

GENDER STEREOTYPES
IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS
(GRADES 1, 4 AND 8)
IN USE IN MONTENEGRO

INTRODUCTION

About us

ZINEC-ANIMA

Information and Education Centre for Women of Montenegro – ZINEC has been operating within the **NGO Anima** since 2000.

Our mission is to enhance self-esteem of women through theoretical thought and basic research, as well as promote non-violence and strengthen sisterhood among women in Montenegro.

Our goals are to:

- a) organise on-going education and develop theoretical thought
- b) conduct systematic research of women's issues in the past and now
- c) support female writing and publication.

Information and Education Centre for Women ZINEC-Anima conducts research as one of fundamental elements of its programme. Since 2000, a team of women activists has been educated in feminist theory and practice.

About the project

Almost all scientific theories are based on research, empirical work creating a foundation for scientific and scholar thinking. Our idea this time was, in line with current reforms in education, to give our views and opinions, from the standpoint of experts promoting inclusion of women into all segments of society.

In Montenegro, as far as we know, there has been no research of the kind; we believe it is extremely important to start analysing textbooks used in our schools and messages we send to our children. Our goal is to analyse methods and ways in which stereotypical image of gender roles is offered and perpetuated in Montenegro in an institutionalised and formalised manner, i.e. through compulsory schooling.

The project covers the study of teaching materials – textbooks and workbooks used in elementary school in grades one, four and eight in the subject matter of Serbian language, Nature and Society, and History.

The main research methodology used are qualitative and quantitative analysis of texts and accompanying pictures, seen from the perspective of feminist theory and activism. We will investigate to what extent women and girls/men and boys are visible in the texts and illustrations, setting and activities and roles for both genders, as well as the qualities ascribed to them and character traits for both genders.

Project background

The first structured and scientific notions of the world and ourselves in it are acquired at primary school. Before the beginning of elementary schooling, children learn about the world in accordance with own interests, depending on natural curiosity and feedback from parents and the environment, that may, but not necessarily so, satisfy all the needs and provide answers to all the questions. The school, through compulsory education, offers uniform knowledge claimed to be scientific. School textbooks are one of major tools in education process. They are most trusted and represent a repository of truth and knowledge. Textbooks have a major socialisation role in the development of children. They convey important messages to the young on how social relations in a society are to be organised and which value system they should adopt. Through characters represented in textbooks children are offered a pattern of a preferred individual and behaviour model in the given society.

There appears to be an evident omission in many textbooks. They omit the accomplishments of half of the human race. History, literature, art, music, and science books focus primarily on the accomplishments of men while simultaneously trivializing the accomplishments of women. They diminish the importance of women, placing them in positions of subordination and passivity. What also lacks are the descriptions of women who have taken on roles stereotypically reserved for men.

What happens in psychological development of children at the moment when they enter school?

Psychological development of children at the time of entering school is characterised by fast development of perception that approaches "naïve realism". A child sees the world as it is presented to him/her. Knowledge acquired at this so-called concrete stadium of thought is internalised as complete and true. Not before the age of 12, with the development of abstract thinking, does this knowledge become questioned and changed. We believe that some of the knowledge acquired, having the existing education models in family and at school, never becomes subject to critical analysis and the change of attitudes and beliefs. It, thus, happens that this adopted ready-made knowledge lays the ground for bias and stereotypes in relation to gender, nation, religion, race, etc.

Feminist and other researchers have argued that gender stereotypes lower girls' self-esteem creating the void that has a detrimental effect on the self-images, aspirations, and motivations. Gender stereotypes limit girls and boys to certain modes of behavior, course of study, and career choices, thereby preventing them from realizing their full potential.

Patriarchal Montenegro in 21st century is a place where it is necessary to redefine the existing stereotypes of gender roles and gender relations, break taboos connected with male-female positions and abilities. Changing the image of women/men represented in textbooks is one way of raising the awareness for the issue, of developing critical thinking and creating a new, more acceptable notion of the world and the place of women in it.

Definitions of basic terminology

Gender/Sex

"Sex" means biological differences between women and men. These differences are mostly permanent and universal.

"Gender" relates to socially constructed roles of women and men. In what way a society sees the roles of women and men and what is expected from them (social expectations connected

with gender roles) depends on a number of factors: cultural, political, economic, social and religious ones. They are equally affected by customs, law, class and ethnic background, as well as prejudices spread in the given society. Attitudes and behaviour towards gender are learnt and may be changed.

Gender roles are activities assigned to men and women on the basis of presumed differences. The term "labour segregation" is used to refer to roles and tasks associated with women and men on the basis of presumed characteristics and attributes, instead of skills and competences.

Prejudices

Prejudices are attitudes in which it is evident that they lack justification and logic, and are accompanied by intensive emotions. Prejudices are beliefs that are easily acquired, consistently perpetuated and are difficult to change; they usually express a negative, hostile attitude towards a group one does not belong to.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are generalised beliefs about certain groups of people based on their belonging to certain gender, ethnic group, religion, race... These are generalisations based on contacts or images we internalise through upbringing and education, i.e. socialisation.

Prejudices and stereotypes help us:

1. make sense of and understand the world around us: in a situation which is not clear enough, where we do not have enough information, stereotypical thinking "fills in the gaps", provides missing information and gives us the feeling of certainty and clarity;
2. evaluate the group we belong to;
3. evaluate other groups, their characteristics and functioning; and
4. justify discrimination of those belonging to other groups.

Creating prejudices and stereotypes is a usual way of thinking, it is the fastest method of processing information about a person. When we meet people, we focus on characteristics that are most conspicuous to our mind at the moment, neglecting others, and we make conclusions only on the basis of these conspicuous attributes. Some generalisations may prove to be right; others may be far from truth. Prejudices and stereotypes lead to mis-generalisations about individuals when we believe that the groups they belong to are homogenous. We, thus, sometimes speak of exceptions, like "a woman who is a good driver" or "a tender man". Discrimination comes when, on the basis of wrong judgements, i.e. prejudices, we start to act towards people we are prejudiced against. Thus, discrimination is actually "a prejudice in action".

Sexism

Sexism is:

- a belief that there are essential differences between men and women and that one sex has the right to dominate over the other;
- a practice and policy of action based on such a belief;
- a formula: gender bias/stereotypes + institutionalised power = sexism

Types of sexism:

1. by origin:

- individual, visible at the level of an individual;
 - cultural, contained in cultural values, tradition and beliefs;
 - institutional, more difficult to be identified, underlying all institutions of a system (political, social and economic) in such a way that gives the impression it is their inherent feature.
2. according to purpose:
- intentional: the action that is discriminatory to others and that reflects attitudes and value systems is taken intentionally;
 - unconscious: in accordance with implicit theories on differences between sexes, actions are taken which are discriminatory, and the one undertaking them has no consciousness and often has an acceptable explanation for what he/she is doing.

Sexisms in language are probably most common and most wide-spread ones. It is "the systematic oppression and exploitation of human beings on the basis of their belonging to the female sex" (Banfield 1976).

Feminism

This term started to be used in 1837, through French language, to define a line of thought promoting the rights and role of women in a society. Feminism is a theory and practice which, starting from the principle of equal values of women and men, endeavours to lead to social changes aimed at putting a stop to social, political and economic discrimination against women. Feminism is a social movement, theory and personal determination, having as a starting point the idea that with systematic activities on making women's problems specific, visible, recognised and adequately valued, it will help identify violence against women and point to discrimination and de-favouring of women as well as fight for achieving equal opportunities for women and men at any place.

TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

A) Textbook Analysis Criteria

Textbook analysis was done using a set of criteria that refer both to the texts and the accompanying illustrations. We believe that they are of the same importance. Both representations of male and female characters in texts and their visual representations influence the creation of beliefs and stereotypes referring to male and female gender roles. Thus, we agreed for both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the chosen textbooks, using the following set of criteria:

Quantitative:

1. the presence of men and women
2. the presence of boys and girls
3. the activities of boys and girls
4. the roles for men and women
5. lists of professions and presence of men and women in different professional roles
6. number of men and women as authors of texts

Qualitative:

1. What the text is about:
 - How are performance standards expressed?
 - Who solves problems and how is it done?
 - Gender roles: is success of girls and women based on own initiative and intelligence or on their being pretty or connected to a boy/man?
 - Can the story be told if gender roles have been switched?
 - Gender-related character traits and behaviour
2. Life style
3. Relations between people
 - Are boys/men in power, are they agile, are they leaders, do they make decisions, or do girls/women do that?
 - Family relations – who has the dominant role, etc.
4. Who are the heroes in stories?
5. Is self-esteem of girls/women included?
6. Which gender does the textbook author use?

Occasionally we calculated some other frequencies of occurrence of female and male characters in certain roles to illustrate comments. The results are shown in the Appendix.

All three researchers worked with the same set of criteria, aiming to increase objectivity of the findings through interrater reliability.

B) Analysis

Grade 1

Primer Reader

Authors: Jagos Kuc i Vojislav Obradovic
Illustrator: Bosko Odalovic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2000 (8th ed., approved for use in schools in 1993)

The Primer Reader is the first school textbook that introduces pupils to the world of formal education. The concept of the book is such that illustrations are of primary importance; at this age they are dominant and most important for children at this concrete and operational level of thinking. Visual stimulus through form and colour brings about most meaning and transmits the most powerful messages, and gradually, by growing up and as education progresses, they become replaced by letters and words, as codes of the new symbolic system that needs to be adopted.

Illustrations

The Primer Reader, with its pictures and other contents, looks as if made in 1950s. Did the illustrator, in this lyrical way, present his own romanticised or idealised childhood, somewhere in a small town and in rural areas, where father is the breadwinner, and mother takes care of the family and the household? Is it the reality of most of the people living in Montenegro in 21st century? The illustrations show a number of farming and cattle-raising activities, and both parents and children work hard in the field. This may lead us to think that Montenegro is a vast plough field and a country of industrious farmers. Nowhere in the book can we encounter any of the appliances and modern technologies, like TV sets or telephones, let alone computers. What we can see are tractors and cars. Without any wish to judge about the desirability of such appliances and analyse their advantages and drawbacks, we just have to point out that such a life style is not common in our country.

The clothes worn by characters in the Reader are not up-to-date and are gender stereotypical. As such, it presents a problem for gender identification of girls and future women. Namely, 92% of pictures show girls wearing skirts and bows in their long hairs! Every ninth girl wears trousers, and virtually all women wear skirts.

Men, when not working in the field, wear business suits, both at work and at home. All the women, when in the house, wear aprons and headscarves, always standing or waiting on others. Gender stereotypes stemming from these illustrations are that it is women's place to be at home, and men, being more competent, work and earn for the living, and girls should be well-dressed and tidy even when playing.

Looking at the presence of male and female characters, Primer Reader is different from other textbooks we analysed. There are 51% of women and 49% of men in the illustrations, and 60% of girls and 40% of boys. Possible explanation for such a trend is the accompanying text featuring a large number of female names. When learning first letters, children learn simple short names, like Jana, Mina, Ena, mama (Mammy), nana (Granny), etc., majority of them being female names.

Looking at the roles of children, it is evident that there is approximately the same number of school activities for both genders. Still, when it comes to sport activities, boys engage in them

2.5 times more than girls, but there are more girls indulging in hobbies and free time activities, but unfortunately being walking and sitting (the stereotype of female passivity). The activities where girls and boys equally participate are as follows: taking care of animals, farming, outdoor activities.

Grown up men are mostly presented in their roles practiced outside home, e.g. working in the field, shopping at the green market, paying bills at the post office or in their professional roles like a shop assistant, a teacher, a pilot, a stonemason... Women are three times more than men presented in family and parental roles, and they have the exclusive role in running the household, since not a single man in the whole textbooks undertakes any such activity. Women appear only in three professional roles, all of them stereotypical: a teacher, a shop assistant and a post office clerk. Housewives are always shown standing, since they cook, wait on others or are a mere decoration, standing and holding a tray full of dishes! When at home, men are only observers, passers-by, those who wait to be served or exercising their historical-mythical role of playing the national folk instrument (gusle) and singing the songs of bravery and integrity.

The largest number of illustrations features mothers spending their free time with their children, then grandparents. It seems that only when they grow old and become grandfathers, men finally have the time for laughter and children's needs. In the illustrations, the father, in his parental role, is present in somewhat "more demanding" situations, those that call for a certain amount of seriousness and responsibility, like taking his son on his first day to school, paying bills, etc.

Town women are presented in illustrations as idle, with tendency to go for long walks, take care of own appearances and small talk with their female friends. Grown ups do not go in for sports, have no hobbies, they read very rarely, but in the country they all work diligently, both adults and the children. We notice that the roles of spouses or joint parental activities are very rare occurrences. The only commendable exceptions are leaving the maternity ward and family trip to winter holidays.

Text

Apart from the author of the Primer, there are 9 more male and one female author as authors of stories and poems used in this textbook.

In the texts in the Primer there are 28 men, 20 women, 34 boys and 47 girls. There were two children presented in texts whose gender it was impossible to discern: baby and Vanja. Here we also believe that the reason why there are so many girls is that children only start learning to read and write at this stage, and short female names, like Jana, Ana, Nina, Mina, Ema, etc are appropriate for this early stage.

The main character of a story in pictures is a boy who starts school, and at the very first page of the Primer the author uses male gender to address all: "Now you are important, now you are the main character, you got your first book..." (using male gender). Thus the author actually discriminates girls, who are excluded from the communication from the very first page of the textbook, and such a trend unfortunately continues in most textbooks throughout their schooling. When the author uses plural, the adopted form is always male gender, even when it includes girls.

We will just enlist a few other examples of gender stereotypes in the text of the Primer Reader. On page 41, when a girl talks about her mother, she says "She makes cakes for me", on page 48 when girls are monitors then "everything is tidy, everything where it is supposed to be", and "Ana's diligent little hands wrap the covers of the Primer Reader" (an acronym hiding the word PRIMER READER). On page 88, mother and sister are in charge of knitting a jumper for a little boy, and if we wish to show the career choices for little girls, then there is

teaching, as shown in "Teacher Mara" poem on page 114. Girls are little future mums, caretakers and up-bringers of the human race! In a poem entitled "Everybody is washing", one boy is being ridiculed because of avoiding washing his face thoroughly, which is a stereotype of boys who are difficult to be socialised and learnt the hygiene.

