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Gender Stereotypes in Public School Textbooks in the Dominican Republic

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GENDER STEREOTYPES IN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

        In 1992, the Secretary of Education of the Dominican Republic set an objective of

eliminating gender stereotypes that discriminate against women from textbooks (Díaz

Santana, 1996; Mateo Diclo, n.d.). My research is a historical comparison of two sets of

texts published in the years 1996-1997 and 2005-2007 focusing on visual representations

portraying gender roles with the purpose of ascertaining if progress is being made

towards this objective. I analyze a total of six books, three books from 1996-1997 and

three from 2005-2007. The examined textbooks include two second grade Natural

Sciences, two fourth grade Spanish, and two sixth grade Social Sciences with each

subject including one text from 1996-1997 and one from 2005-2007. I examine the

textbooks to determine whether the visual images of males and females are "sex-fair"

and/or "sex-affirmative" (concepts developed by Scott and Schau [1985]). Sex-fair texts

have females appearing in half of the number of images and the images portray both

females and males equally in all societal roles whether they are culturally traditional or

not. Sex-affirmative texts stress the portrayal of females and males in roles opposite their

traditional role (Eklund Koza, 1994). I conclude that according to the six texts

analayzed, female stereotyped images have reduced, but male stereotyped images have

increased. Therefore, the Dominican government has been successful to some extent in

taking steps towards the elimination of gender stereotypes.

INTRODUCTION

Area of Concern

The Dominican Republic, like many other countries in the world, is striving to reduce gender inequalities that have been prevalent in society for years (Research Center for Feminist Action, 2007). According to the World Bank (2007), women in the Dominican Republic are socially, politically and economically disadvantaged due to the cultural reinforcement of traditional roles and responsibilities as wives and mothers. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2008) gives an example of this reinforcement. "Illiteracy, drop-out, repetition, over-age and absenteeism affect boys as well as girls, but they have a stronger impact on girls, who are more likely to be needed at home to help with household chores" (p. 99). This may be part of the cause of why Dominican women have a high maternal mortality rate, increased risk of HIV/AIDS, and low participation in the political scene. However, despite these disadvantages, there is evident progress to close gender inequality gaps in various aspects of Dominican life. For example, "female participation in market labor has increased significantly from 29% in 1991, to 35% in 1997 and to then 45% in 2004" [1] (World Bank, 2007, p. 2). Law 86-

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[1] Except where noted, all translations are the author's.

99, enacted in 1999, established the Secretary of Women, which would serve as a

governmental department responsible for developing and carrying out plans and

programs that promote gender equality throughout the country (Secretary of Women of

the Dominican Republic, 2008).

Over the past twenty years, educational systems in Latin America have gone

through many changes (Bonder, 2004). Specifically in the Dominican Republic, the

1990s were a significant time period for democratic advancement (Espinal, Hartlyn, &

Morgan, 2008). This democratic progress influenced the democratization of the

educational system and the creation of laws that call for gender equality in schools (Díaz

Santana, 1996). De Lancer Julnes & Puente Alcaraz (2003) suggest that the "Education

for All" conference in Jontiem, Thailand in 1990 may have pushed the Secretary of

Education of the Dominican Republic to make educational reforms. In 1991, the

Secretary of Education established EDUC-MUJER to promote women getting their

education. Then in 1992, the education department created the first "Decade Plan 1992-

2002" (Mateo Diclo, n.d., Secretary for Women, 2004). According to the Organization

for Economic Co-operation and Development (2008), the Dominican Republic's

educational system has greatly improved since the beginning of the United

Nations Millennium Development Goals of Education for All, but gender inequality

remains a critical concern.

One of the ways in which the Secretary of Education has decided to increase

gender equality is through the curriculum, including the revision of textbooks (Mateo

Diclo, n.d.). Textbooks are one of several methods that schools use to pass on societal

values to children (Haggarty & Pepin, 2002; Kereszty, 2009; Ocaña Carrasco, n.d.).

Since textbooks maintain this role and the Dominican government sees that textbooks

should portray gender equality, it is important that there be examination of the texts.

Purpose of Study

Ten years ago, the Secretary of Education of the Dominican Republic originally

established the aim to eliminate stereotypes that discriminate against women in

curriculum as stated in the "Curriculum Fundamentals: Volume 1" (Secretary of

Education of the Dominican Republic, 2000). According to Cyrus (1993), a stereotype is

"a set of assumptions and beliefs about the physical, behavioral, and psychological

characteristics assigned to a particular group or class of people," (p.149). The purpose of

my study was to examine how textbooks published in 1996-1997 and in 2005-2007

portray gender roles in images and determine if stereotyped images depicting family and

professional roles have reduced between the two time periods. Gender (sex) roles "are

constellations of characteristics that various cultures attribute to individuals according to

sex. These attributes include those associated with behaviors such as cognitive skills and

job choices, personality characteristics, feelings, and attitudes" (Garrett Schau, 1985, p.

78). Discovering if stereotyped images have reduced provides insight into the progress

that the Secretary of Education is making to follow through with the country's

educational goals.

Significance of Study

UNESCO's Website (http://unesco.org) proclaims that gender and education is a global concern. Article III in UNESCO's (1990) "World Declaration on Education for All" states, "The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. All gender stereotyping in education should be eliminated" (p. 9). The Dominican Republic is included in this commitment and the country's Educational Law No. 66-97, established in 1997, implies that education needs to be free from stereotypes (Secretary of Education of the Dominican Republic, 1997), which includes eliminating gender stereotypes from public school textbooks. According to the Decade Plan 1992-2002, one of the foreseen weaknesses of trying to carrying out the plan was the lack of trained, educational specialists and investigators (Mateo Diclo, n.d., p. 10). My analysis serves as a contribution to future researchers who may study this topic.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sex-Role Development Theories

There are four main groups of theories that explain sex-role development in different ways. They are called social learning, cognitive developmental, information processing, and identification theories (Mooney Marini, 1990). For the purpose of this study, I will look at two of the theories, social learning and cognitive developmental, along with a third theory, gender-schema, which is a combination of the two theories. In particular, I address how each theory explains how children construct gender stereotypes.

