the social studies section would drag them down.

So she doesn't have any idea of what she wants to do...and she's what...seventeen?

Leslie: She's eighteen. I had asked her if she'd gone out and partied the night before the test, or if she'd stayed up late. She said no. I even asked if she drank, even though I didn't think she did...I was just trying to understand why she scored so low and yet makes such good grades in school. She said, no, she was in bed by 11:00.

Julia: That's what we talked about last week...girls get better grades, but boys get more scholarships.

Julie: I have something that concerns me. You all may think I'm silly, but the thought occurred to me, in the last few weeks, you know...I've been watching my brother and my husband, and they know how to DO "all these little things"...like they climb up and do the electrical wiring, and the ceiling fan, and know the electric stuff in the box and they know how to measure these things, do this and do that...so I said, "why are you doing that?" "Somebody has to do it." "Well, why do you know how to do that; who taught you how to do that? Nobody taught me how to do that. Why don't I know how to do that? Where was I when Dad showed you guys were the electrical wiring was? Why didn't he ever show me that?" It's funny to me that they can do all these mechanical things...it's like WHERE DID I LIVE?!

Helen: Your husband is supposed to do all these things for you (laugh) Isn't that the way we were treated...that's a male thing and we weren't supposed to do it? Exactly what you are talking about is

reversed with my girl Debbie. She was a kind of tomboy for years and years. She followed her daddy around...she knows how to change the oil in the cars; she knows how to fix things. Her husband grew up with no father and she does the things in their family that he doesn't know how to do. So it's just "learned behavior" depending on what your model was. He didn't have a model, and she, luckily, did. But she showed an interest. Her dad wasn't going to just show her how to do this; she just followed him around.

Julia: Just as an observation; I don't think I've read anything about it...it seems to me like, when I hear women talk, that if they have brothers then the roles, like you said, learned behavior... happens. Now, if it's all female sibling families, then who is going to help Daddy? It's going to be a female. So there generally will be at least one girl who learns the things you are talking about.

Leslie: A friend of mine was in that situation. She was the fourth girl. She knows how to hunt with bow and arrows and with rifles. She knows how to shoot handguns. She knows how to fish. She knows every sport there is. And it was because there had not been that male child to assume that knowledge and so all that knowledge had been given to her. Now the only thing I was ever taught was how to keep the water from running in the toilet... that was the only thing...you pull the little lid off, shine the light (laughter)...now that was the extent of my teachings. 'Course, when I see my husband heading toward the electricity, I just scream, no, we can pay people to do that!

Julie: I think the thing that upsets me is that my father had worked all over the world as a heavy equipment operator and he knows about all this different kind of equipment. My brother's just like him. He can drive any piece of equipment a person puts in front of him. And I think, "why can't I do this?" I'm sitting in a classroom teaching, and I could be making a hundred thousand a year driving a backhoe. And because I'm a female no one ever taught me. From the time I was a little girl I remember he would take my little brother out on the jobs with him...I'd say "Daddy, can I go?" He'd say "No, men talk too bad for little girls to hear." That was the reason why I never could go.

Leslie: I can remember my father training my brothers. I'd say, "I think I'd like to be a welder..."

welders make good money." He just looked at me and said, "I'll tell you why. That hot lead will jump off and get on your skin and scar you up. Men sometimes, it will just roll off their skin, but sometimes it get caught in a woman's bra and it'll scar her up." And I thought, "Ohh, I don't want to be scarred, so forget that!" (laughter)

Julia: See, these are well-meant messages. People do it out of love.

Leslie: Yeah...you have to be pretty...keep your looks. And I was vain enough that I didn't want scars on me.

Julie: And through high school my only aspiration was...I wanted to be a jockey. And dad said women...I think the year I turned eighteen they had the first woman jockey. It was like, all of a sudden there were women jockeys...in San Anita in California you'd go to the stables. People who worked with their horses. They'd tell me, "no, you can't be a jockey. Girls can't be jockeys...it's not ladylike."

Julia: Make you bowlegged right? (laughter)

Julie: By all means. You keep an aspirin between your knees...so you can't be bowlegged. I can remember being told that before going out on a date...keep that aspirin. (laughter)

Julia: I think several of us must have had similar messages.

Leslie: I wonder...and there's a term for this...we allow things to come into our awareness, that becomes an item of interest for us...such as if we find out all of a sudden one of our friends is alcoholic, then all these shows we've passed over, magazine articles we didn't read, or newspaper articles...all of sudden we start paying attention to that and start noticing all those things. I wonder if some of that was that this information (referencing the group discussions) is important to me because of all the messages that we had gotten...that this was a man's job, your husband will do this...that then it just wasn't an item of importance to us and we didn't pay attention when the boys went out with dad to learn those things. I certainly didn't. I didn't ask to go outside and be taught that too.