Stereotypes with adults are shown in the image of women as housewives and the "prettier sex", so that their activities mostly revolve around cooking, knitting, but are also prone to decorating themselves, so that "my Mammy has a comb, a shawl, a dress, an umbrella...". When we have a look at stereotypical view of men, what is most conspicuous are the field works, ploughing and sowing, implying physical strength, and historical and mythical roles of great warriors, but also great authors and fighters for freedom.

Primer Reader promotes only one type of family, with both parents, usually extended families with grandparents. Thus, children coming from different types of families are being discriminated against and are excommunicated from this harmonised, patriarchal kingdom of family life shown in Primer Reader. It is paradoxical that under the title "In the Family" the author depicts only the mother and the daughter being at home. Their male counterparts are not present in the picture, which probably means that they are doing some more demanding tasks and exercising different, public roles, since we doubt that this picture is to present a single mother.

Joint activities of both parents in the text of the Primer Reader are: buying a flat, going out of the maternity ward and taking care of a sick son. These are positive activities promoting joint parenthood. There are very few parental roles for fathers, like him being proud of his son who is a good pupil, while mothers are not involved at all in the upbringing of their children, except taking care of them, cooking for them and dressing them.

After all the letters have been learnt, the author says "Now you have learnt to read and write..." (male gender). Probably girls did not succeed in mastering this skill. Until the very last page of Primer Reader there is no single mention of female gender in language.

Our final word of comment would be that with most of the features of pictures and texts of the Primer Reader it is nowhere close to satisfying the criteria of a gender sensitive up-to-date textbook it should be, having in mind its importance as the very first textbook each child encounters.

Reader for grade 1 Grammar Workbook for grade 1

Authors: Petko Ivanovic
Illustrator: Danilo – Daso Otovic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2000 (8th ed., approved for use in schools on 10.03.1995)

At the first glance, the Reader for grade 1 does not differ from the Primer Reader in the selection of texts and pictures, although the author and illustrator are not the same as the ones for the Primer Reader. General impression is the same, the comments given for the Primer Reader relating to obsolescence of characters and lifestyles equally apply to this book as well. The same goes for the Grammar Workbook, since it was made by the same authors and follows closely the units covered in the Reader, so we will give joint comments for both textbooks.

Illustrations

General impression is that the pictures are rather dull, unskilful and unimaginative. It is possible that the illustrator, by simplifying the form and the contents, wanted to be closer to the age of pupils. Pictures do abound in gender stereotypes.

Starting from this textbook, the ratio of male and female characters changes, boys and girls being much more equal in numbers than when it comes to adults. Girls are present in 48.5% pictures, and boys in 51.5%, in the Reader itself, while in the Grammar Workbook girls are present in 37.5% of cases, and boys in 62.5%. However, the situation is quite different with adults and there are twice as many males compared to females in the Reader, and in the Grammar Workbook the unbelievable five times more.

The range of activities of both children and adults is very limited. Most of children's activities are connected with school, home and free activities and adults appear in family roles, and to a much lesser extent, in professional roles and hobbies. The only example of a hobby is actually the picture of a huntsman, both in the Reader and the Workbook.

When it comes to professional roles, there are two for men, chimney sweep and seller, and one for women – a nurse. In the Workbook the situation is even more disadvantageous for women. On the few pictures of this textbook, there is only one woman depicted in her professional role, selling buns in a bakery, and men are presented six times: as a ploughman, a sower, a reaper, a miller and a baker, all of them at the same illustration following the lesson on the doer of the action in a sentence (Workbook, p.39).

As for illustrations depicting family life, one picture shows a mother with open arms and her daughter running into her embrace and a mother shown three times in a story in pictures (with proposed titles "Diligent Children", "Tidy Pupils" or "Mother's Assistants", p 55) cooking dinner, sitting with her family at the table and taking her children to school. On the very same pictures, father is shown only once, sitting at the table with his family, again in his inevitable suit and a tie, dressed up even for family dinner. Father is once shown coming tired home from work and his daughter running to meet him, and once taking his daughter for a walk. In family context there is also one grandmother reading bedside stories to her granddaughter, and two times the grandfather appears, once playing with his grandson and once both with his grandson and his granddaughter. Although there are very few pictures to make any valid

judgements, it is still evident that boys are never shown in situations with emotional exchanges. This field seems to be reserved for girls only.

Text

There are altogether 70 texts in the Reader, 49 of them written by male authors, and 8 folk tales, poems, fairy tales or fables. The remaining 9 texts are written by female authors, the one most often encountered being Desanka Maksimovic, as many as five times. As for the texts in the Workbook, there are 19 texts there, 2 of the authors being females, 5 texts from folk literature and in 2 cases it was impossible to identify the author.

Speaking of the texts in the Reader, let us start from the gender used when talking to pupils. It is always, without a single exception, done using male forms. At the beginning of the Workbook there is even a direct introductory address starting with "Dear pupil" (male gender). All the examples from Grammar Workbook are always given in the male gender. It gets that far that even when discussing a text written by a woman, she is referred to in male gender (p. 45). There is only one example in the whole Grammar Workbook using female gender referring to a "poem written by our famous poetess Desanka Maksimovic" (p 6), thus the author himself taking away the argument most often quoted when discussing why female gender names of occupations are not used, namely that female forms are missing and that male words should be used in generic sense. We believe that the use of female gender to denote females in certain roles and occupations should be a standard, not only for women who are famous for their work or when these female forms sound "natural". As for addressing everybody in male forms, even girls that appear in the workbook sometimes refer to themselves in male forms – does the male gender give more dignity?

Characters that appear in texts are in 20 instances women, or 37%, and 34 times men, or 63%, which means that when it comes to adults, men appear in texts twice as often as women. Women feature just a limited number of roles: half of them appear as mothers, one fourth as teachers, four times as grandmothers and once as a shop assistant.

Mothers are again highly stereotypical, the fact even more highlighted by questions following each text. One such question goes "What is common for all mothers?" (p 31), following the poem about a worried mother rabbit. In the discussion after the poem entitled "Mother" (p.41) the questions are along the same lines: "Who watches over you at all times?", "For whom does her (mother's) heart beat?", "When is your mother happy?" or, as very explicitly said in the workbook "...your mother lives for you". Fathers are never given any similar roles throughout this textbook. Also, the message behind this is that mothers have no lives of their own, apart from that connected to their children: their happiness is her happiness, their sorrow is her sorrow, and nothing happens in her life that, in some way or the other, is not connected with her children. We can develop this idea even further and ask ourselves about the implicit message sent by such texts to women who are not mothers.

Similarly to Primer Reader, the family life revolves around women. Maybe the absence of fathers is even more striking here. Who is, for instance, there to help a pupil with his/her homework:

"How beautiful it is to be able to read!
There is no need to bother your Mom,
No need to ask granny:
Will you, granny, read this to me?"
No need to ask your sister:
"Read one more page to me!" (p10)

Not a single male character, not even a brother that could come to assistance! As for household chores, we have one little boy named Petar helping his mother hang up clothes

(p.18) while in other examples it is always girls who do that. Besides, all the house chores are always perceived as some sort of help offered to mom, since it is, we guess, so natural and normal that all of these are female duties.

When it comes to shopping for the family, mother is in charge of daily purchase, like buying food (plums, p 7), and fathers are in charge of buying more important things, like TV sets (p 75).