"According to social learning theory, behaviors and attitudes develop in response to reinforcement and encouragement from those around them" (Anderson & Taylor, 2006, p. 77). Therefore, social learning theorists would argue that sex-role development occurs through environmental influences and that people act according to what they see happening around them. According to Lipsitz Bem (1981), children learn their gender roles through positive reinforcement when they show sex-appropriate behavior that matches gender stereotypes and through punishment when their actions do not correspond to sex-appropriate behavior. "Gender stereotypes in children can also be affected by symbolic processes such as language that are not dependent on social

reinforcement but that can convey to the child the sex-appropriateness of a given attitude

or behavior pattern by simply labeling the activity as male or female" (Albert & Porter,

1988, p. 187). Differences in gender-role stereotypes occur due to variations in

environmental factors relating to culture, society, and family.

Conversely, cognitive developmental theory, maintains that there is a common

developmental pattern in how children create gender stereotypes, which is an argument

that relates to Piaget's theory that social attitude development is a process through which

"young children attempt to intuitively grasp the meaning of social relationships through

body image" (Albert & Porter, 1988, p. 189). According to Gulko, Powlishta, & Serbin

(1993), "knowledge of stereotypes, flexibility, and sex-typed personal preferences all

increased with age during middle childhood" (p. v). As soon as children attain this

knowledge, they pay closer attention to how others of the same sex are acting out their

social roles and are more likely to portray those roles that they witness. One of the ways

in which their attitudes towards social roles are shaped is by seeing if males or females

are portraying certain roles (Albert & Porter, 1988).

Gulko, Powlishta, & Serbin (1993) argue that "both cognitive maturation and

socialization experiences contribute to the development of sex typing during middle

childhood" (p. vi). Gender schema theory, developed by Martin and Halverson in 1981,

combines aspects from both social learning and cognitive development theories (Albert &

Porter, 1988; Frawly, 2008). "Schemas or schemata are "organizational frameworks" or

"internalized social constructs" that change and develop, based on one's experiences, and

that affect the way an individual comprehends the world" (Frawly, 2008, p. 291). Frawly

(2008) used the concept of gender schemas as a basis for his study that investigated how children distorted or misremembered gender consistent and inconsistent information that they saw in picture books in order to fit their gender schema. "There are two schemas involved in gender-role learning, a schema consisting of general information to categorize objects, behavior, traits, or roles as male or female and an "own-sex" schema, a narrower and more detailed version of the first, consisting of information children have about objects, behavior, traits, and roles that characterize their own sex" (Albert & Porter, 1988, p.191). Frawly (2008) maintains that images in books largely impact a child's interpretation of gender roles since the child constructs gender schemas while viewing the book.

Gender Roles in Dominican Republic Society

According to the Research Center for Feminist Action (2007), the Dominican Republic has a traditional, patriarchal society, in which there exists a social hierarchy in which men have a higher status above women. In Dominican society, women have one main purpose, which is to procreate. Following along this line within Dominican culture, women take on certain female gender roles such as domestic and childcare responsibilities. The head of the household is the man, whose main role is to provide for the family. As far as women stepping out into the professional world, women encounter greater obstacles than men as women are still to adhere to their family responsibilities as the first priority. Most women, when trying to find work outside the home, work in the

service and educational sectors. This allows women to work part-time so that they are

able to carry out their roles as mothers and wives. Those women who do enter the

workforce face discrimination in salaries. These inequalities lead to women being

subordinate and dependent on men.

Gender Equality in Schools

"Gender is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people

as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations

of inequality on the basis of that difference" (Correll & Ridgeway, 2004, p.510).

UNESCO (2003) emphasizes that it is a universal goal for all countries to attain gender

equality in their educational systems by the year 2015. According to UNESCO's (2003)

Global Monitoring Report as stated in "Gender and Education for All: the Leap to

Equality," "Full gender equality in education would imply that girls and boys are offered

the same chances to go to school and that they enjoy teaching methods and curricula free

of stereotypes, and academic orientation and counseling unaffected by gender bias" (p.

116). Considering that countries have different cultural and societal factors, there is not

just one way to reach this goal. Klein, Sadker & Sadker's (1991) research on gender

equality development in the United States educational system focuses on "curriculum,

administration, instruction, and educational outcomes" (p. 271). According to the

campaign, "Move for Equality," (Ocaña Carrasco, n.d.) supported by the Spanish

government's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, one can analyze equality in

an educational system by looking at the same elements that Klein, Sadker and Sadker

mention as well as at more hidden ways inequality can be unintentionally reinforced. For

example, how schools use space and free time and manage activities and sports. Duncan

& Silcock (2001) claim the school and all of its facets are a place where children learn

the values of their society. Hence the reason why schools are significant institutions in

society and it is important that they are not reinforcing gender inequality (UNESCO,

2003).

Dominican Curriculum Reforms since the Late 1980s

During the 1980s, the Dominican Republic went through an economic and

political crisis, referred to as "the Lost Decade" (de Lancer Julnes & Puente, 2003).

According to Díaz Santana (1996), the Dominican educational system also went through

a crisis during the 1980s and it was not until 1989 when professors, researchers,

representatives from civic organizations and others interested in improving the school

system met to enter into dialogue about educational initiatives.   An outcome from their

meetings was the publishing of a document in 1990 called "el Decálogo Educativo (The

Educational Decalogue)," which recommended ten different areas of concentration to

help develop the educational system. The early 1990s is a point in time when there was a

start of forward movement in the educational field.

Since 1953, the Decade Plan 1992-2002 was the first major step towards making

educational reforms (Gajardo, 2007). The plan called for curriculum transformation and

one of the departments of education created in 1991, EDUC-MUJER, was given the task

of ensuring that women were being promoted in curriculum changes (Mateo Diclo, n.d.).

In 1995, the Dominican government created the "Action Platform for the Advancement

of Dominican Women 1995-2001," which included four "policy lines" with "Education,

Culture and Communications Media" being one of them. An objective was "to enhance

the quality of education and to raise the status of women in textbooks" (Secretary

for Women, 2004, p. 5).   According to the Secretary of Women's (2004) report that

evaluated the progress of the action platform, a significant accomplishment was the

"approval of the General Education Act, No. 66-97, which, in article 4, defines gender

discrimination as a bar to the enjoyment of every human being's right to education" (p.

6).