Julie: I just wonder what planet I was raised on. It's so bizarre to me. Whatever could I have been doing?

Julia: What you all are talking about...and what you just said...this is a good time to bring this up. Since we've been talking about this and you have a little more awareness, do you think about these things differently, or hear things differently, or notice things more?

Julie: That's what I mean...sitting there and watching them do all that wiring, and he could be shocked to death with all that stuff, and thinking "who taught you all that?" You know, you aren't born with this gift to pull out electrical wiring... somebody taught you this. I want to know why I wasn't taught.

Julia: You might ask your Mom and Dad.

Julie: They don't see any difference in the way they raised my brother and me. You could draw little pictures and paste them all across the wall and they wouldn't see that they treated us any differently. It's a hopeless case to try and discuss it with them...it's a painful thing to them...it "accuses" them.

Julia: Yeah. My mom has gotten downright defensive with me when I would bring up something like that.

In your reading, or in your classwork lately, have you noticed anything like what we've been talking about?

Leslie: I noticed that several of the journal articles that I had selected to do notecards on talked about male-female relationships...I guess my attention was focused on that because several of the articles that I ran copies of had to do with that. So I guess that was what I was giving attention to.

Julia: Leslie, when you finish your Master's, what is your goal?

Leslie: I'm looking at two different job opportunities. Voc-Rehab counselor or a child guidance counselor.

Julia: So you'll be working with...?

Leslie: Adults with some handicaps or children.

Julia: Do you think you'll see the roles differently now...the males and females...and working with them?

Leslie: Are you saying...I think in the Voc-Rehab position I think you'd have to be more aware whether or not you were placing your traditional roles...because, you know, there are a lot of women...small engine classes and truck driving classes...I think you would have to be aware they have to have equal opportunity. They should have equal opportunity to pursue those careers if they want. I think it would make me more conscious as far as that. I don't know how much it would affect working with young children.

Julia: On the Voc-Rehab, you're going to counsel?

Leslie: You do some testing, evaluations, and gather some psychological information...and like aptitude tests, and decide whether they have eligibility for funds or as a candidate to follow through for some benefits.

Julia: Maybe all the areas we've talked about...when you work with the women maybe you'll see some of the "silencing" come to light even if they go into what is considered typically male-oriented fields ...see their attitudes and/or frustrations more readily.

Joyce, what are you going to do?

Joyce: Adult Ed. I teach for the GED and help them plan to go to college after they get their GED. I do see a lot of learning problems in the younger kids, my children...where they're thrown into the LD classes where I don't think they need to be. I see a lot of gifted and talented children and if the teachers would be...teach them in a different way, or use a different approach...they'd reach the children instead of putting them in LD because of my job with the adults and their problems. You know, the women that come into my classes and their husbands really don't want them to succeed. And when they see that the women do, the men get mean to them. Like one girl...her husband threw her books away. So I need the counseling part for the adult education.

Julia: You talk to the women? The circumstances like that? (positive nod) How do the women react ...like when the husband threw out the books?

- Joyce: She was really upset and everything, and I just asked her, "what do you want?" And she said I want my GED. I asked her if she thought that would change her life. She said yes, and that she would end up in divorce because he couldn't handle ...he doesn't have his GED either. He didn't graduate from high school. He got a job...it's just like, even though he's younger, he's like the older guys around here, kind of chauvinistic. You know, how they want the "little wife" at home, cooking and having dinner on time, the house all clean, the kids.
- Julia: You really are working with women who are in transition?
- Joyce: Yes. I felt like I listened...that I was a good listener, but I felt like I couldn't...I wanted to help them with their problems. All I could offer them was a shoulder.
- Julie: Do you see these women as finding it difficult... in your class and the training part...to have a "voice", to articulate their feelings, to talk through something? Do they tend to be intimidated easily, silenced easily?
- Joyce: Well, not with me. But in a group, yes. They don't speak up. I can tell when there is something wrong. They'll do real well; it's like one big happy family, then they'll come in and it's like they've been shot down. They'll be really quiet.
- Julia: When did you all "gain your voice?" When you got to the point where a group or a new situation didn't intimidate you, where you were afraid to say anything because you thought it would be "wrong?"
- Joyce: I used to be that way, but I took an assertive training class about four years ago and I found that...well, my husband had me backed in so far that I really thought I was dirt. Even though I had a couple of degrees...he had me isolated...I worked as a secretary, with another lady and she and I talked. But when I got the chance of getting out, meeting more people. Here I was getting all these praises and I thought "what in the world? Am I in a dream. I'd pinch myself." Then I felt like maybe I wasn't so stupid as I'd thought I was. Then came the assertive training course.

Julia: Like the "right course at the right time?"