Another stereotype connected to female characters is very visible in the Reader, and that is comparing female teachers with mothers:

“...Teacher,
Happy 8th March to you!
You are to us
As good as a mother.” (p 43)

Female teachers are just extensions of mother figures with all the stereotypical attributes that fit into that idea and totally neglect the accomplishment of her social and professional role.

The repertoire of male roles is much wider: five times in the role of a father, the same as the number of huntsmen (!?), four times as a grandfather, once as a teacher, and there are also servants, wealthy gentlemen, construction workers, ploughmen, a farmer, a sower, a harvester, a combine driver (how come nobody ever argues that some word is clumsy when a new male profession is being introduced, the thing that always happens when we try to use the female form for some professions?), millers, bakers, shop assistants, a traditional footwear maker, a watchmaker, or just simply “čovjek” (generic word supposed to include both men and women, but it is obviously always used to mean only “a man”!) (p 61). The use of the word “čovjek” (inclusive word for “human being”) is highly interesting. For instance, when a wolf asks if there is a good “čovjek” in the village he could go to, a cat sends the wolf to four different men. It is obvious then that when we say “čovjek” it always means “man”. What about women, do they, by any chance, belong to human race?

What we may reach as a conclusion from this textbook is that women without children should not have any reason for living since they have no one to live for. Moreover, mothers do not get involved in upbringing, or only slightly, through reading books, for instance, but the upbringing part which involves authority, through fear and respect, is taken over by fathers and this more or less openly underlies all the texts and pictures. This model of raising children is linked to patriarchal matrix in the whole society, and family as well, and is outdated and obsolete in developed societies. A woman without a job, turned into a caring, fearful mother, is a model dating back to pre-communist times at this region. This, unfortunately, does not hold true only for this textbook, but also for other analysed textbooks for Serbian language and literature.

When it comes to occupations that appear in the textbook and that might inspire interest with the children and give them vision of themselves in their career, we notice that they mostly include crafts.

When it comes to children there is also a noticeable disproportion: girls appear in texts 18 times (41%), and boys 26 times (59%). The girls are depicted in a highly stereotypical manner, helping with the household chores (p 18), going shopping with their moms to buy handbags, combs and scarves (p 22), they are gentle and lovable (p 54), or are “good housewives” (p 69), and sisters look for a brother “to have someone to protect them” (p 76). Girls are fully accomplished, as well as parents, it seems, only when there is a brother and a son whom to love and respect, who can guard and protect them with his male authority. A girl takes care of her dad’s moods when he gets back home exhausted and it is clear that peace and harmony at home are woman’s duty, to draw a smile on the face of a tired male head of the family.

The roles of boys also tend to be stereotypical: sometimes they are allowed certain mischief (take a plum before mother allows it, p 7, spend money on sweets, p 60), they are clever and ingenious (p.15, p. 32), boys' traits often mentioned are being "a strong boy" (p. 14), having "the heroes' intelligence" (!?) (Workbook, p. 38), a boy named Zoran is a good and diligent pupil (p. 41), and sometimes they quarrel over a toy (p. 64) or a piece of cake (p. 65), all of which is seemingly unknown to girls.

The list of character traits and behavioural patterns attributed to boys and girls shows a conspicuous difference in descriptions and a range of "allowed" behaviour supported through gender stereotypes. Male principle is dominantly active, as contrasted with passive, emotional and limited behaviour of girls. In descriptions, boys are more diversely described, with a wider range of affective states like fear, sorrow, joy, shame.

Two of the texts are about little partisan couriers. Out of a very limited number of roles and activities attributed to children and revolving mostly around school, home and play, is it justified to broaden the range in this way (in full accordance with Geneva convention and children in wars!?).

The family depicted in the Reader is exclusively a four-member family, without any promotion of other models.

It may be said that the Reader is along the same lines as the Primer Reader, both regarding the stereotypes and sexism, and its obsolescence.

Nature and Society for grade 1 My Home and My School

Author: Ljubinka Milosevic
Illustrators: Vesna Suic, Rajko Susic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, 2002 (4th ed., approved for use in schools on 08.10.1998)

It is our impression that the Nature and Society textbook for grade 1 is a step forward in textbook design, that the author sets achievable standards for elementary school textbooks. Both the author and the illustrators contributed to designing a modern textbook, well suited to the age of children, both regarding texts and illustrations, mostly free from stereotypes and discrimination. This is the first textbook we had a chance to analyse that addresses pupils both in male and female gender. Still, our minor comment would be that instead of placing the female gender in brackets, e.g. vido(vidjela), that the author uses, slash should be used, e.g. vido/vidjela. Thus, greater equality would be achieved compared to the offered solution of putting the female gender in brackets.

Illustrations

This textbook abounds in illustrations with a multitude of characters, both of children and adults, and it is often not possible to identify the gender of the person in the picture. Therefore, the data regarding the presence of boys/girls and women/men are given with certain reservations; i.e. the statistics includes only those figures whose gender is identified with certainty. Still, it is evident that there almost twice as many boys as girls, while with adults the disproportion is not so evident.

Nonetheless, gender stereotypes are present here as well. Since the title of this textbook is "My Home and My School", the children in the book are depicted in those environments, i.e. performing school tasks and household chores and spending their free time. A boy is presented in the pictures showing the ways how to earn pocket money by doing household chores, and when the topic of sharing household chores is presented, it was left to children to say who does what at their house, no pre-set patterns are given. It is even expressly said that "it is good for the family when we help each other" (p 35), unlike in the previous textbooks which always talked about "helping mom". Still, boys dominate in all group pictures presenting sport activities, e.g. there are 5 boys and one girl at a sport field, or there are only boys and a male coach at the swimming pool.

Under the heading "We all Work at my School" – Who Does What? – there are pictures which actually depict the realistic current state of affairs at our schools, as well as elsewhere, clearly show gender labour segregation. The school principal is a man, there is almost an equal number of male and female teachers, with a tendency of having more women, cleaning is done by women, and only men cater for machinery workshops and garden. In the school gym we see only boys.

In the unit covering free time activities of all the members of a household, we encounter several stereotypical situations, like women sitting, gossiping and drinking coffee, but there is also a non-stereotypical one of a man making coffee. As for free time activities and hobbies of children, a boy plays tennis or walks a dog while a girl listens to music or rides a bicycle. It is commendable that women and girls were not depicted only as observers and without interests of their own.

The non-stereotypical features of the pictures are also that both father and mother, on equal terms, are involved in family activities, women are not depicted as passive or exclusively as mothers and housewives.

The list of occupations for adults is such that men and women appear equally in professional roles. Also, in family surroundings, men are depicted 11 and women 12 times altogether.

Both children and adults look more modern than the characters in the Readers, and there are also more modern appliances that we use on daily basis.

Text

The greatest novelty introduced by this textbook is probably the direct form of addressing pupils, both boys and girls. Always, without a single exception, when addressing pupils, the author uses both the forms for male gender (given first) and the female gender (given in brackets, after the male form). She goes even one step further by occasionally placing the female gender as first when talking about the teaching staff. Thus nobody feels excluded or invisible.

This is an interactive textbook that requires pupils to be actively involved. The author does not offer ready-made solutions and answers, but pupils create answers in line with their individual, personal experience. Thus, she encourages them to think for themselves, reduces stereotypes and respects the experiences of every single child as an individual. Children are encouraged; there are also words of consolation and normalisations where children might feel bad due to the loss or divorce of their parents, differences and belonging to marginal groups. Socialisation is encouraged, respecting the differences. Negative acts and behaviours are also considered and children are offered the possibility to think about possible solutions to conflicts.