The World Forum for Education for All in Dakar in the year 2000, at which the

Dominican Republic had representation, called attention to the issue of gender equality in

education (Mateo Diclo, n.d.).   In the same year, the Secretary of Education created

"Curriculum Fundamentals: Volume 1," which established an aim to "take the measures

necessary to eradicate from education and the schools all stereotypes and practices that

encourage power and unequal relationships between sexes and that perpetuate

discrimination of women" (Secretary of Education of the Dominican Republic, 2000, p.

42). Then in 2003, inspired by the World Conference in Dakar, the Secretary of

Education (2003) created the "Strategic Plan of Dominican Education Development

2003-2012," which has the General Education Act, No. 66-97 as the foundation of the

plan.

A few years after initiating the "Strategic Plan of Dominican Education Development 2003-2012," a new proposal called the "Decade Plan 2008-2018" became the focus. The plan states that society has immense social and economic inequalities and that politics and programs should complement educational efforts "to confront the social vulnerability of many students (p.104). Two of the values that the plan lists are the "equal rights of men and women" (p.13) and "respecting the principle of living together democratically" (p. 14). These were not always values of Dominican society and education. Pineda (1996) marks 1978 as the year when democratic practices began in the Dominican Republic during the presidential campaign. She reveals, "Women turned furiously against those who tried to use their poverty as a political weapon: 'We want work, not charity' was the slogan women sang" (p. 132) as women began to realize that they could be activists for their own human rights including their educational rights. Since then, as shown in this section, various world conferences and government educational strategies have put gender issues at the forefront of educational reforms in the Dominican Republic.

The Role of Textbooks

Curriculum reform is a significant part of removing inequality in education (UNESCO, 2003). Textbooks are one of several educational tools that transmit societal values, norms, and beliefs to students (Haggarty & Pepin, 2002; Kereszty, 2009; Ocaña Carrasco, n.d.). Therefore, if values encourage gender inequalities and stereotypes, they

may also be present in textbooks. "In addition to having an impact on children's attitudes and behavior, curricular materials such as popular textbooks are cultural artifacts that can reflect and reinforce dominant cultural discourses" (Eklund Koza, 1994, p. 145). They are also the most commonly used instructional materials utilized in the classroom (Klein, Sadker, & Sadker, 1991), provide children with a point of reference in their society (UNESCO, 2003), and give a "subject-specific skill" (Kereszty, 2009, p. 3). While these are all overt, intentional roles of the books, text content also serves a different purpose, which Kereszty (2009) refers to as 'hidden curriculum.' "The hidden curriculum has an identity forming role, since it mediates the gender-specific expectations, norms and behaviors, and therefore it contributes to the reproduction of social inequalities in the society. Thus as part of the 'hidden curriculum' textbooks might transform, strengthen or diminish the developed and developing power relations both in the classroom and in the society" (p. 3). Therefore, it is important for authors to understand the significance of the text's context and the role of the textbook in the classroom.

Studies of Gender Role Portrayal in School Texts

According to Araya Umaña (2003a), textbooks became the center of many studies throughout Latin America beginning in the late 1980s. Lesser Blumberg (2007) credits the feminist movement in many Latin American countries for inspiring the motivation behind gender role studies. The first textbook analyses in Latin America were in Chile by Magendoza in1970 and by Ochoa in 1983 as well as by Wainerman and Brack in

Argentina in 1984 (Lesser Blumberg, 2007; 2009). In 1979, Renán Silva provides an

analysis of Colombian textbooks that looks at images and text to understand the

significance behind female portrayal. The investigation grouped the images into

categories based on the activity, type of work or profession or family role displayed.   For

example, agriculture, fishing, and working with livestock pertained to the "Productive

Rural Activities" category. In this particular category, out of 154 images, 144 were of

men participating in productive rural activities. In the "Domestic Family Activities"

category, 48 images out 53 portrayed women. Silva does not end with a final conclusion.

Rather, states that the study opens opportunities for future investigations to look at other

themes that will then provide a bigger picture and perhaps may lead to a final conclusion.

Looking at research methodology used in analyses of texts used outside of Latin

American, Kingston & Lovelace (1977-1978) state that many textbook analyses count the

appearances of males to females and look at the occupations assigned to the different

genders to see if stereotypes exist. Abraham's (1989) study of British and French

textbooks is an example that uses male to female appearance ratios. He also examines

what he terms "real life agency," which is something an activity has if the gender being

portrayed doing the activity in the image is important to the overall interpretation of the

role being portrayed. Examples of activities that have real life agency include cooking,

playing sports, and shopping. Examples of activities that do not have real life agency are

a woman riding a dinosaur and a man floating through the air inside a bubble. Abraham

also points out that one can generally describe activities with real life agency as either

male or female according to traditional roles. Therefore, in a traditional society, cooking

and shopping are female and playing sports are male. His research proved to

include stereotypes because males were hardly portrayed doing female activities and they

represented prestigious occupations.

In 1987, Andree Michel initiated the textbook analysis methodology that takes

into account the frequency of stereotyped images. Michel's methodology led to studies

by Gonzalez in 1987 and 1990 as well as by Montes de Oca y Rosales in 1993 (Araya

Umaña, 2003a; Lesser Blumberg, 2007). Subirats Martori (1994) mentions a study of

textbooks used in Spain that considered the frequency of stereotyped images. An

analysis of 36 textbooks from primary grades 1-8 included 8,228 people only 25.6% were

females and females were portrayed in less than 20% of the total number of professions

represented in the books.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of Spain (2000) completed a study that

looked at female visibility in texts by counting the frequency of male and female

appearances. The texts examined were from the 1999-2000 school year and found that

out of 30,000 illustrations in the primary school texts, 45% of the images were of one or

more males, 26% portrayed one or more females, and 26% had both males and females.

In secondary school texts, of the 9,049 illustrations, 48% of the images included males,

23% had females and 28% were comprised of both males and females. This data shows

that males were more visible than females in the texts.

In Chile, a qualitative analysis of *Spanish Language and Communication*

textbooks used in the 1st and 2nd years of high school during the 2006-2007 school year

looked at how woman and men were portrayed in the family, professional world, and in conflict resolution situations. The investigation looked at books from three different editors and two units relating to conflict resolution from each book. The results show that women appeared in the images to be passive, subordinate, caring for the children, doing household chores, as teachers, secretaries and doing other domestic occupations. Men appeared as being protagonists, having the power, being bosses, family providers and holding public offices. The conclusion led to proclaiming that the textbooks are sexist and that women and men should appear to be equally valued as the both play a role in making a peaceful and just world (López Morales, 2008).