Joyce: Yes. I mean, before I got married I was a pretty dynamo person, like I didn't let things get in my way. I didn't run over people, I just knew what I wanted. And I went after it. Then it was like I had twenty years of put-downs...I should say seventeen. That assertive training really helped.

Julia: There's a line from some of my research...many women in essence, give their voices to their husbands. And I've seen that, like in church, one of the more fundamentalistic ones, in Sunday school where the woman will lean over and say something to her husband and the husband's hand will go up...the husband asks the question for the wife. And it follows suit...like in driving...a couple going somewhere, the wife just automatically gives the man the driving...as an analogy of the voice idea.

Julie: I do think that goes back to the religious training...the male is the superior person in the household and he's supposed to take the role, the head of the family. And I can remember in my thirteen years of marriage in the background there I was arguing with him, saying "look, this is my house, my car, etc. etc. too, so I have a right to a say about it too." When in actuality I had no idea what was going on because he liked it that way. On a daily basis, instead of calling me "honey," he called me "dummy." Dummy this, dummy that. He actually said that. You know, that was his pet word. "Hey Dummy, what are you doing?" After so many years of that I just got furious... "Don't call me Dummy!"

Julia: Did you believe it?

Julie: I don't think I really paid any attention to it for several years, and then after he had gotten to a point after so many years where it wasn't "Dummy" any more...he had completely shut me out of every aspect of life, where I wasn't allowed to make any type of decision...then I started realizing, "He's just not saying 'Dummy', he means 'DUMMY'!"

Julia: Mine used to say, "How could you do something that stupid! What a stupid thing to do." He never called me stupid...but the message I received was "stupid." Pretty soon I unconsciously...I realized that for years I had believed that. Then I got angry.

Julie: You know, he was so aggressive...so I wasn't about to...and, you know, you're trained you don't argue with your husband in public...you don't voice...

Leslie: You don't????

Julie: Now I do...but you don't embarrass your spouse.

Helen: On the other hand, if he knows you're going to say exactly what you think he's going to be more careful what he says. He's not going to call me a dummy! I guarantee you. I will lower the boom, and I don't care if there's a crowd; he knows that, so consequently he wouldn't say anything to me in a crowd.

Leslie: I do the same thing. And I know it embarrasses people at times but I am absolutely no different with my husband when I'm around friends than when it's just him and me at the house.

Julie: I'm not that way with this one, but I was with the other one.

Julia: We've got to stop now. Next week is our last meeting, and I'd like to give you something to think about...see if you catch yourself noticing something about females, or maybe overhearing a conversation between a male and female, or two females, or something that happens at work...to see if what we've been doing has raised your awareness of things you might not have even noticed before.

Joyce: I had something happen last week...my divorce papers. I'm finally a free lady! This guy that I work with said he had a friend that called, a teacher friend, another lady...and she said "Was that OUR Joyce that was in the paper?" And he said yes. Then the woman said, "Why, she was so nice and always seemed so happy all the time!"

Helen: And now "you have a problem." (laugh)

Julia: I think you're still a nice lady, don't you? (laughter)

Helen: Boy, see, that woman thinks Joyce really has a problem!

Julia: When I was in my home town one time, with about a dozen women at one of those "fluky one-time-deal meetings"...we got to talking about just this kind of deal. We started tracing back, and almost

without fail, either our ex-husbands, or friends, or in-laws, or someone, thought the woman was either in mid-life crisis, having an emotional breakdown...but whatever it was, By God, something was wrong with her mentally. Otherwise why in the world would she have left old thus-n-such. Because, after all, "he didn't beat her."

End of recording.

TAPE 7, DATA GATHERING GROUP

Chapter 4, dissertation
Julia Crow
Tuesday, April 11, 1989

Joyce: You know your question on the handout data sheet? About our biggest challenging reflection as a female? My biggest challenge is what I thought of coming down here about where I work. They have a board, what they call a board...it's like the chief of each tribe; we have eight tribes there. And they're very chauvinistic...like I've gone to national conferences and come back with this thing, you know, "go back and tell your chiefs to be sure and go to Washington on this issue." So I get up with them and say, "you need to go to Washington and support this issue." And it was like I wasn't even there! And I was trying to get support for a grant for some more monies for education, and it was like they wouldn't listen me...because I was a woman. So I thought, "I am going to get this grant if I have to sign the resolution myself!" But I sure didn't want to do anything illegal, so I thought, "Ah, Ha! I know what I'll do!" So we've got this EDA guy that all the chiefs really had a lot of rapport with and really liked. So I said, "okay, I'll tell him everything that I want to do and that it was an educational program and have him present it." And the chiefs thought it was a great idea! And he took credit for it all though. (laugh) But, anyway, my challenge was to get through to them, to get an approved program.

Julia: And they didn't hear you, but they heard him.

