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Interviewee: Estelle Tafoya

Interviewer: unknown

Date of Interview: circa 1977

Interviewer: Estelle Tafoya is an assistant professor at the School of Education at the University of Montana. And Estelle, what is sexism in education?

I: Let's start with a question. Okay.

Estelle Tafoya: Sexism in education is denying the option to be what one can be, to realize one's full potential, to one gender or the other simply because of gender. And that's analogous to racism, you know, denying opportunities, denying self-fulfillment to all people, or to some people, because of their race. It applies in our schools, I'm sorry to say, in terms of gender as well.

I: Is it a big problem?

ET: It's a serious problem. In my estimation, yes, it is.

I: In what ways?

ET: As some of the research studies have shown, when you ask fourth or fifth grade children what they want to be when they grow up—you're asking both boys and girls—one research study showed that these children, the boys could articulate quite well what they wanted to be, and they chose from a very, very wide range of occupational roles. The girls were much more limited. They chose from the traditional—teaching, nursing, librarian, that kind of thing. Then even more revealing, when they were asked to describe a day in their life as an adult in their occupation, you know, "what would it be like to be in that role," the boys could really fairly accurately describe what they would be doing—whether it was absolutely accurate or not—but at least they could go through a business-day kind of thing. The girls had real trouble doing that. They usually ended up coming home to fix lunch and cook dinner afterwards, and those are the kinds of things that they could articulate. That was about it.

I: What makes children develop these ideas?

ET: Well [laughs], ask any kindergarten teacher, and she'll tell you that it started when they came home from the hospital in a pink blanket or a blue blanket. Their sex roles are pretty well defined by the time they reach school—nursery school, kindergarten. It happens obviously in the home, beginning there. So then the question is, well, why bother in the schools? What can we do about it in the schools? Well, I think that we certainly don't want to reinforce sex role stereotyping in the schools. We want to help children honestly look at what is happening in terms of sexual stereotyping. Open up options to both boys and girls to be full human beings.

To meet the potential that they have. We can't totally negate the sex stereotyping, the role stereotyping, that's occurred in the home, in most cases, but we can certainly try and develop an awareness and then guide and counsel. Best of all, be a good role model yourself, and bring in role models for both the boys and the girls as resource persons. There're lots of them in the community.

I: How are educators trying to change the stereotype role modeling that's happening now?

ET: Well, one of the first things that we've looked at, and this has been going on since some early research in about 1969—in terms of sex role research that's fairly early for the public schools—we looked at curriculum materials, specifically readers. You know, the “Dick and Jane” kind of thing. One of the very first things, a group published some data called *Dick and Jane as Victims*, obviously victims of sex role stereotyping. They came up with some extraordinary statistics.

I: That's okay, go ahead.

ET: We'll get some of that out.

The most influential survey of readers was first conducted by a central New Jersey chapter of NOW, and it was—

I: What is NOW?

ET: NOW is the National Organization of Women, I'm sorry. It was very widely distributed in an amended form called *Dick and Jane as Victims*. That group was the first to really bring this to national attention, at least as far as I know and I'm aware. They examined 144 elementary readers from about 15 different series that are used, widely used, around the country, and they found that 881 of the stories centered around boys, whereas 344 centered around girls. In similar proportions, almost 300 stories centered around adult males, whereas about 200, less than 200, centered around—was about 125, I believe—around adult females. So just simply by numbers alone, there's an implication that the importance of one gender as opposed to the importance of another. Growing up female, dealing with that, seeing that in the textbooks, in the curriculum materials, always the generic pronoun *he* there, I think it tells you something—a message comes through to boys and girls.

I: And what about the roles that...Even though there are women portrayed, are their roles much more limited than the males?

ET: Well, let me see if I give you some more statistics on that. Women are usually presented in very passive roles. They're presented even negatively in a lot of the literature. They're shown to be clumsy or lacking in intelligence or highly emotional in the stories—very, very often—unable to solve problems. The male has to come and solve the problem. Like, in one of the typical

stories, the children's cat is up in the tree. Well, the mother can't really manage a ladder and help the children get up a tree and rescue the kitten, but Father has to come home and get the ladder out of the garage and put it up against the tree, and in his suit and tie climb the ladder in the tree and get the kitten.