Pico's (1979) quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content and images in Social Studies and Spanish books used in primary school in Puerto Rico looks at gender stereotypes and machismo, which is a set of beliefs and values that view the male as being superior. The study looks at how the gender roles relate to the family, community and the country. Quantitatively, Pico looked at the omission of the female from the books and the visibility of male. Qualitatively, the study examines how females appear in their role of the family as mothers and housewives and in society as secretaries and nurses while the males appear as the family provider and leaders of society as bosses and doctors. Pico's analysis shows that the texts include stereotypes that portray women as having traditional and conservative roles and men as being protagonists and having the power to make social changes (UNESCO, 1983).

To summarize, various studies that have examined textbooks used in educational systems in Latin America and Spain have shown gender role stereotyped portrayals at the

time of the study. Pico, in her exposition in UNESCO's *Final Report: Regional Technical Meeting about Educational Inequalities of Women and Girls in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1983), suggests evaluating and revising the books that schools are using or are in the process of being distributed, removing those with stereotypes, and then replacing them with new books free of stereotypes. Araya Umaña's (2003b) view does not make the removal process of texts seem as easy as Pico and claims that working towards the elimination of stereotypes from textbooks calls for collaboration between specialists, editors, and educational planners. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Dominican Republic's Decade Plan 1992-2002 had as a long term goal, rather than short term goal, to revise textbooks to reduce stereotypes.   Both Pico and Araya Umaña's studies lack actual examples of how different ministries of education have gone through the process of reducing stereotypes from school texts. Including country specific cases would strengthen their arguments and would also provide insight for various countries that are struggling with the issue.

Lesser Blumberg (2007) provides examples from Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Costa Rica as cases where governments have attempted to eliminate stereotypes in texts. Through the illustration of Peru, we become aware of how change in government can affect the process.   In 2000, the Women's Ministry of the Fujimori government in Peru created a "Plan for Equality of Opportunities for Women and Men" and one of the objectives was to remove all sexism from teaching and didactic materials. However, there was never action taken towards following the plan and after changes of personnel in

the Women's Ministry led to revisions of the original plan, the Catholic Church took a

stand against the revisions and eventually the new Minister modified the plan to focus on

family instead of gender. Hence an example of why eliminating stereotypes from

textbooks can be a great challenge for a country.

Studies of Gender Role Portrayal in Dominican Republic Texts

As previously mentioned, the responsibility of eradicating gender discrimination

from Dominican education belongs to an office of the Secretary of Education called

EDUC-MUJER. Two accomplishments of EDUC-MUJER are "Promoting the use of

non-sexist language by: education staff, textbooks and educational materials, and in the

names of parents' associations" and "revising curricula and textbooks from a gender-

neutral standpoint for the basic and intermediate levels of 8 curriculum streams"

(Secretary of Education, 2004, p. 6).

While gender role portrayal in Latin American school textbooks became a

common theme of study around twenty years ago, studies specific to Dominican Republic

texts are rare. However, the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (2004b) supplies

a mixed method, historical analysis of textbooks used in the Dominican Republic in

comparison to texts used in 18 other Latin American countries as part of an examination

of the promotion of human rights in school curriculum and administration. The analysis

comprised of Social Studies and Civic education texts used in grades 5th, 8th, and 11th

from the years 1990 and 2002. However, the books used in 1990 had publishing dates in 1983, 1988 and 1989. The analysis looked at gender equity using indicators such a "language used in textbooks," "roles in which women are depicted in textbook illustrations", and "number of women in relation to men in textbook illustrations" (p. 18).

The following example is specifically from the analysis of Dominican texts. In the 8th grade, Social Studies textbook used in 1990, all of the pictures of historical heroes were of men except for one female image of Minerva Mirabal, who fought against the Trujillo regime in the late 1950s. As for the text used in for the same course and grade in 2002, an image in the section that addresses Trujillo's dictatorship shows women marching with the nation's flag (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, 2004a). One of the conclusions drawn from the study is that in the later books, there were more portrayals of woman participating in political roles apart from just domestic roles (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, 2004a).

As far as the analysis of language, textbooks used in 2003 used more gender-sensitive language that includes both men and women. Textbooks of the most recent editions showed a greater number of women in professional occupations and more men doing house work and taking care of the children in an attempt to portray gender equality. The percentage of depiction of men to women was not equal in the books used in 1990 whereas a more even balance of visibility between the sexes in the books used in 2002. Overall, it was evident that in comparing the texts used from the different time periods, there was improvement in how the texts promoted gender equity (Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, 2004b).

While the analysis by the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights helps to fill a large gap in research on the portrayal of gender roles in Dominican textbooks, there remains the need for other similar studies in order to compare findings and strengthen the assumption that the Secretary of Education of the Dominican Republic is making progress towards eliminating stereotypes in school curriculum. The research done by the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights examines textbooks from an important time period, the 1990s, in Dominican education, but fails to address why the study evaluates books from that year. Including historical background information on the educational reforms taking place during the 1990s would support why analyzing books from 1990 and then in 2002 is significant.

The Inter-American Development Bank's Web site (http://www.iadb.org/) describes a study completed in June of 2009, which will add to the small amount of research done on the existence of gender stereotypes in Dominican schools and curriculum. The pilot project titled, "Promoting Gender Equity in Education's Basic Level," started in September 2006 and included collecting empirical and ethnographic data from at least four schools. The purpose was to create policy recommendations and pedagogical tools relative to the situation in the Dominican Republic with the result of promoting gender equality and reducing stereotypes in basic education. Although data and conclusions from the study are awaiting publication, we can expect that this study will be of great contribution towards the issue.

Limitations

Textbook analyses are one of the most common ways to examine if stereotypes exist in school curriculum (Blat Gimeno, 1994). However, text analyses also have their limitations. Hall (2000) states, "Attempts to evaluate textbooks are problematic because more factors influence the content of textbooks than the particular theoretical perspective and substantive expertise of authors" (p. 300). Hall lists limitations due to publishing, marketing, research and statistics as factors that investigators need to be aware of in their study, but this issue does not take away the importance textbook analyses.   Hall would say the factors that may influence my textbook analysis of gender portrayal in images include the obtainable pictures that the editors have to incorporate in the books, the cost of printing pictures, and the accessibility of research and statistics regarding gender roles in Dominican society. Since my analysis is historical, it is important to keep in mind that these factors may have changed over time.