Joyce: Yes. But I feel like I still succeeded because I figured out a way. I don't know...I didn't make the breakthrough myself, which I'm still working on. I have a little more clout than I did...it's my programs.

Julia: Except you recognized what happened...you recognized that they didn't hear you. Would there have been a time when you wouldn't have recognized that?

Joyce: I probably would have just stopped. I would not have gone one. But I knew that I wanted it so bad that I decided to figure out a way. Then they hired this new planner, economic development guy...and I saw he had a lot of rapport, so I started talking to him. I told him what my dreams were and that I would like to get this grant because we'd be able to expand and have more programs for the adults. I said, "would you mind going and presenting it to the board." I knew what would happen; I knew they would listen to him. But they just don't listen to women. Even though we're directors and head of our departments and everything...it was really frustrating...it's pretty bad when you have to figure out a way to...but I still got it!

Ruthanne: You've got to start at the bottom and start changing attitudes. Maybe you got close to this one person that you have some really good ideas, and maybe in another group meeting he will go to bat for you.

Joyce: Well, he has. But he's younger. See, all these chiefs are retired. I couldn't believe it! I mean, I had this important stuff from Washington, the head chief up there saying you need to go...on this day and do your testimonials. And I would look around and nobody would be listening to me. It's so embarrassing. Then I thought "they didn't hear me anyway, so why be embarrassed. I'll just try something else."

Julia: I remember going to a meeting in Stillwater, of the Oklahoma Association of Secondary School Principals...a man was going to speak on school finance and the handouts had been laid outside the door and the guys had picked them up on the way in. I looked around the room and people were reading those handouts, or newspaper...you know, secondary principals, a huge majority of males...they were reading while Cleta was talking. She finally just stopped and asked for their attention and told them what she had to say was also important. So they all stopped and put up their papers and looked at her till she finished. Whether they listened or not I don't know.

Joyce, what you experienced is an example of what is called in the research the "lack of voice." A part of not being "heard." Unless, like we've talked about before we find another way, or do more than people would normally do...to get attention.

- Joyce: I'm wondering now...I'm in this fellowship. Almost everyone in there is in administration or curriculum. I went for Curriculum, not Administration...and I'm thinking "that's where it's at." You know, where do they listen to a woman? Where do they listen to people? Where can you make the change? It's in administration, although I don't know whether I'd want to be an administrator. In order to make things happen, in order to make changes, you know, like the Cooperative Learning, Cooperative Teaching...okay, if you're an administrator you can implement that and say "we're going to do this this year. What we have here is not working and I think this will work."
- Julia: So credibility is enhanced by the title?
- Joyce: I think so. I've come to the conclusion...I think if you are in a womans occupation and you have the knowledge and authority they will listen to you, but I think if you don't have the degree...am I making myself clear here (laugh)? They don't listen as much.
- Julia: Is part of that attitude that comes with the degree? Personal attitude?
- Joyce: You mean how you project? Yes.
- Julia: So many women now are going back into education getting degrees; they're also becoming more vocal than in the past.
- Joyce: I still think we have a long way to go. We're getting there.
- Julia: Where do you all see that we need to go?
- Leslie: She (Joyce) was talking about administrative positions and I work for DHS. The number of female employees far outweigh the male employees in social work positions. Now, on the first level of supervision, county supervision, there is a large number of female supervisors. But once it raises above the county level then it goes into predominantly male. All the upper administrative positions are filled by males, even though, in ratio, it's really disproportionate.
- Julia: Like in education?
- Leslie: Yeah; like most of your principals are going to be male.

Julia: What do you see as the reason for that?

Leslie: The men are typically seen as more competent... that there are a lot of concerns that come with women such as "Oh, is she going to get grouchy at a certain time each month?" "Is she going to have to take off because her kid's in a play at school?" "When her kids are sick, can we count on her to be here?" They're going to assume that most women have other priorities. They want men who make their job the first priority.

Julia: Do you see any differences in the way women see leadership roles versus the male "normative" way of seeing Leadership roles?

Leslie: I think women have a more "cooperative" view toward leadership. And will enlist more suggestions, and possibly hear alternatives...at least open for some discussion. My personal experience having both male and female supervisors is that the males tend to be more directive..."I've made the decision; this is how we're going to do it; it's going to go into effect on this date." They're just a lot more directive and closed in their approach to leadership. I think men have been taught to assume responsibility and make the decisions, to "be strong," and females don't always feel the need to be...they don't have the same need for the power that men are raised to think they need. Yeah, I think there is a basic change in outlooks and everything...not that the men are wanting to be harder or more dictative...I just see a man needing to project a stronger image and feeling the need to project...a more "competent" image maybe.

Julia: Perhaps women define "strength" in a different way than men. If we go back, like you said, to the traditional ways...women gain strength through their nurturing; the nurturing is a cooperative effort, whereas the male view of leadership is "one person" and the idea of strength and power.