The author also avoided talking about religious holidays leading to possible discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds, by introducing what she called "My Family's Day", which can be a different day in different families and celebrated in different ways. The author also avoids the stereotypical Women's Day, as it is celebrated here, and rather talks of the day for dads and a day for moms, for grandmothers and grandfathers, and teachers, male or female.

On the other hand, we find the idea (expressed on p 55) about the day dedicated to the best boy and best girl a bit problematic. In what sense "the best"? Who is to be the judge of that?

We once again commend the modern approach in the design of this textbook and equal usage of both genders, but maybe rather by using a slash between the two forms, to be on more equal footing than when using brackets.

Grade 4

Reader for grade 4

Authors: Milenko Ratkovic
Illustrator: Drinka Mihajlovic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2000 (approved for use in schools 1995)

This textbook was designed as a romantic and nostalgic book with idyllic rural life dominated by doleful descriptions of sorrow before imminent changes or natural disaster (p 14, p 19). Very frequent are also the descriptions of farming works (p 8) or nostalgia for the rural life (p 40). This textbook praises wittiness, friendliness and readiness to assist others, resourcefulness and fight with harsh nature in the rural environment (p 37, p 109). Even when events and characters from towns are depicted, then it is mostly the suburbs, those having the closest contact with the nature. As if the whole textbook is a promotion of return to the country and nature and “unspoilt” values of rural people. When modern technology is mentioned, then computer is mentioned as a wonder children have never heard of. How far it is from the real situation we are well aware now when many children learn about computers and how to use them even before starting schooling. Not to mention the fact that there are few schools where there are no computers nowadays. There are twice as many texts (14) about village and country life than those set in cities (7). The Reader has six thematic chapters where 51 texts were written by male authors, and only four by female authors. There are also 6 folk poems and four stories, one of them being of African origin.

Texts

The texts, whether about rural life, about life in towns, about characters from folk or world literature are dominated by men (53), more than twice as many as women (23). In 31 texts the main character is a boy and a girl only in five.

It is very conspicuous that dogs are mentioned more often than girls in the Reader. In 10 texts the sex of the characters is either not clear or is not stressed, i.e. those texts speaking of animals, plants, imaginary characters.

Adult males are depicted in their professional roles: farmer, coppersmith, engine-driver, conductor and trolley driver, judge, forester, veterinary, writer or scientist. Adult males are depicted as being sensitive (p. 32, 35, 111), entrepreneurial, brave.

What is specially emphasised is the role of men, but also boys, as warriors. It is sublime and noble to fight for the defence of own hearth, of homeland, as suggested by the texts, which we do not object to. However, there are no explicitly anti-war texts.

Only in two texts, two poems actually, a woman was presented in her professional role, as a spinner (p 16) and a teacher (p 61).

The Reader abounds in professions with lower educational level. Also, the list of professional roles for men is much longer than the one for women, and the “public sphere” is again reserved for them.

Women are most often depicted as mothers, in self-denial, devoted, vulnerable, noble, full of love for their children (p 87, 41), grandmothers who are realistic with both feet on the ground, without any subtle feelings (p 44). Often when a girl is the leading character in the story, as is

the case in the fairy tale *Sleeping Beauty*, she is only curious, without any influence over own destiny and life (saved by the Prince – her only merit is being beautiful).

Boys, just like men, are most often the main characters of the texts in the Reader for grade 4. They are resourceful, inventive (p 8), sensitive (p 72), brave and persistent, able for great friendships, hungry for knowledge (p 37, 109) and predetermined for great roles (p 147).

Girls, on the other hand, unlike grown-up women, are presented as resourceful (p 16), noble and devoted (p 28, p 81), brave and just (p 137). Here again we have less of a difference between boys and girls than between adult men and women.

There are no texts about family and emotional relations within the family. There is only mention of a relation between a father and his son, and a mother and her son, without any reference to other members of a family. We may notice that the relation between a man/boy and his dog is shown with much more details than inter-gender relations.

All tasks following texts are given in male form. The textbook author addresses all pupils in the second person singular, using only the male forms, completely ignoring girls. There is one shy attempt to include the other gender when suggesting a topic for an essay “I made my mother happy” (using both male and female forms).

Even when having texts about children, both boys and girls, tasks and questions after texts speak of all the children referred to in the text as ‘boys’. Thus, the questions sound something like “What feelings does the spring cause in the boys?” or “When were Sreten and his male friends the happiest?”

Analysing tasks that follow texts, we may say that absolutely the most drastic example of gender discrimination appears after the story about the bird’s nest in a mail box. The main character is a girl doing a noble thing by helping little birds to nest and take care of eggs. The task following this story requires pupils to replace the girl in the story with a boy and finish the story. In a Reader in which there are six times more texts featuring boys as main characters, in one of the rare stories where a girl has the leading role, the textbook author does an inexcusable discrimination, even more so since he never asked anything similar after all those texts with boys as main characters. Moreover, what did the author have in mind would happen with this switch of roles? Possibly a gender stereotype again, about a boy who might not do a good deed after all, but be violent instead?

Grammar Workbook for Grade 4

Authors: Momir Sekulic
Illustrator: Zivojin Kovacevic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2000 (approved for use in schools in 1994)

Illustrations

The textbook is illustrated using scarce technique in the style of naïve painting. The pictures in this textbook are dominated by male characters – men are depicted 18 times, boys 20, while there are 6 women and 15 girls.

If we have a look at the roles in which they are depicted, we will notice that men are mostly presented as athletes – boxers, a postman, a miller, farmers and women as a teacher, a mother and a housewife (with unavoidable ladle and pot in her hands). There are no fathers in family environment.

The boys read, draw, fish in the river, climb a tree, play with a dog, play football.

The girls skip rope, sit by the river, read.

It is obvious that boys are depicted as being more active, more adventurous and more agile. Does the author suggest that they are being prepared for their rightful “leading” role in the society once they grow up?

Text

In a largest number of texts, the main character is a man or a boy (20), women and girls being main characters in only three texts. In one text (p 130) main characters are both a man and a woman.

Men are presented in their professional roles: a miller, a mason, a farmer, a shepherd, a boxer, a violinist, a shop assistant, a teacher, a ruler. Standards of success and professionalism are mostly connected with men, who are both actors and arbitrator; they are the ones who resolve conflicts.

The role of a woman in this textbook is exclusively connected with running a household and being a mother. Only in three cases were women depicted in any professional roles, as a shop assistant, a teacher and an empress. Our poetess Desanka Maksimovic is the only public and recognised woman author in thus ordered school.

Even those professional roles put in the first place their motherly characteristics: care for the young (p 60) and again the stereotype of a teacher as a mother (p 32) “A Letter to the Teacher” “I long for your bright voice, caring look and motherly advice”?! What about teaching and learning?

The situation is quite different when talking about male teachers. There is one story, a sentimental and romanticised description of the parting of pupils and their teacher, still noting that the teacher actually goes to work in some “renowned school” and goes off to a “cultural environment”. The opportunity is not missed, apart from the feelings of a teacher, to mention his career as well, something not even contemplated when talking about female teachers.