Although gender stereotypes in textbooks are a major problem, studies need to examine other elements. For example, in Africa, the Southern Natal Gender Committee of the South African Democratic Teacher's Union met in 1994 to raise awareness about the issue. The committee composed of 70 teachers, almost all females, recognizes, "Aspects such as the presentation of curricular materials, the practices of classroom teachers and policies that may have a harsher impact on girls than boys, for instance large classrooms, need also to be examined" (The Southern Natal Gender Committee, 1994, p.

61). Kingston and Lovelace (1977-1978) argue that investigations of stereotypes in textbooks would be more useful if the research also looked at if the textbooks are disadvantageous to a child's learning. "The vast majority of those engaged in this sort of research fail to view the problem from the viewpoint of its impact upon the motivation and learning of the children" (p.135). Thus, from investigations on the portrayal of gender stereotypes, other questions are bound to arise. Therefore, a limitation of my study is that I am only considering one aspect of the problem.

Haggarty & Pepin (2002) proclaim, "Textbooks should be analyzed both in terms of their content and structure, as well as in terms of the process component, i.e. their use in classrooms by pupils and teachers" (p. 568). Therefore, the insight one can get from textbook examinations depends on the way in which one analyzes them. Another limitation of my study is that the only focus was on visual representations. Although I only analyze visual images, there are various scholars that argue that written text should also be examined. Guzmán Ariza (2010) explains that the Spanish language hides the female due to the usage of gendered nouns in the language system. Therefore, textbook publishers need not only to be aware of gender portrayal in images, but also in the language. Lesser Blumburg (2009) refers to Stromquist's (2007) article, "Gender Equity Education Globally," stating that she "summarizes her years of studying sexist bias in texts and curricula in developing countries, noting more progress in removing male-centered language than in funding/developing content depicting positive identities among women" (p. 355). Therefore, Guzmán Ariza and Stromquist would agree in the

importance of publishers focusing not just on images, but also on language when trying

to reduce stereotypes from school texts.

Future studies should include an analysis of text, how teachers present the

information in the textbooks, and how students interpret them. Eklund Koza (1994)

claims that her study of illustrations of females in 1988 middle school textbooks used in

American schools was confined because of the scarcity of previous research on gender in

music education. This is the same limitation of my study. Nevertheless, she suggests

that limitations of textbook analyses can open prospective ideas for future research.

According to the Gender Schema theory, "Children come to understand

themselves in terms of gender attributes they encounter in real life and, to no lesser

extent, through picture books" (Frawley, 2008, p. 292). Therefore, since the outside

world also influences children's attitudes, school textbooks are not the only cause for

students having gender stereotyped views. Thus, my textbook examination provides only

one angle for approaching the issue.

METHODOLOGY

Selection of Textbooks

My textbook examination included a total of six textbooks including second grade Natural Sciences, fourth grade Spanish, and sixth grade Social Sciences. I analyzed one book from each grade/subject that was published in 1996-1997 and another book of the same grade/subject from the years 2005-2007. Dominican children are normally in second grade when they are seven years old, in fourth grade when they are nine years old and 11 years old when they reach the sixth grade. Frawley (2008) maintains that children between ages 6-9, children "are better able to process gender-consistent as well as gender-inconsistent information, and are less likely to distort information that does not agree with gender stereotypes" (p. 293). After age 8, children cognitively comprehend their particular gender roles and carry out the roles that they understand as an acceptable way to behave according to their socialization (Albert & Porter, 1988). For this reason, I will be looking at textbooks used at the primary grade level. See Appendix A for a full list of all textbooks their government-funded publishers analyzed in this study.

The procedure includes quantitative and qualitative components. Quantitatively, the number of females and males that appear in visual representations were counted. Qualitatively, the types of roles that are depicted and who appears participating in the roles were listed. The examination of each text started from the beginning of the first page of the first chapter until the last page of the last chapter. Therefore, there is a difference in number of pages analyzed for each text. The visual images included in the examination are only those images that have real life agency as described by Abraham (1989). The roles were listed as they appeared in the text and assigned as either having female or male agency according to the cultural norms of Dominican Society, which I drew from my several years of experience working in the Dominican Republic. I then counted the number of female and male appearances in the different types of roles. As an image with real life agency appeared, the role represented, the sex of the person or people portraying the role and the number of how many people were depicted were noted. The number of female and male appearances was counted to see if there is a pattern of gender role portrayal relating to certain types of roles and to determine if males are more visible than females. When organizing the number of appearances, I grouped several roles together under one common theme, which I later designate as a specific category, and I counted the appearances of historical figures separately. For example, some roles that are part of the "service" category and also considered traditionally male roles include firefighter, police officer. Traditionally female service jobs are sales clerk, restaurant

server, and secretary. Typical Dominican stereotypes include females holding motherly

like occupations such as teachers and nurses as well as taking care of all domestic and

childcare responsibilities. Male stereotypes consider them the head of the household, but

they do not do housework or take care of the children. They are the family provider and

hold jobs that demand leadership characteristics (Research Center for Feminist Action,

2007).

Using as a reference Renán Silva´s (1979) categories from an analysis of

Colombian textbooks, I created a total of nine categories that I named *Service, Academic,*

Specialized, Medical, Rural, Business, Domestic, Childcare and *Other*. The name of the

category refers to the type of role. The *Specialized, Rural and Business* categories do not

have any traditionally female roles. The *Domestic and Childcare* categories do not have

any traditionally male roles. Table 1 outlines the roles, professions and activities that

make up each category. The "x" in all tables signifies that there are no traditionally male

or female roles for that specific category and therefore has no value.