Ruthann, do you see a difference in male/female leadership roles?

Ruthann: Well, I've only worked with male supervisors. But yes, I think maybe men view power different than women do.

Julia: In one of the other sessions, we talked about the language...definitions like aggressive vs. assertive, and whether it's a male or a female "term"

...if a man is aggressive that's a positive and if a woman is, that's a negative. The leadership styles tend to follow into that realm too; if you get traditional about it.

Prof.: You may have already discussed this...but I see this leadership style beginning at point of birth, like boys in blue, girls pink. Girls are soft; boys are hard. And we elicit that from then on.

Leslie: I discussed that in raising my little boy...that I think I do allow him to show more excitability and rambunctuousness, whereas perhaps if I had a girl I'd have her calm down, settle down.

Prof.: Yeah, play with a doll and be quiet.

Ruthann: Don't get your dress dirty.

Julia: This is our last meeting. I thought maybe we might evaluate what we've talked about and your feelings about it...maybe what you think you've gained from this experience.

Leslie: I'll start, if nobody else minds. What I saw, even though there's not a great deal of age difference, between me and maybe the other members of the group, where there have been a lot of changes of ideas and attitudes from the time that I went through high school and graduated...the age span wasn't that significant, but the change in attitude was. I felt like I had the opportunity to pretty much do whatever I wanted to do. There's still the subtle messages and there's still certain things that are not acceptable while other things are, but it was much more open to me...I do see it as a process of evolving. This group certainly increased my awareness of the interplays between men and women. Watching some of the women where I work, and thinking, "yeah, I know how they got promoted." And I don't mean just subtle sexual favors...more a flirtatiousness, real coy tilting of the head, and swinging of the shoulders when they speak with a male administrator; kind of playing up to them.

Ruthann: That's the way women get their power.

Julia: Good point. Because everyone wants some semblance of power, either over themselves...like you, Joyce. I see you struggling, trying to gain power over your life and Self. And we also feel like we have a "place" in society.

- Ruthann: And if you compete with men directly...a lot of them feel like it's too threatening to them...like you'll be discounted as a woman...so they relinquish.
- Julia: So that the men will not feel threatened?
- Ruthann: Yes. So they can have their power; have the "cake and eat it too." Women do have a certain power in that traditional system...but it's a sort of dishonest type of power as I see it...sort of manipulative. It's not really direct. And I think that's what bothers me about it. It's game-playing.
- Julia: You're saying it's deliberate?
- Ruthann: I think a lot of it is; I really do.
- Julia: Do you think it's more...what the women do...is deliberate, whereas what the men go about doing do you see as deliberate...generalizing...
- Ruthann: Oh, I think it's deliberate. It's learned too.
- Julia: Do you think that men are conscious that they are...
- Leslie: Maybe I'm shortchanging...I know what you're saying...I think the men do things more...they respond; they fall into a pattern and "this is the way we do it; this is the way we've always done it...this is how I respond to a certain situation." I think women do give more thought...maybe I'm shortchanging the men...
- Julia: I don't personally see it as shortchanging so much as men have never thought about it...they've, of course, never been women...
- Leslie: Using Joyce as an example...the men wouldn't "speak" to her and so she manipulated them by getting a man to go present the same idea.
- Joyce: I didn't think of it as being manipulative.
- Julia: But you deliberately planned a strategy that you knew would work.
- Joyce: Yes. Actually, I thought it was kind of clever. I didn't think of it as manipulative; I wanted...
- Leslie: Manipulative, to me, doesn't necessarily have a negative connotation.

Joyce: Oh, good, 'cause I don't want to be thought of that way.

Julia: But Joyce, I think we many times have to manipulate. Obviously, you were not "heard"...but you still got what you wanted. The problem with it though, is that you didn't get the praise or credit for it.

Joyce: But I got the program.

Julia: I'm wondering...if that happens again, if you will be satisfied doing that same thing and not getting credit for it; or, if next time that won't satisfy you...that you'll want the credit for it.

Joyce: Well, that's what I'm struggling with right now; I feel like I've got a lot of good ideas and I know where to collect the data...and I'm thinking, "do I want to be the person in the background just so long as I get it, or do I want to be in the foreground." I did that, you know, and I'm proud of myself. You know, with Indian upbringing, you're not supposed to want to be up-front type stuff, you know. And I'm thinking, "I like it up here!" Why can't I be up here?! I'm really struggling with that.

What we were talking about the men and the women...I just want...what I feel about some men and women as leaders...I feel women are more logical. I don't think men are logical; they're rigid, one-way. Every once in a while you find a woman that's rigid, a woman director or something...I had one, and I'm not sure of the word...psychosomatic or something...if she did it, it's okay, but if he did it, she's going to "write you up." But that's just one. Actually, that's the only woman director I've been under.