When boys are main characters, they are noble (p 57, 47), sensitive (p 32), curious (p 40), ingenious (p 34, 59), interested in discovering new environments and towns (p 66).

In the few texts where girls do have some role to play, they are characterised by being noble and sensitive, caring (e.g. p 71 – Vesna acts maternally protective towards a sparrow fell out

of the nest, "...for a while gently caressed and fed with tiny worms...", this is the way the textbook usually presents mothers).

The tasks are always written using male forms only, the female gender being used only twice, and these two times in brackets (p 53).

Girls are mentioned only when it is explicitly asked for by the topic of the unit, e.g. when it is needed to explain the grammatical female gender. In the examples illustrating certain grammar units, when girls are mentioned they usually knit jumpers, sing, while their brothers draw, fathers write and mothers cook.

The author of this workbook makes one unforgivable linguistic but also ethic mistake. The word "čovjek" for him means only "man", as if women and children belonged to some unknown, probably marginal species. At page 24 the author says: a good "čovjek", a good woman, a good child!

When descriptive adjectives are being introduced, the word "čovjek" was taken as an example for male gender, "child" for neutral gender and "a birch" for female gender! "A 'čovjek" may be angry, in a good mood, silent..., and a birch is tall and slim.." As if there is no adequate descriptive adjective for female human beings or it is difficult to use on equal grounds in grammar the female gender for human beings.

Having a look at girls as used in examples, we see, e.g. that a boy "Nikola has a fountain pen", implying probably his intellectual capacities and the power of knowledge, and at the same place, a girl "Ana and her female friends have blue dresses", implying gender stereotype about girls who tend to take care of their looks and fashions.

When learning the form of simple sentences, children may also see how Srdjan's family functions: "Grandmother is knitting. Mother is cooking. Srdjan is drawing. Father is writing. Sister is singing." Women are housewives or idle, men engage in serious, intellectual and socially demanding tasks. And when we wish to expand a simple sentence there comes the example "Mara is knitting", that after a series of additions eventually goes "My curious little girl Mara is knitting a nice jumper for her brother. "Curiosity" is here just a mere declaration, and it would be more suitable if it said good or obedient instead. Also it is highly predictable that a sister is going to knit a jumper for her brother. It is virtually impossible to knit it for herself or her sister or simply never mention who it is intended for.

The most shocking examples from this textbook are the two pictures (p 35 and 36) where the hidden or subconscious stereotypes turn into real discrimination.

Society for grade 4

Authors: Slavka Ratkovic and Ljiljana Adzic
Illustrators: Vukosav Kronic, Momcilo Kankaras and Novica Jovic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2001 (approved for use in schools the same year)

The subject called Society is the introduction to the study of History and Geography that will be introduced in grade 5.

The authors familiarise children with basic terminology related to society: human beings as social beings, the beginning and development of civilisations and societies, with emphasis on the Republic of Montenegro. The first part introduces the state symbols, demographic features and geographic terminology, and the second part gives the historic development of Montenegro. The textbook is well designed and varied.

Illustrations

This textbook is illustrated with a combination of photographs, maps, pictures and graphs. Modern technique with effective details and empty space for exercises makes an integral part with the textual contents, thus giving equal importance to visual elements as well as an essential part of information.

The illustrations are dominated by male characters. Men are presented in 120 photographs and pictures, and women in 20 only. Men are mostly presented in their professional roles, as a wood-cutter, a farmer, a bee-keeper, a rafter, a chef, a carpenter, a miner, a priest and a ruler. Apart from manufacturing and production, men also dominate the sphere of artistic creation. Only male authors are presented in photographs and pictures.

Men also dominate the photographs and pictures speaking of historic events (over 50 characters) and governing a state. War-making is their sole privilege. It is known that also women took part in wars, but their role and part in the events is not mentioned anywhere either in visual or textual contents of this textbook.

There are three photographs/pictures depicting men in their leisure activities and hobbies (folk dancers and mountaineers). There are almost no women shown in pictures. There is literally only one photograph depicting a woman in her professional role (a farmer) and one more having a woman depicted as a housewife. The photographs showing folk dances from Montenegro have some women as well, and may be seen as their hobby or leisure activity (the same as with men).

Boys and girls in the pictures of this textbook are presented in similar roles and environments: as pupils, going for a trip and within their families. Although there are more boys than girls, we could not say that the illustrations have gender stereotypes and discriminations.

Text

As for the text of this textbook, we are faced with stereotypes from the very beginning. The introductory text, the authors (both of them females, but using the male forms to speak of themselves) address all the children using male forms only, and recommend children to be “researchers and investigators” (using male forms only).

The texts that follow, throughout the textbook, use male forms only when speaking of people in general, saying for example that “Montenegro is the state of all citizens (male form)” or that “Montenegrians (male again) lived in difficult conditions.”

Tasks and questions following different units are always seemingly for boys only, since only male forms are used throughout: "Would you like to be a cattle-breeder (male)?" or "Would you (male) prefer to take a swim in a river or a lake?"

In texts, almost all the professional roles are reserved for men. They are teachers, woodcutters, smelters, ploughmen, shoemakers, pottery-makers, goldsmiths, miners, etc. Men dominate manufacturing, industries, culture and art, according to this textbook.

Men are also researchers and explorers, rulers, commanders, peace-keepers, warriors..., they are the ones who decide about the world we are living in and when and how we are going to change things.

Historic events are presented mostly as the history of various battles of male Montenegrins.

Although it is a fact that for centuries Montenegrin people fought battles for survival and freedom, we still believe that we should not put so much stress on this warrior spirit at this point in time. For instance, after the text talking about conflicts among Montenegrin tribes that were used by Turks, there comes a question for pupils "How do you behave when your friend (male) hits you?" This is probably a reflection of the stereotype suggesting combativeness in boys. What about those who have never been hit by their friends or have never hit back?

Only men are depicted as authors and artists. Is not there a single female author or painter deserving to be included in the textbook?

Women are little or not at all mentioned in the texts of this textbook. Even when shown, they are always presented in their family roles, as brave mothers (again this warrior spirit) and as caring sisters. Even when mentioned as knitters or spinners, that does not mean that they are shown in their professional roles but just doing what is supposed to be part of their housewife duties.

Children in this textbook are always pupils. The same comment applies here as for the introductory note – always male forms used, girls never being part of this author-pupil communication, as if not being present in class at all.

Grade 8

Reader for grade 8

Author: Isak Kalpacin
Illustrator: Velibor Bucko Radojevic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2001 (approved for use in schools in 1995)

Illustrations

With higher grades the stress shifts from illustrations to texts; thus, there are very few illustrations in the Reader for 8-graders, they are all black and white drawings of famous authors or simple ornaments.

There are altogether 8 men shown in pictures, and not a single woman or a child of either sex.

Text

Out of 87 texts included in the Reader, there are only examples of work done by 3 female authors (3.5%), 73 male authors (84%), and 11 pieces of folk literature (12,5%).

At the end of the textbook there are short notes about authors present in the textbook. The situation here is even worse. Out of 67 such notes, 65 refer to men (97%) and 2 about women (3%).

Texts feature three times more men than women and two times more boys than girls.

Female occupations and roles are limited to 6 altogether: a member of operetta troupe, a student, the Illyrian queen Teuta, a countess, a servant and a field worker.