After counting the number of female and male visual appearances in the gender

role categories, it was determined if the textbooks are "sex-fair" and/or "sex-affirmative,"

concepts developed by Scott and Schau (1985). In determining if the textbooks are sex-

fair, females needed to appear in the same amount of images as males and both genders

needed to appear doing the same family and occupational roles in an equal amount of

images. Each category was examined individually to see if the frequency of appearances

was equal. Sex-affirmative texts stress the portrayal of females and males in roles

opposite their traditional role (Eklund Koza, 1994). If the sex appeared with a

greater frequency doing an activity that is not typically the norm than the sex who

typically performs a role of that category, then the text was determined sex-affirmative

for that individual category. An entire text was not considered sex-fair or sex-affirmative

unless across all categories were either sex-fair or sex-affirmative. I also compared texts

from 1996-1997 to the texts from 2005-2007 according to grade and subject to see if

stereotyped visual imagery has decreased.

Table 1
Roles, Professions and Activities

Category	Traditionally Male Roles	Traditionally Female Roles
Service	Firefighter, Traffic Guard, Waste Management, Mail Delivery Worker, Custodian, Government Worker, Police	Sales Clerk, Restaurant Server, Bank Teller, Secretary, Flight Attendant
Academic	School Director, Working on Computer, Reading and Writing	Teacher, Librarian
Specialized	Sailor, Electrician, Chef, Lawyer, Artist, Mechanic, Construction Worker, Astronaut, Pilot, Painter, Scientist, Sewing, Photographer	X
Medical	Doctor	Nurse
Rural	Farmer, Fishing, Feeding Animals	X
Business	Street/Market Vendor	X
Domestic	X	Taking Care of the Sick/Elderly, Cleaning, Washing Clothes/Dishes, Cooking, Cleaning Yard, Shopping
Childcare	X	Feeding Child, Holding Baby, Taking Care of Sick Child, Holding Child
Other	Playing Sports, Driving Vehicle or Carriage, Filling Car Up with Gasoline, Playing games, Boating, Riding Bike, Exercising	Church Related Activities, Gardening, Dancing

FINDINGS

Female Visibility

A total of 366 visual representations were analyzed according to the nine social role categories and of those images, 206 are in the texts from the years 1996-1997 and 106 visual representations are in the texts from 2005-2007. Of the visual images from the 1996-1997 texts, females are depicted in 39% of the visual representations (males depicted in 61% of the visual representations) and the majority of roles females participate in are academic related. In the texts from 2005-2007, 53% of the visual representations portray females (males portrayed in 47% of the visual representations) and females are most commonly shown performing domestic tasks. Therefore, female visibility in images has increased by 14% in the texts over the two time periods. This is a significant step towards achieving gender equality in textbooks. However, in order to reduce stereotypes, not just the number of female appearances is important. If textbooks are to achieve the objective set by the government, publishers need to also consider how females appear and what roles they are performing, which I discuss in the next section.

In comparing all six textbooks, the two Natural Sciences texts have the greatest gap in the number of visual appearances between males and females. In the text from the years 1996-1997, 29% of the images depict females and in the 2005-2007 texts, 34%

include females. In the Spanish texts from 1996-1997, 45% of the images are of females

while in the Spanish texts from 2005-2007, 38% of the images depict females. This

shows a 5% increase in percentage of female visibility in Natural Sciences texts over the

two time periods and a 7% decrease in Spanish texts. This suggests that publishers need

to work more on increasing female visibility in Natural Sciences and Spanish texts with

particular focus on Spanish texts in order to stop a decreasing percentage, which is what

the Dominican government is striving towards. In the Social Sciences texts across the

two time periods, there is an equal percentage of males to females performing roles

relating to the nine categories. However, the number of images examined in the Social

Sciences texts compared to the other texts is minimal since there are at total of 24 images

from the two Social Sciences texts whereas in the Natural Sciences texts there are 200

images and a total of 142 images in the Spanish texts. See Appendix B for tables relating

to data from individual texts.

     In the Social Sciences texts, the majority of visual images are historical figures.

There is a total of 90 historical figures. I looked at historical figures apart from the nine

categories because the Social Sciences texts are the only texts that include historical

figures. In the 1996-1997 texts, all 37 images that portray historical figures are of males.

In the 2005-2007 texts, there are 53 images, and two of them depict females. The two

female historical figures are Madame Roland, supporter of the French Revolution, and

Mary II, Queen of England in 1688. If the number of female figures who are historically

significant have not increased, this may suggest that curriculum in the area of Social

Sciences may have changed since the number of images of historical figures has

increased. This may mean that students are learning about more historical figures. Therefore, this may indicate in light of the government's goal, that publishers need to incorporate more images of female historical figures, especially when the number of images increases over time.

Sex-Affirmative and Sex-Fair Analysis

According to my method of analysis, a text is free of stereotyped images if all of the depicted roles are visually portrayed equally in number by both sexes. A text cannot be considered both sex-fair and sex-affirmative because sex-affirmative texts, in the aspect of images, show all traditional roles being portrayed in greater number by the sex that does not normally perform that role. There are some texts that have what I consider sex-fair or sex-affirmative images, but not one book has all of the images as either sex-fair or sex-affirmative. Therefore, my results do not prove that any of the six books are completely free of stereotyped images nor are 100% of the images sex-affirmative in any text. My results do show that some texts have types of images that can be considered sex-fair or sex-affirmative regarding the portrayal of certain gender roles, which gives an idea for how images are stereotyped and in which role portrayals there needs to be more focus to reduce stereotypes.

Regarding texts from 1996-1997, the Natural Sciences book is the only text that has sex-fair visual images in both traditionally male and female roles in the Academic category. Therefore, there are an equal number of males and females being visually

portrayed in images as teachers, librarians, and school directors, or participating in

activities such as reading, writing and working on the computer. This is significant

because one of the most recognized female, professional roles is teaching. The Spanish

text has sex-fair images portraying traditionally female roles in Service category meaning

males and females appear in the same number of images as a sales clerk, server, bank

teller, secretary or flight attendant. This is also important because according to

Dominican culture (Research Center for Feminist Action, 2007), females are the service

providers. The overall visual portrayals depicting traditionally male roles in the Business

category in the Social Sciences text is sex-fair. Therefore, females and males appear in an

equal number of images as either market/street vendors or entrepreneurs. This may

indicate that publishers are recognizing the increased participation of women in market

labor in the Dominican Republic.

Of the 1996-1997 texts, images that visually portray roles in four categories prove

to be sex-affirmative, all found in the Spanish text. The images in the Academic and

Medical categories are sex-affirmative in traditionally male roles, and the images

portraying roles in the Domestic and Childcare categories are also sex-affirmative.