Julia: You know, many women don't like to work for a woman...because the "coy, tilt of the head" does not work.

All: (Nod affirmatively)

Joyce: But this woman...we have a lot of programs where I work. Most of them are helping people with their problems. She had her pet program and everybody else just had to do with their own thing, which was fine because I had kind of free reign and everything, but sometimes I needed some help. One thing she kept on doing...when I first started, I

worked six months on, six months off. When I came back to my six months on, she couldn't find some place to put...like a table...or books, or anything...in my area. It was like that was like the clutter area. I had a kind of run-in with her. She just got mad and said, "Okay! I'll take it," and she got things put up.

Julia: I'd like to explore what you said about you viewing men as not being logical...as logical as women.

Joyce: I don't think they think things...listen, I'm probably a bad candidate right now because I'm really "off." I have been hurt for so long...I have come to the rude awakening that I have allowed myself to be stifled...

Julia: Then that makes you a "good" candidate, because you are evolving, and you're growing.

Joyce: Okay. Yes, I'm growing, but I'm still in a problem with how I look at men. (reactions from others)

Julia: I don't think you're the "Lone Ranger" here (laughter). Ruthann, aren't you divorcing, or divorced?

Ruthann: I've been divorced six/seven years...but I don't have anger toward men.

Julia: And Julie is evolving too...and Leslie, so are you, and you are happily married.

Leslie: Yeah, I am happily married. But, like last week ...I told you this has really increased my awareness...so when my husband had done certain stuff, I'd say, "Why did you do that the way you did, or why didn't you ask me about that?" And he'll go, "Gosh, I'll be kind of glad when you're through with that class. You sound like a woman from Donahue!" (laughter)

Joyce: They say once you go to assertive training you're never the same!

Julia: That's what started mine...a workshop here, back in 1979. It didn't start it, but it gave me something that I felt like was concrete.

Joyce: Me too...that was just like three or four years ago...I've lost count. That's why I'm here; that assertive training has got me a lot. He honestly

had me feeling like I was too stupid to do anything.

Julia: Do you all think that what we've done here has increased your awareness?

Leslie: Definitely mine.

Julia: Okay...when you go to work with people in DHS, and your GED students. Ruthann, what will you do?

Ruthann: I work at the fabric shop...but I want to work with eating disorder clinics.

Julia: So you'll be working with women; you all will. What we've been talking about is so indicative of the reasons why it's the women (to Ruthann) that mostly have the eating disorders.

Ruthann: That's true...that's true.

Julia: I guess my question is...do you think you're going to see women differently in working with them. Let me give you an example: If you see a woman put herself down...

Joyce: Yes. I do already.

Julia: Will you perhaps see her differently than you would have before we talked about all of this? (pause; they don't seem to understand the question)

Or will you see yourselves with more awareness when you do things that are stereotypical?

Joyce: You mean catching ourselves putting ourselves down and then say, "Hey, nope...not going to do that anymore." Yeah. I've really enjoyed this group; I'm going to miss it.

Leslie: Me too. I've felt short-changed at the time we've been given to get together. I'd have liked 45 or 50 minutes.

Julia: I would have liked it if we could have gone to my house and sat around the kitchen table and drank coffee. That really works better. See, that's another thing that women...women seem to have a need...as part of their leadership skills even...to become very informal...their environment for trust seems different than the males'.

- Joyce: That's how I try to do with my group. I make the coffee, and cookies...and we sit around the kitchen table. One thing--when men get together, it's like they try to "outdo" one another...on anything...a big fish story...
- Leslie: The insults...that's what gets me. This is a way of one-upping each other. It's like a big power game.
- Joyce: Yeah..."if she didn't come home and fix dinner, I'd knock her across the room," or something like that.
- Julia: See, with men, that's like part of their leadership power...with women, it's a more cooperative endeavor. I see elementary school changing, and I think it's because we're getting so many elementary school women principals; if a woman principal stays there long enough, and she is an autonomous person, and has her self-esteem intact, that she's not trying to prove herself as a "good ole boy," then the school takes on a more cooperative climate. Women are not in secondary principalships much yet, but where they are, we see the same change.
- Joyce: I would like to see a woman as state superintendent. We'd see changes in a year.

(Professor closes session)

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION AND COMMENTS FROM THE

DIALOGICAL ENCOUNTERS/CONVERSATIONS

DATA GATHERING

The following is the requested biographical information and comments asked of each group member from the Dialogical Encounters/Conversations data gathering used in Chapter IV of this study:

Name: "Helen"

Employment: Teacher and Speech Therapist

Marital Status: Married

Age: 49

Children: Four daughters, ages 10 to 30

Education: B.S. and M.E.