On the other hand, the list of male occupations and roles is much bigger – over 80 different roles and occupations, one third roughly relating to military and heads of states and one third to obsolete crafts, the rest relating to “normal” professions.

As successful are shown those who left behind works of art and inventions significant for the whole humankind, won wars, became famous by what was built during their reign. The successful are also those who succeeded in achieving their love despite social prohibition, but also those who have the power and the money. In folk poems most of the characters are losers and victims. Victims abound in the texts selected, they are even glorified, it turns out that a “small man” fatalistically suffers in wars and in poverty, they have histories of long suffering, they are wounded, full of patriotic ideals and loyalty to religion, state and beliefs.

The predominant resolution of many situations is death, e.g. people die because of love, than by suffering, compliance and self-denial till self-destruction. There are many wounded and disabled people. Still, some resolutions happen in creation as the highest deed in trying to give meaning to life.

Patriarchy dictates both the problem and the solution, and all suffer here, men and women, and boys and girls alike. The Reader is pervaded with the spirit of freedom and numerous wars, poverty and powerlessness calling for revenge.

There are few children in the texts, most of them victims of lack of social care, wars and poverty and the dominant stereotypes. Still, most of these children are shown as being thoughtful and sensitive.

Women are mostly mothers, shown as passive, powerless, mostly in relation to men and children; they are victims who suffer a lot and have no influence over their lives and no possibility of choice.

Most of the men are actually historic and mythical figures or fighters in numerous wars. When they are little, invisible, common people, they have the same fate as women. The implicit message is that power through rule and knowledge make people "eternal". There is a lot of talk about self-respect, but there is too little actual self-respect. Self-esteem is conspicuously low on the part of women, which is quite understandable having in mind the life they had, or that was imposed on them. They have no right to choose, they are just participants in the game of life, they cannot decide anything for themselves, let alone change anything, they can just bow to the inevitable and die of sorrow.

When the author addresses all the pupils, he always uses gender neutral forms of second person plural. Occasionally, however, he uses gendered forms, always male ones e.g. when inviting pupils to write their own anthologies and asking them to say which poems "they (male form) would include.." etc.

When giving the definition of literary types and techniques, the definition is always given in male forms, e.g. "in travel books the author (male) describes what he saw and experienced (male forms) while travelling..." .

We also found extremely peculiar one definition of a term from a glossary of words and terms used in the book, provided at the end of the textbook. Namely, the word "patriarchal" supposedly means "old-fashioned, quiet and modest, sticking to old customs and beliefs".

General comment about this textbook as a whole is that there are too few children as active participants, there is too much suffering, wars and death.

Grammar Workbook for grade 8

Authors: Asim Peco, Milija Nikolic
Illustrator: Perica Martinovic
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2001 (5th ed., approved for use in schools in 1994)

Illustrations

There are not many illustrations in the Grammar Workbook for 8-graders, especially not those featuring children. There are altogether two such pictures, showing two girls and a boy. The girls play with a doll and a space ship model, and a boy plays with a ball. As for adults, there are altogether 33 characters, 3 times women (9%) and 30 times men (91%), 17 of them historical or mythical figures.

Text

Speaking of texts, this workbook frequently uses excerpts from various literary works as illustrations for grammar units. Looking at the authors of these works, we see that only once (2.5%) it is a female author (an unknown pupil), 23 times male authors (60.5%), 12 times folk literature (32%) and twice it is a work of an unknown author (5%). The examples used to illustrate grammar units covered abound in male characters, most of them literary ones, from the works of Njegos, S.M.Ljubisa, M.Miljanov etc and folk poems, and it is clear that they are mostly historical and mythical figures, their speech is archaic, as well as their habits and customs. Most of the examples deal with wars or bravery and integrity. There are just a few works dealing with up-to-date topics, children's imagination, creativity and prosperity.

Here, just like in the Reader for grade 8, predominantly present are warriors, heroes, and partisans, tragic outcomes of battles and many a doleful wife and sister.

Apart from these authentic texts used as illustration for certain grammar points, Grammar Workbook authors also use own examples or take out certain sentences from the authentic texts and then change them slightly. Out of 171 example of the kind speaking of humans, in 157 cases it is about men (92%) and only in 14 cases about women (8%). Just to illustrate the trend in this textbook, let us have a look at the examples given on page 43 to illustrate the function of pronouns in a sentence, out of 8 sentences altogether given as examples, 6 of them use male forms, and 2 of them use pronouns without gender differentiation:

"It is evident that pronouns in a sentence may be:

*a subject: I read. He writes.

*a part of nominal predicate: He is ours.

*an attribute: I like your song.

*an object: We are watching him.

*prepositional phrase: We are approaching him. We are going with him. I'm talking about him."

As for addressing pupils, it is mostly neutral, i.e. second personal singular of indicative and imperative is used. In a couple of cases this neutral, gender non-marked address is abandoned. For example, (p 43) it says "Write a letter to your (male) friend ..." or (p 52) regarding exclamations asking pupils which exclamations they use "when you are impressed (male form) by some painting or when you score (male form) a goal at the game?". On page 53 all pupils are asked to "write a report about the activities of a group whose (male) member you are."

History for grade 4

Authors: Slavko Burzanovic and Jasmina Djordjevic
Illustrator: /
Publisher: Institute for textbooks and teaching aids, Podgorica, 2001 (approved for use in schools in 2002)

Illustrations

History textbook for eight graders is a textbook of modern design, quality printing and presentation of contents. It is printed in colour, with large margins used for photographs, always followed with explanations, definitions of less familiar words and comments of certain events or personalities. This is nicely and richly illustrated textbook that abounds in drawings, photographs, caricatures and maps.

Quantitative data, i.e. frequency of male and female character in photographs, show overwhelming abundance of men, 88% compared to 12% of women, and a negligent number of boys and girls. There are some photographs which we called "mass photos" where it is impossible to count all the characters they present. There are 26 exclusively male, 2 female and 11 mixed mass photos in this textbook. Children are mostly presented in war conflicts, next to soldiers, or as refugees. There is only one photograph showing children in peace time, children sitting in class.

If we have a look at the activities and roles and the contexts in which women are shown, we may discern two allegorical illustrations where women symbolise states ("seducing Italy" and "sleeping America") and one woman on a shoes commercial. Mass photos mostly feature refugees, women in concentration camps, partisans, factory labour, handball players... There are only two women which may be defined as stateswomen and political activists.

By far the greatest number of male characters, including almost all of those in mass photos which are impossible to be counted exactly, are presented as soldiers, regardless of the army or group. Individual photographs feature kings, emperors, politicians, labourers, revolutionaries, leaders, army leaders, mariners, prime ministers, actors, violinists, scientists, admiral, men in concentration camps, intellectuals, poets, peasants, police officers, archbishops, literary authors, members of parliaments, generals, monastery guardians, soldiers of various armies and military groups, princes, patriots, commanders, brigadiers, marshals, emigrants, reformers, refugees, economists, computer tycoons, astronauts, hippies..

Text

As for the language of the textbook, questions and tasks that follow texts, the authors address all the pupils in neutral form, using direct forms of second person singular of indicative and imperative.