Across all three texts, the Academic category is the only category with more than one text

being sex-fair or sex-affirmative in that particular category. This may suggest that the

government along with the text publishers recognized during 1996-1997 the need for both

females and males to participate in the education and medical field as well as the need for

males to partake in household responsibilities.

Concerning texts from 2005-2007, Spanish has two categories that have sex-fair images, Academic and Childcare. Images are sex-affirmative in the Domestic category, which means males appear more than females in images as teachers or librarians, doing household chores or taking care of children. The Natural Sciences text has sex-affirmative images portraying female roles in the Other category. Therefore, more males than females are portrayed in church related activities as well as gardening and dancing. This data is significant because males have continued to portray traditionally female roles in the texts over the two time periods. However, we do not see the same happening with females portraying traditionally male roles. One example is the Social Sciences text, which has sex-fair images depicting specialized roles. However, although this may look significant, images in this category are sex-fair with only one image being portrayed. In fact, all of the categories with sex-fair images consist of only one or two images portraying each gender role. Therefore, this data would be more convincing if there were more images.

In the 1996-1997 texts, females are depicted in 29% of the images that portray traditionally male roles and 33% of the images portraying traditionally female roles show males participating in those roles. Therefore, the images affirm more males performing traditionally female roles than females participating in traditionally male roles. In the 2005-2007 texts, females are depicted in 22% of the images that portray traditionally male roles and 45% of the images portraying traditionally female roles show males participating in those roles. Comparing this data shows that there was a 12% increase in the portrayal of males performing traditionally female roles and there was a 7% decrease

in females portrayed in traditionally male roles. See Tables 2-5.

Table 2

154 Images of 206 in
Textbooks from 1996-1997

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	14	2	**16**
Academic	26	28	**54**
Specialized	20	4	**24**
Medical	0	1	**1**
Rural	13	0	**13**
Business	12	3	**15**
Domestic	X	X	X
Childcare	X	X	X
Other	24	7	31
TOTAL	**109**	**45**	**154**

Table 3

52 Images of 206 in
Textbooks from 1996-1997

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	2	3	**5**
Academic	5	15	**20**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	5	8	**13**
Childcare	3	6	**9**
Other	2	3	5
TOTAL	**17**	**35**	**52**

Table 4

96 Images of 106 in
Textbooks from 2005-2007

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	2	2	**4**
Academic	6	5	**11**
Specialized	27	2	**29**
Medical	1	1	**2**
Rural	7	0	**7**
Business	7	0	**7**
Domestic	X	X	X
Childcare	X	X	X
Other	25	11	36
TOTAL	**75**	**21**	**96**

Table 5

64 Images of 106 in Textbooks from
2005-2007

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	1	2	**3**
Academic	4	9	**13**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	17	17	**34**
Childcare	3	4	**7**
Other	4	3	7
TOTAL	**29**	**35**	**64**

The visual images in the male roles, Service category change from females being portrayed in 13% of the images in the 1996-1997 texts to images being sex-fair in the 2005-2007 texts. This means that the number of females being visually portrayed in roles such as police officials and traffic guards among others has increased. This is the type of improvement that the government is working towards. Types of images that publishers need to concentrate more on include images of females portraying rural and business roles. Regarding the Rural and Business categories, the images hardly portray females in any of the six texts as they appear only in three images performing business roles in the 1996-1997 texts. The Specialized category has the widest gap in numbers of appearances of males to females in texts from both time periods. This suggests that a major way publishers can help the government accomplish the goal of reducing gender stereotypes is by including more images of females performing specialized roles such as astronauts, pilots and mechanics.

Focusing on the two categories that do not have any images that portray traditionally male roles or activities, Domestic and Childcare, we see a significant improvement in the reduction of stereotypes. Males are portrayed in 38% of the domestic images in 1996-1997 texts while in 2005-2007 texts, males are represented in 50% of the domestic images making this category sex-fair. We also see a 10% increase of images showing males portraying childcare roles. This indicates that publishers have promoted males performing traditionally female roles relating to the household.

Summary of Findings

A total of 366 visual representations portraying roles from the nine social role categories and an additional 90 visual images portraying historical figures were examined. Historical figures were studied apart from the other categories since they only appear in the Social Sciences texts. All but two of the 90 images were found to be male portrayed figures. However, regarding the social role categories, female visibility increased 14% in the 1996-1997 to the 2005-2007 texts, which is indicates forward movement towards reducing stereotypes.

Although there was not one book that was found to have all visual images as either sex-fair or sex-affirmative, there are several categories that have the overall number of images verified as either sex-fair or sex affirmative with the majority being in texts from 1996-1997. In comparison, there are eight categories with images that are either sex-fair or sex-affirmative in texts from 1996-1997 and in the texts from 2005-2007, there are five categories. This regression is contrary to the government's plan to reduce gender stereotypes and therefore calls for attention. The Specialized category in texts from both time periods has the highest gap of images that portray more males performing roles than females, which suggests that publishers need to include more images with females performing such roles in order to advance towards the objective. The textbooks with the most categories with sex-fair/sex-affirmative images are the

fourth grade Spanish texts from both time periods, which suggest that publishers may need to focus more on how to improve the portrayal of gender roles in Natural Sciences and Social Sciences text than in Spanish texts to accomplish the government's goal.

Over the two time periods, the number of visual images of males shown performing traditionally female roles increased 12% while than the number of images of females portraying traditionally male roles decreased 7%. These percentages, although one may perceive as small, are significant because they help to trace the movement towards reaching a goal and can be used in future, comparative studies. Overall, the texts in 1996-1997 and in 2005-2007 affirm in greater number more males performing traditionally female roles than females participating in traditionally male roles. For example, more men are portrayed performing domestic and childcare roles in the 2005-2007 texts than in the 1996-1997 texts, which show a decrease in stereotyped images portraying only females having household and childcare responsibilities. In texts from 1996-1997, females appear in more images than males performing traditionally male, academic roles and medical roles meaning that females are being affirmed. However, in texts from 2005-2007, females are not affirmed in images in any category. This is a concern that needs to be addressed by publishers since the government plans to reduce all gender stereotypes.