Religious affiliation (do not have to answer): Baptist

High school attended: Lincoln Arkansas

What year did you graduate? 1957

What do you see as the most prominent problem facing young female students today? Society not treating girls the same as boys. Eliminating the double standard.

As you look back on your own life as a female, what do you see as your most challenging reflection? Convincing myself, as well as the rest of the world, that I am not inferior because I am a woman.

Name: "Joyce"

Employment: Inter-Tribal Council/Adult Education Director

Marital Status: Divorced

Age: 45

Children: Two sons, ages 14 and 17; one daughter, age 9

Education: M.A. in Education; working on school counseling

Religious affiliation (do not have to answer): Catholic

High school attended: Miami, Oklahoma

What year did you graduate? 1961

What do you see as the most prominent problem facing young female students today? Dealing with their own sexuality.

As you look back on your own life as a female, what do you see as your most challenging reflection? (did not answer)

Name: "Ruthann"
 Employment: Work in a fabric shop
 Marital Status: Divorced
 Age: 41
 Children: One daughter, age 20
 Education: B.S. in Education
 Religious affiliation (do not have to answer): No answer
 High school attended: Blytheville, Arkansas
 What year did you graduate? 1965

What do you see as the most prominent problem facing young female students today? Continuing negative role stereotyping in the culture...whether internalized by the individual or not.

As you look back on your own life as a female, what do you see as your most challenging reflection? I was angry for being female. As a result, I over-feminized to compensate. I know I'm still angry inside, but am learning to dissipate it and work it through. I find it hard to be androgenous in a relationship. I tend to fall back into a pattern of over-feminization and end up resenting the relationship for my own behavior. I choose dominating men and then resent being dominated. It seems to be a recurring pattern from my family of origin that needs to be laid to rest.

As a general reflection for the culture in general, I think there are both subtle and obvious physiological differences between male and female; neither being superior. I don't think women need to try to be men--then need to carve a new role to fit the changed needs of the industrial society, as men's roles need also to change in a complementary way.

Our culture doesn't barter much. Dollars and cents are our currency, the value of our work, the hallmark of our success. What value does a culture as such put upon receptivity, submissiveness, intuition, and nurturing? Maybe we're about to see.

Name: "Leslie"
 Employment: Social Worker
 Marital Status: Married
 Age: One son, age 2
 Children: 29
 Education: B.A.
 Religious affiliation (do not have to answer): Baptist
 High school attended: Muskogee, Oklahoma
 What year did you graduate? 1978

What do you see as the most prominent problem facing young female students today? Not conforming to what societal pressures tell them their goals should be, but setting their own.

As you look back on your own life as a female, what do you see as your most challenging reflection? At age 20, I entered a powder-puff, mini-modified, dirt-track racer contest. I did so well against the women that I was encouraged to race against the men. For the rest of that season and the next racing season, I raced against the men. I was not met with open hostility, but felt there was some resentment about some of the attention my status as a female race car driver gained, such as newspaper and radio interviews. However, during the races it seemed I was the target going into the corners for the other drivers to hit my wheels, putting my car in a spin. It also appeared they "joined forces" to keep me cut off instead of trying to take the lead themselves. Between races I was not included in the "good old boy" talks. It was difficult for me to continue to show up under these conditions. It came as a relief when the season ended, but I felt that I could not quit before without giving up a lot more than just racing. The experience came as a surprise as I had never had difficulty getting along with men before. I assume the only difference was I had not been in direct competition previously.

Name: "Julie"

Employment: Teacher

Marital Status: Divorced, now with companion

Age: 33

Children: Son, age 10; daughter, age 7

Education: B.S. in Special Ed

Religious affiliation (do not have to answer): Baptist

High school attended: Tahlequah, Oklahoma

What year did you graduate? 1973

What do you see as the most prominent problem facing young female students today? They are not taken seriously in high school years, or earlier years. Society overlooks the potential of the females, period. The world's work demand is changing faster than the attitudes.

As you look back on your own life as a female, what do you see as your most challenging reflection? Males feel women are inferior in every way. No matter how many degrees, or how well you do, you are never smart enough. Now, they DO justify my intelligence, saying, "even though you have degrees, you have no common sense." Now, I don't believe this, but this is not just my family. We are fighting this in the business world. If you are successful you must be a little better than the male in the next office to prove yourself. Why should we have to make an extra effort to prove?

APPENDIX C

REFLECTIVE JOURNAL

Kay L. - Age 40

Results of our intelligence tests were available at the counselor's office. We only had one counselor and he was male. In fact, the principal and vice-principal were both male. Now that I look back, junior high was dominated by men. I went to see the counselor about my IQ score. I don't remember my number but I remember asking what my score meant. His answer as I remember it was, "Your average for a girl, you shouldn't worry too much about it. You'll get married and have a family and your IQ won't be important to you then." I guess I just accepted his answer and went back to class, feeling average.