I: The hero. [laughs]

ET: [laughs] Right! Now, the mother couldn't think of that, you see, she wasn't quite intelligent enough, or resourceful enough perhaps, to do that kind of thing. Now, I know many people think this is all rather petty to deal with this sort of thing, to be concerned about these sorts of images that are contained in our text books, our curriculum materials, our films, workbooks—all the kinds of things that we use as tools in in the public schools. But I strongly disagree. I think that all of these things are of vital importance in developing the way one looks at oneself, and realizing what one's potential might be, in terms of roles. Sex roles, occupational roles...

Well, and some other statistics in terms of textbooks. One study discovered that girls were shown in quiet games 60 percent of the time, in the textbooks analyzed—this was in about 1971—whereas boys were shown in passive, quiet games only 20 percent of the time. In the same study, girls were generally depicted in passive situations where there was little creativity, very little initiative, and very little independence displayed. But boys, on the other hand, were usually pictured as very assertive, brave, curious, independent—all of those qualities that are, in our society, extremely desirable and usually identified masculine.

I: What effect does this have then on the children? Both from a male and a female standing?

ET: Well, I think that one of the things that that we haven't looked at as closely as we should, and it's beginning to happen, is the effect of this kind of stereotyping on our boys, on our male students, and it's a serious problem. For example, Feminist Northwest compiled some data that I use in my classes to bring out this particular point. For example, some of the damaging effects of sex stereotyping on boys and on men are things like loss of personality and work options. Not only do we limit females in terms of the kinds of work options that they have, men are limited somewhat too. It takes a really courageous man, who feels strongly that he wants to be a kindergarten teacher or that he wants to be a nurse, to go ahead and do that. May I add particularly in Montana?

I: Yes. [laughs]

ET: [laughs] And other western, rural states. But it's very encouraging to me that we have some fine young men who are majoring in elementary education, and that several of them are interested in the primary grades—kindergarten, first, second, third grades—and that's very pleasing to me. But anyway, the demands that boys conform to social notions of what is manly come much earlier for boys and are reinforced with a lot more vigor than similar attitudes toward girls. Several research studies, using preschool children, indicate that boys are aware of

what is expected of them because they're boys, and restrict their interests and their activities to what is masculine, in kindergarten. That early. Where the girls sort of amble gradually in the direction of what is feminine for about five more years. Girls seem to be more open to explore in the beginning, up through about age nine or ten, in that area. Boys seem to be, from very, very young, have this sex role of being the aggressive male and know exactly what is masculine, what boys do and what boys don't do. What's sissy and what's not sissy. It's much easier, by the way, to be a tomboy in our society than to be a sissy.

I: [laughs] That's interesting.

ET: Right. And a lot of boys build expectations that are a lot higher than their ability to achieve. Because they're pressured to achieve. The job-striving male is the image that our society projects. And we're all human beings, and some of us are not oriented, that goal-oriented, and yet these young men are being forced to be that way. I think it does something in terms of hardening the personality, in terms of health, just mental health. There can be some problems with that.

Another thing that...we're very concerned with violence in our American society, and there's been some recent...a lot of publicity recently in the media about, you know, television looking at itself and the amount of violence that we encounter in all of our lives and also on television. Boys are actually encouraged, as I think most of us have observed, they're actually encouraged to be aggressive by parents, while girls are not encouraged to be aggressive. Teachers do the same thing in classrooms. I was observing in a first-grade classroom in the fall, and the teacher was handing out some materials. Well, little boys were exuberant and aggressive and bouncing up to get their materials, and nothing was said. A little girl came up and she was behaving in about the same way, really, after...well, this was after two or three little girls had come up in a very feminine sort of way and gotten their materials. This little gal came up bouncing along and being quite aggressive and sort of pulled things out of the teacher's hand, and the teacher said, "Well, that's not very ladylike." She hadn't said anything to the boys. [laughs]

[telephone rings]

Boys are encouraged to be aggressive by parents, while girls are not, and well, almost all of our TV models encourage aggression in men, if you think about it, if you analyze what you see on television so much of the time, that...

[long pause]

Oh, okay. I'll have to edit this section out [paper rustling; seems to be referring to something in the paper]. There was another part of this... [pauses] Oh, and I think one of the things that...in terms of the damaging effects of sex stereotyping on the males, on our boys and men, is that this stereotyping causes the loss of the nurture and social-emotional qualities that ought to be a part of manhood as well as womanhood. Almost nothing in the pre-fatherhood learning of

most males is oriented in any way to train them for parenting. In fact, boys are actively discouraged as children from play activities involving baby surrogates—dolls, in other words. Except in rare instances where there are large families and a few older girls in the family, are boys ever really involved in that kind of nurturing, caring for infant sort of thing. And they're certainly not encouraged to play with dolls and feed them and change their diapers and all that kind of thing, you know, and hold and cuddle and sing to—the nurturing kind of parenting behavior. That's a whole dimension of one's life that should not be opted simply because you're male. You ought to be able to experience that.