Conclusion

School texts are considered to have a significant impact on a child's learning as they are one of the various tools that transmit societal values and children also form gender schemas while viewing the images that allow them to understand gender roles. Therefore, over the years school texts have been a popular focus of various studies realized by government agencies and scholars looking to investigate the existence of gender stereotypes in school curriculum. The Dominican Republic is one of the many Latin American countries that have set out to eliminate stereotypes from curriculum. My historical comparison of the images portrayed in two sets of texts used in between the years 1996-1997 and 2005-2007 was completed with the purpose to gauge if progress is being made towards reaching this goal.

In conclusion, the percentage of visual representations portraying males partaking in traditionally female roles has increased while the percentage of visual representations of females performing traditionally male roles has decreased in texts used in the Dominican Republic's basic education system from the years 1996-1997 and 2005-2007. One can see, in the sample of texts analyzed, that there are less gender stereotyped visual images that portray only females performing traditionally female roles. Therefore, the Secretary of Education is making progress towards reducing stereotyped images. However, visual images are affirming more males than females. If the government wants to promote the capability of females in performing traditionally male roles, improvement

still needs to be made in showing more females in traditionally male stereotyped roles since the goal is to reduce all gender stereotypes.

Discussion of Contribution and Potential Future Research

This analysis helps to fill a gap in research relating to gender stereotypes in Dominican education. The results from the study show that the Secretary of Education of the Dominican Republic has been successful in reducing female stereotypes in school texts. However, continued progress is necessary to reduce male stereotyped visual images in texts and completely eliminate gender stereotypes from the school system. Previous studies that have examined Dominican school texts are scarce and even rarer are published studies available to non-Spanish speaking investigators. Therefore, my analysis opens up this topic to non-Spanish speakers.

Critics of my research may argue that examining only visual images does not provide enough information for conclusions to be drawn about an entire text, which is why my conclusion is based on the aspect of the visual representations. Therefore, future research should address language, how teachers use the texts and how children interpret them. Potential studies may want to consider texts used in different courses as well as a greater number of texts. Since the Dominican Republic's education system went through various reforms starting at the end of the 1980s, a historical analysis including books used as early as that time period would be beneficial in obtaining a broader picture of how stereotypes in textbooks have evolved and if they have progressively reduced.

APPENDIX A:

LIST OF TEXTBOOKS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Ciencias Sociales 6, Disesa, 2007

Lengua Española 4, Vicens Vives, 1997

Lengua y Literatura 4, Vicens Vives, 2005

Ciencias de la Naturaleza, 2, Disesa, 2006

Nuestro Medio, 2, Santillana, 1996

Sociales 6, Santillana, 1996

APPENDIX B:

TABLES OF INDIVIDUAL TEXT ANALYSIS

Table 6

Images from Natural Sciences Text, 1996, (121 pages)

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	8	0	**8**
Academic	5	5	**10**
Specialized	6	1	**7**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	11	0	**11**
Business	10	2	**12**
Domestic	X	X	**X**
Childcare	X	X	**X**
Other	16	2	**18**
Total	**56**	**10**	**66**

Table 7

Images from Natural Sciences Text, 1996, (121 pages)

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	1	2	**3**
Academic	1	1	**2**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	0	4	**4**
Childcare	0	4	**4**
Other	2	3	**5**
Total	**4**	**14**	**18**

Table 8

Images from Natural Sciences Text, 2006, (94 pages)

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	1	0	**1**
Academic	4	3	**7**
Specialized	18	1	**19**
Medical	1	0	**1**
Rural	6	0	**6**
Business	6	0	**6**
Domestic	X	X	**X**
Childcare	X	X	**X**
Other	22	10	**32**
Total	**58**	**14**	**72**

Table 9

Images from Natural Sciences Text, 2006, (94 pages)

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	0	0	**0**
Academic	0	2	**2**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	13	17	**30**
Childcare	2	3	**5**
Other	4	3	**7**
Total	**19**	**25**	**44**

Table 10

Images from Spanish Text, 1997, (173 pages)

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	0	2	**2**
Academic	16	19	**35**
Specialized	14	3	**17**
Medical	0	1	**1**
Rural	2	0	**2**
Business	2	0	**2**
Domestic	X	X	**X**
Childcare	X	X	**X**
Other	8	5	**13**
Total	**42**	**30**	**72**

Table 11

Images from Spanish Text, 1997, (173 pages)

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	1	1	**2**
Academic	4	8	**12**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	5	4	**9**
Childcare	3	2	**5**
Other	0	0	**0**
Total	**13**	**15**	**28**

Table 12

Images from Spanish Text, 2005, (173 pages)

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	1	2	**3**
Academic	2	2	**4**
Specialized	8	0	**8**
Medical	0	1	**1**
Rural	1	0	**1**
Business	1	0	**1**
Domestic	X	X	**X**
Childcare	X	X	**X**
Other	3	1	**4**
Total	**16**	**6**	**22**

Table 13

Images from Spanish Text, 2005, (173 pages)

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	1	2	**3**
Academic	4	7	**11**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	4	0	**4**
Childcare	1	1	**2**
Other	0	0	**0**
Total	**10**	**10**	**20**

Table 14

Images from Social Sciences Text, 1996, (133 pages)

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	6	0	**6**
Academic	5	4	**9**
Specialized	0	0	**0**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	0	0	**0**
Business	0	1	**1**
Domestic	X	X	**X**
Childcare	X	X	**X**
Other	0	0	**0**
Total	**11**	**5**	**16**

Table 15

Images from Social Science Text, 1996, (133 pages)

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	0	0	**0**
Academic	0	6	**6**
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	0	0	**0**
Childcare	0	0	**0**
Other	0	0	**0**
Total	**0**	**6**	**6**

Table 16

Images from Social Sciences Text, 2007 (143 pages)

Male Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	0	0	**0**
Academic	0	0	**0**
Specialized	1	1	**2**
Medical	0	0	**0**
Rural	0	0	**0**
Business	0	0	**0**
Domestic	X	X	**X**
Childcare	X	X	**X**
Other	0	0	**0**
Total	**1**	**1**	**2**

Table 17

Images from Social Sciences Text, 2007 (143 pages)

Female Roles	Male	Female	Total
Service	0	0	0
Academic	0	0	0
Specialized	X	X	**X**
Medical	0	0	0
Rural	X	X	**X**
Business	X	X	**X**
Domestic	0	0	0
Childcare	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**

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VITA

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