This reminds me of another incident with my Algebra teacher. He was also my bus driver. I was having trouble understanding the concepts, so one day on the bus I asked him to explain it again. He was known as a "genius" in math, but had difficulty relating to students. Several times I asked him to explain things to me. Finally, one day he said, "girls have difficulty with numbers and abstract thinking, so just pay attention in class and turn in your homework and you won't fail my class." That's exactly what I did, and received my first "D." I never took another math

class after that. My impression was that women wouldn't need this information. How wrong that was! It took me two semesters in college to understand math equations and pass an Algebra class with a "B."

In high school I had a psychology class. The teacher was male and a coach. We discussed very little psychology and a lot of sports. Those of us that did not participate in sports played cards while the teacher and his football boys planned strategies for the next game.

Brenda D. - Age 38

My least favorite subject in elementary school and high school was math. I hated math of any form. I can remember having the colored spools that slid across the wires. I don't really remember learning anything from them, just that they slid back and forth.

During the third grade I remember reciting my multiplication facts. Over and over and over...to this day I sometimes go blank.

It was, and still is, frustrating to learn new concepts. The only way I can work problems is to take it step by step very slowly and hope I can guess right. I get very humiliated because I work so slow. Algebra to me is so senseless.

The next time I remember math was when I was in junior high school. I can't remember the teacher's name, but he was a coach. Whenever a student got in trouble he made you

stand in the front of the class with your arms stretched to the side horizontally. Your palms had to be turned up with books balanced on them. "Tommy Turtle" got to do this several times. He was almost in tears each time with pain.

Senior high math was also another coach teacher. I had him twice. Once for Basic Math and once for social studies. No wonder I didn't learn anything in high school. I really should not judge all coaches as bad teachers. I'd like to know if there have been any studies on that. In the state where I lived, I was given the option of taking less math or more science. Of course, I selected more science. So, when I took Elementary Algebra at college I had to audit it the first time around. The teacher couldn't teach on my level. She was too intelligent. The next time I enrolled under a high school teacher and managed to pass with a "C."

Karol H. - Age 24

I've been thinking about what you said in class about career opportunities that were discussed with me in high school. My reply would have to be they weren't discussed.

When I got married, at age 17, I was hit in the face by reality. I thought of adult life as married, with children, and a white picket fence. My dream was to be a housewife. I knew lots of other women that were married to successful husbands. I didn't realize it didn't always work out that way. After all, my mother was able to stay home and not worry about such things, so why should I? To make a long

story short, I've worked at jobs, most of which I hated, since I was 17 years old.

I thought of going to college several years before I gathered up enough courage to try it. In fact, after my first day at college, I asked for my old job back, so I tried college awhile longer. The fear slowly began to go away, although not completely. Next semester I'll be a senior. Maybe I'm not so dumb after all.

Jana S. - Age 22

While in high school I was involved in cheerleading, basketball, track, student council and National Honor Society. I attended Girls' State and was a page in Oklahoma City.

Only the top 25% can receive an application to apply for the biggest scholarship through the high school in which I attended. The Class of 1940 always gives six deserving seniors those scholarships. The panel interviews you and then they decide. The scholarships go on the basis of involvement, grade point and extra-curricular activities while in high school. The panel includes four men who put the scholarship fund together. Each man asked a series of questions about college and why you wanted to attend. The last man asked me why I didn't attend flight attendant school; he felt I would make a great flight attendant, instead of going to college. The other men agreed.

After my answer I can see why I didn't get the scholarship--but it made me leave with a bad attitude about college, myself, and the scholarship. Four of the scholarships went to boys. Two of the boys dropped out of college before their freshman year. Now, here I am getting ready to graduate and I am glad I didn't become a flight attendant.

VITA

Julia Ellen Crow

Candidate for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

Thesis: THE PROBLEMATICS OF EGALITARIANISM FOR HIGH SCHOOL
FEMALES: HEGEMONIC INFLUENCES NEGATING EQUAL
ACCESS TO CURRICULUM

Major Field: Curriculum and Instruction

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Okemah, Oklahoma, July 18,
1940.

Education: Graduated from Pryor High School, Pryor,
Oklahoma, in 1958; received Bachelor of Science in
Education Degree with major in English from the
University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma, in May 1974;
completed requirements for the Master of Education
Degree in Guidance and Counseling from North-
eastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in
July, 1982; Completed requirements for the Doctor
of Education degree at Oklahoma State University
in July 1989.

Professional Experience: English teacher, Dewey High
School, Dewey, Oklahoma from 1974 to 1985; Grad-
uate Assistant, Curriculum and Instruction Depart-
ment, Oklahoma State University from 1985 to 1987;
Assistant Professor, Department of Education,
Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma
from 1987 to present.