I: The ability to be tender is much more emphasized in the female.

ET: Right. It certainly is. I think that we are really cheating our boys when we deny them this option in their personality and their nurture development. Most of them are going to be parents, just as most girls are going to be parents, and we should prepare them for it. We should allow them to be parents.

I: Allow them to enjoy that aspect.

ET: Absolutely.

I: What about in the schools, as far as the textbooks go—the fact that they are aware now of the textbooks and they have these figures. Is that making a difference?

ET: Well, yes, we see some glimmer of real hope. Most of the major publishing companies have come out with guidelines to eliminate racism and sexism, role stereotyping, in their textbooks. There's some question as to what extent this is actually being done, and whether it's primarily lip service. Well, I haven't any definitive study on that, and the latest thing I have is an article from the *Reading Teacher* [a journal for elementary educators] last February, in which it says that we really don't know yet whether in fact things are truly improving. I've seen some very bright things, bright spots. In the classes, the child development and ed-psych [educational psychology] here in the School of Education [at the University of Montana], our students have analyzed books, not just reading books but social studies and science and various books. Particularly reading and social studies texts seem to be improving. I can think of one third-grade text with a copyright date of 1975, in which the girls are shown in very active, aggressive play. One is a member of a little league ball team and is the star pitcher on it. Of course, she doesn't have to be the star pitcher. It just happens to be that story. A little boy is shown taking care of his baby brother. This is real life.

So there is hope. But not all schools have textbooks that dated 1974 or '75 or '76. Most of us are still working—in the public schools—still working with books there are at least five years old, and sometimes much older than that. So we still have to cope with those kinds of textbooks. That means that we as teachers have to be aware of the materials we're using, and then develop an awareness in our children and expand their horizons. The sex role

stereotyping—point out to them, or let them...depending on the maturity of the student, let them analyze it. Let them discover for themselves, the kinds of...If they tally up the number of occupational roles in a book, say, with a publication date of 1973, they might find something like we found in one study, in which 213 occupations were shown for the men in stories whereas only 39 different occupations were held by women.

I: Boy, that's a big difference.

ET: It is a big difference. And that's only been a few years ago. So I really am withholding any sort of conclusions about whether or not things are truly improving until some really wide studies are done on the books that are coming out now or have come out in the last couple of years. As I say, I've seen some very bright spots, but I don't know how general it is. I don't think anyone does.

I: Excuse me, what is the School of Education doing to try to further the aspect of changing roles stereotype?

ET: Well, that's a good question. It's an excellent question. I'm not aware of any component of any course, other than a few of us who feel very concerned about it and just make it a part of our own courses to look at this. Obviously, it should belong in the child development, the Ed Psych, the basic, the first courses that you take as a professional in your preparation for professional education. It seems to fit there very well, and that's why I've included them in those courses. On the other hand, I don't teach all of the sections of those, but a number of the people who do teach the other sections are now using the materials. Some of them did before I came. A few, not many. I certainly encourage and give support to anyone in the School of Ed when I become aware of the fact that they are including a discussion, that some kinds of awareness techniques in this area. I'm afraid there's no articulated policy as yet in the School of Education. I hope there will be soon.

I: Are there special courses set up on just sex education, I mean, sexism in education?

ET: Neither one. [laughs] Not right here, anyway. No. I proposed a course...We were asked to submit innovative, quote unquote, course proposals for summer school, and I did write a course in this area. You know, a course description with a bibliography and the whole thing and submitted it. It was not funded. That's the only attempt that I'm aware of to have such a course within the School of Education. If I'm here next year, I'll certainly try again and again and again. If I'm not here, if I'm working somewhere else, I hope that somebody else takes up the good battle.

I: What is Title IX, and what effect has it had?

ET: Wow! Big question. Have you about three weeks for a Title IX workshop? [laughs] Well, let's see. Let me try and explain what Title IX, as clearly or muddily as I can. Title IX is one of the

amendments...It was a 1972 education amendment, and it's the first comprehensive federal law to prohibit sex discrimination in the public schools. All public schools, or all schools that receive federal financial assistance. For example, the intent of the law is this: that no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. That's really broad. It covers an enormous amount of ground, and I could give you a few examples if you like—

I: Sure.

ET: —of what's covered. [pauses] Try and find the best example I can. [pauses] I have a better one here, someplace. See if I can get to it. [pauses] Oh, I guess not. Okay. Well, Title IX deals with a tremendously wide range of things like admission to a school. It deals with preventing discrimination on the basis of sex in admission to any public school or even a private school that receives substantial federal fundings, and there are guidelines on how much funding would be applicable. You can't rank applicants separately on the basis of sex when they're applying. You can't set numerical limitations on the number or proportion of students of either sex who may be admitted. For example, in medical school you can't say that, "we will permit ten percent of our students to be female in medical schools." That's not legal any more. Any test or criterion that you use for admission has to be used equally for sexes. You cannot use any criteria for admission that has a disproportionately adverse effect on members of one sex. You can't exclude any person, for example, on the basis of pregnancy or related conditions in an educational program.

I: So that opened up like a lot of high schools that were expelling students who were pregnant—

ET: That's right.

I: —from finishing.

ET: That's right. That's illegal now. You can certainly offer them counseling and special help—that's encouraged—but you can't exclude them from school. You can't exclude them from getting an education. You can't segregate them into special classrooms. You can't make pre-admission inquiry as to the marital status of an applicant anymore. That's not legal unless the applicant chooses to tell you that. [pauses]

Oh, in terms of course offerings—this has been an area of real concern among educators in trying to comply with Title IX regulations, and the thing that we hear most about, of course, is in physical education classes and athletic programs, you know, the Title IX guidelines. Schools are supposed to have complied with this. This amendment was passed in 1972. The guidelines, ATW, Health, Education and Welfare guidelines, did not come out until the summer of '75. So it's been a while...This has been an evolution, so to speak, for a while. Following the 1975

guidelines, elementary schools had one year to implement the Title IX guidelines in respect to their physical education courses, and that means that you cannot designate separate physical education classes for boys and separate physical education classes for girls. That's true within three years at the secondary and post-secondary level—those guidelines are supposed to be met. Well, that's approaching very soon. There are exceptions to that, of course. Students may be grouped by ability in physical education classes. They also may be separated by sex in classes which require participation in contact sports, and that has to be fully defined but we assume it means courses or games like football, obviously. I think even basketball is included as a contact sport. I find that a little difficult to deal with. But football is obviously one where the sexes can be segregated. I think that some of our people in the athletic department were very happy about that.

I: Well, does this mean, then, equal funding for equal sports for both male and female? I know one of the problems here at this school has been, for example, tennis. The men's tennis team got a lot more money than the women's tennis team. I don't know whether this is still true, but—

ET: I don't know either. That's certainly outside my area of expertise, and I don't know what the situation is here on campus. But I would say that if that situation is not remedied, then the university could be wide open to a suit concerning it. Maybe it has been remedied, I don't know. I can't speak for the athletic department. But it certainly should be if not. You can't provide unequal space, locker room space. You can't provide unequal showering facilities. By the way, they don't have to use the same showering facilities, the male and female students. That is permitted to be separate, and you don't have to use the same restrooms and all that sort of nonsense.

I: Just equal.

ET: Equal. Equal. Equal facilities, right. So in terms of tennis courts and swimming pools and gymnasiums and locker rooms and all of those kinds of things, they will have to be equal. As far as funding for sports, if there's a demand for it, if there's a need, then equal funding has to be permitted. If the women at the University of Montana truly wish to have a football team, if the need and the interest could truly be demonstrated, then they would be required to be equally funded. Whether that will happen or not, [laughs] will remain to be seen.

I: Just about out of tape on this side so I think I'll—

[Break in audio]

I: Okay.

ET: Another area that's affected by Title IX, and the necessity to conform to the Title IX regulations, is the area of counseling and counseling materials. Institutions cannot discriminate

against any person on the basis of sex in counseling or guidance, and this is really important because I remember very clearly being counseled in high school as to a very limited number of occupations to which I, as a female, could aspire. When we took aptitude tests, we were required to put our sex on the test and they were graded and scored differently, and that has happened. It's still being done. Obviously, it's going to have to be changed, and it has been changed in many, many schools because they're really making a whole-hearted, a serious effort to meet the new Title IX regulations. I find it an excellent thing. And this is a critical area, counseling. I really feel so. From the elementary school through the university level. That we need to have open counseling, counseling based on human potential and not on gender.

I: Is there any other effects Title IX has had?

ET: Well, there is one area that we were talking about, curriculum materials, before. There's nothing in Title IX regulation that requires or prohibits the use of particular textbooks or curricular materials, and I think that's important. It needs to be said. I agree that the textbooks and curricular materials should not be covered. That would be a form of... [pauses] What am I trying to say?

I: I'm not sure. [laughs]

[long pause]

I: Suppression?

ET: No. [pauses] Wow, suddenly had a terrible blank. You know, when stuff's on the book stands and it's taken off because of somebody's value judgement.

Title IX has also some strong implications in the area of employment within educational institutions. You can't exclude from participation or deny benefits, employment, to anyone on the basis of sex, or on the basis of recruitment for jobs, or selection for jobs, consideration for jobs. Discrimination is prohibited in recruitment and in advertising and in the process of application for employment. It's prohibited in hiring and upgrading, in promotion and gaining tenure, all of those kinds of things. To what extent this is going to be implemented remains to be seen. As I say, I think most schools will be making genuine, honest efforts to comply with these guidelines. On the other hand, we have to be very careful and very watchful for districts that do not...who may perhaps go through the motions of complying, fill out the forms and so on, but practices don't really change.

I had a correspondence from a student who's teaching in a small town in Northeastern Montana. It's his first year teaching. He was a student in three of my classes last year. He wrote to say that they had had a Title IX workshop in that school, in that community, and the person conducting the Title IX workshop spent most of his time explaining how one can get around the Title IX guidelines. So we really do have to watch that the kind of thing. Most of the people who

serve the state in explaining and helping school districts implement Title IX believe very, very firmly in the philosophical and humanistic basis from which these guidelines came in our society and the need for societal change. Organizations like SEE—S-E-E—Seeking Equality through Education, a federally-funded program located at Rocky Mountain College. The people who work there do an excellent job in explaining Title IX, helping schools develop affirmative action plans, working with the teacher's administrators in the school district. There's a regional center located at Weber State in Ogden, Utah, called the General Assistance Center, and they provide services to many of the Montana school districts in the same way. In fact, through this center, another faculty person and I will be conducting a week-long Title IX workshop for a small school district outside Great Falls, near the city of Great Falls. So most schools are making a true, a genuine effort to find out what the regulations are and then to implement those.

I: What effect is the ratio of men to women in the administrative level then have?

ET: That's a subject very close to my heart, because right at the moment, a group of us have been planning, in fact since last summer, to take a look at what's happening in Montana in terms of women in public school administration. I might just give you, again, a few statistics, national statistics, about women in public school administration to show you what the picture is. [pauses] In a recent National Education Association research study—this was in 1975, as a matter of fact—showed that, although two-thirds of America's classroom teachers are women, only 13 percent of all of its elementary, junior high, and senior high school principals are women. Nineteen percent of the elementary principals are women. Three percent of the junior high principals are women, and slightly over one percent of the senior high principals are women.

Then when you look at superintendencies, you know, the big boss in the school district, there are more than 13,000 district superintendents in the nation. Only 65 are women. Less than one half of one percent of all school district superintendents are female in this country. I think you can count the deans of the schools of education in universities in the United States on one hand, probably. I don't have hard data on that, but I don't think that'd be very far off, quite frankly.

I: What are the implications, then, of this?

ET: The implication is that we're not utilizing an enormous reservoir of talent and energy. It isn't that women don't want to be administrators, that women aren't qualified to be administrators, because many of them are. Right here in Missoula, as a matter of fact, there are women teaching in classrooms who hold administrative credentials who are trying to work into administration. Some have been successful, a few, but not very many. This is true across the state and across the nation. It's not just unique to Missoula or to Montana. So this organization that we've put together consists of groups of women in the public schools, members of school boards, public school administrators, university people in schools of education. We are planning a conference in May, early May, in Helena in which we will address this particular problem, and

try and put together an organization. There is a national organization of women administrators, public school administrators, and we may affiliate with them, we may not. It just depends on what the needs we perceive at the conference, what it turns out to be. But we do want to provide support for women who do aspire to administration, to be public school administrators at whatever level. To women who are already prepared. To the few women in our state who are already administrators, to give them as much support and encouragement as possible. We have a few excellent women, by the way, as principals, usually in elementary school principals.

We would like to encourage people in schools of education in the six units in the state to actively recruit their bright, aggressive—all of those characteristics—young women who show real leadership potential, to counsel them, to advise them that maybe they could find a real field in administration, public school administration. It's an area that women could do very well in, and there's a real need.

I: The fact that most of the women graduating now were brought up in a school system where 66 percent of the teachers were women and, was it, 13 percent of the administrators were women?

ET: Yes. That disparity is—

I: So already that has been reinforced, that role of the woman teacher being the lower levels—pay scale and responsibility scale.

ET: Yes, that's very true. So it's difficult to overcome that, as our young women come into the School of Education, many of them it simply doesn't occur to them that there might be...Even though if they have strong leadership potential and might make excellent administrators, it certainly doesn't occur to them that this might be a field of occupation for them, you see.

I: Why do we need to re-evaluate our sex roles?

ET: [pauses] It's really important for us to reevaluate our sex roles because our society is changing so much. The women's movement is the result of a complex political, economic, and psychological change in our society. For example, consider these areas of change in the lives of women since 1900 in our society. First of all, women are increasingly entering the labor force, in every age group. At some point in a woman's life...At least 90 percent of women will work at some point, at some time, in their lives. That's a startling statistic. Many of them won't stay in the workforce. Many of them will choose to work in their homes with their families, and that's fine. But for those who choose to work outside the home, or to do both, that option should be open to them, and is becoming increasingly more so.

Women are increasingly heading families. This is something that we have to look at. The proportion of single-parent families headed by women increased 33 percent in the last decade. Women are having fewer children. Again, family size and fertility rates for all racial groups have

dropped markedly in this country, and that has some real implications for a reevaluation of sex roles. Women are increasingly living alone or with unrelated individuals. An increase of nearly one million women in this category, occurred between 1970 and 1975. Women are increasingly well-educated. Between 1940 and 1974, the median number of school years completed by women in this country has risen from eight years to 12.3 years. So that's something to certainly consider, in terms of looking at and reevaluating sex roles in our society. No one's unaffected by these changes in our society. We have to look at these roles performed by males and females, strictly by a virtue of sex, and think, 'Is this really the way our society should go? Is this truly the way that we are going to operate and function in our society?' I think we're going to have to undergo some major cultural revision—and it's already on the scene—some major cultural revision in terms of the way we look at gender and the options based on gender.

I: We just have to catch up a little bit. [laughs]

ET: Yes, we certainly do. [laughs] I think that it's extremely important, as educators, that we are aware of these societal changes, and that we try to cope with them. And that as the roles of males and females are reexamined, that then the contributions that we make within our educational system, that we look at very carefully at whether or not we are perpetuating those old stereotypes, and whether or not we can't help in the revision of sex roles, gender roles, and explore ways and means to cope with this.

I: Would you suggest that parents take a look at the schoolbooks their children are bringing home and look a little more in depth into this?

ET: Oh, absolutely. Not just the textbooks, but visit the classroom, and see what kinds of things are happening in the classroom. There are just subtle little things, like asking all the boys line up in one line and all the girls in another. Okay, so you know what difference does that make? Well, it says something. Encouraging the girls to play with traditionally female or feminine kinds of toys and participate in traditionally feminine sorts of activities, and boys in what we observe as traditionally masculine kinds of activities. Girls need to develop total muscular skills just as the boys do. They need to learn all of those ball skills and how to use their bodies well. We encourage our boys to do that, but we don't encourage our girls. At least we haven't been. It's getting better. So if you visited your child's classroom, and you see that the boys are encouraged to, in their free time activities, to participate in these rough-and-tumble, large-muscle activities, whereas the girls are encouraged to sit down and play jacks or to take a book out on the playground to read or to sit passively and play a little card game or something like that, look at it seriously.

What kinds of pictures are up on the wall in the classroom? When they're doing a social studies unit or something, what sorts of roles in the community do they look at? Do they ever see or hear of a woman who is an auto mechanic, or who is a professional, say, a chemical engineer or something like that? Do they ever hear from a male who is a nurse or in some non-traditional role? So it goes beyond just the text books. The practices that we have in the classroom. Does a

teacher overtly or covertly encourage aggression and competition among the boys and discourage it among the girls? Does she insist on passive, quiet kinds of activities for the girls, but permit a lot more aggressive, outgoing kinds of activities for the boys? I just caught myself in a stereotype, by the way. I called a teacher, “she.”

I: Yes. [laughs]

ET: Wow. So we're all guilty of it. All of our methods books too, by the way, I always chuckle at this and then cry a little too, because the methods books—the professional books that we deal with in working with our educators, potential educators—invariably the teacher is “she,” and the principal “he.” [laughs] And that says something, of course, to our adult students in their professional preparation. So we're all guilty of it at one level or another, I guess. You just need more awareness.

I: Let's see... [pauses] Is there anything you wanted to talk about that we haven't covered?

[End of Interview]