A special feature of this textbook is attention paid to the "women's issue" in special segments of the texts, presented on the margins or in some other way separated and emphasised. (Such a method of separating and emphasising information is also used elsewhere in the textbook, for some other events and personalities not only for women). Thus, on page 18, there is a short text on the increase of importance of women in economic and social life due to conscription of large numbers of men whose jobs were taken over by women, but which also served to increase self-awareness of women and encourage them to fight for equality. On page 36 it is mentioned that women were denied the right to vote in the majority of

European countries, and on page 110 that in our country women were given the right to vote in 1945.

History is still mostly the history of political events and wars. Still, this textbook also has sections on the events in culture, science, arts and economy. Women become slightly more visible. The authors explicitly speak of the position of women, point to inequality of women and their partial visibility in World War Two. The women shown in pictures are labourers, members of AFZ (Antifascist Front of Women), partisans and prisoners in concentration camps. Thus, they are both shown as actors and participants in the events and as victims and decoration, objects that symbolise seduction and passivity (examples mentioned earlier, women symbolising the states of Italy and America). Even in socialist times women were used to “sell” goods and be the decoration at commercials and advertisements.

They were given the right to vote and employment, but not in the positions of decision-making.

There are too few children in the pictures, mostly war photos or they play war, but the general comment might be similar to the one already given for women: there are too few children, but still it is a step forward since previously there used to be no children at all in such textbooks.

Although half of the historic experience belongs to women, written history mentions them only as marginal participants. Women as a social group are only minimally present in the topics that used to be the main focus of historic research, like political, military or diplomatic history, because of which it was easily concluded that they are being “unhistorical”. We believe that the history of women should not be studied only when women act in masculine manner and when they appear in political life.

Conclusion

The analysis of selected textbooks clearly shows that the recognisable patriarchal socialisation pattern still holds true for our educational system. Rare are the textbooks with gender sensitive orientation which open up possibilities for constructing different perception of gender roles and gender relations. In most of the analysed textbooks gender roles still reflect traditional, stereotypical and binary male/female division.

Female roles include a couple of stereotypical ones, usually mother or “extensions” of mother figure, like the one of a female teacher.

Male roles are no less stereotypical, they are only more diverse. Still, most of them are historical and mythical, then craftsmen and soldiers.

Gender stereotypes are also present as regards boys and girls, but compared to men and women it almost looks benign and subtle. There are in certain textbooks some gender-related divisions both in illustrations and texts. Thus, girls are either invisible, or passive, caring and dressed up, while boys are skilful, intellectually dominant, naughty and of adventurous spirit. Still, boys and girls often have the same number of different roles and activities, particularly connected with school.

One big issue is what happens to agile, active and capable girls when they grow up to be mothers and housewives, closed indoors and passive, without professional lives. Is it that such an educational system with textbooks in which authors mostly address males, with stories that reassert the passive position of women and carefully protect them from the public eye, makes that girls, early on in their lives, get these messages which will later on prevent them from developing their full abilities?

Appendix

Tables presenting the results of quantitative analyses

I Presence of male and female characters in illustrations

(The data in the given tables include only those characters whose gender is readily identifiable; at group photos and pictures there is a number of people in the background whose gender it is impossible to discern and they are not included in the statistics)

Table 1. Presence of boys and girls in pictures

Textbook	Girls	Boys	Total
Primer	93 (60%)	60 (40%)	153 (100%)
Reader (grade 1)	32 (48.5%)	34 (51,5%)	66 (100%)
Workbook - Serbian (grade 1)	3 (37.5%)	5 (62,5%)	8 (100%)
Nature and Society (grade 1)	61 (36%)	109 (64%)	170 (100%)
Reader (grade 4)	22 (41.5%)	31 (58,5%)	53 (100%)
Grammar Workbook (grade 4)	15 (43%)	20 (57%)	35 (100%)
Society (grade 4)	28 (64%)	16 (36%)	44 (100%)
Reader (grade 8)	/	/	/
Grammar Workbook (grade 8)	2 (66%)	1 (33%)	3 (100%)
History (grade 8)	5 (38%)	8 (62%)	13 (100%)
Total	261 (48%)	284 (52%)	545 (100%)

Table 2. Presence of men and women in pictures

Textbook	Women	Men	Total
Primer	41 (51%)	40 (49%)	81 (100%)
Reader (grade 1)	7 (29%)	17 (71%)	24 (100%)
Workbook - Serbian (grade 1)	2 (15%)	11 (85%)	13 (100%)
Nature and Society (grade 1)	54 (46,5%)	62 (53,5%)	116 (100%)
Reader (grade 4)	12 (20%)	48 (80%)	60 (100%)
Grammar Workbook (grade 4)	6 (25%)	18 (75%)	24 (100%)
Society (grade 4)	20 (14%)	120 (86%)	140 (100%)
Reader (grade 8)	/	8 (100%)	8 (100%)
Grammar Workbook (grade 8)	3 (9%)	30 (91%)	33 (100%)
History (grade 8)	95 (12%)	686 (88%)	781 (100%)
Total	240 (18.75%)	1040 (81.25%)	1280 (100%)

II Text authors (Serbian language textbooks)

Table 3. Text authors

Textbook	Authors				Total
	Male	Female	Folk	Not clear	
Reader (grade 1)	49 (70%)	10 (14%)	8 (11%)	3 (4%)	70 (100%)
Workbook - Serbian (grade 1)	19 (68%)	2 (7%)	5 (18%)	2 (7%)	28 (100%)
Reader (grade 4)	51 (76%)	4 (6%)	11 (16.5%)	1 (1.5%)	67 (100%)
Grammar Workbook (grade 4)	24 (68.5%)	1 (3%)	/	10 (28.5%)	35 (100%)
Reader (grade 8)	73 (84%)	3 (3.5%)	11 (12.5%)	/	87 (100%)
Grammar Workbook (grade 8)	23 (60.5%)	1 (3%)	12 (31.5%)	2 (5%)	38 (100%)
Total	239 (73.5%)	21 (6.5%)	47 (14.5%)	18 (5.5%)	325 (100%)

III Words that relate to one or both parents in the Primer Reader

Table 4. "Parent" words in the Primer Reader

Male		Female		Common	Total
<i>tata</i> (Daddy) 9 (with different case endings)	<i>otac</i> / (Father)	<i>mama</i> (Mammy) 38 (with different case endings)	<i>majka</i> 1 (Mother)	<i>roditelji</i> 3 (parents)	51
Total 9 (18%)		Total 39 (76%)		Total 3(6%)	51 (100%)

IV Occupations and roles of adults in pictures and in the texts

(We included here only the Primer, Reader, Grammar Workbook and Nature and Society for grade 1 and Grammar Workbook and Society for grade 4. We did so because the remaining textbooks had too many imaginary and historic characters, and were not that relevant)

Table 5. Occupations and roles for adults in pictures and texts from the **Primer** (if they appear more than once, the number is shown in brackets)

Pictures		Texts		
Female	Male	Female	Male	
Field workers (3) Shop assistant Teacher Post office clerk (2) Housewife (11)	Field worker (20) Seller Stone mason	Teacher	Actors Seamen Tourists Pilots (4) Goalkeeper Judge Teacher (9)	Guests Ploughman Blacksmiths Writers Heroes – Combaters Doctor Guslar (folk instrument player)

Table 6. Occupations and roles for adults in pictures and texts from the **Reader for grade 1** (if they appear more than once, the number is shown in brackets)

Pictures		Texts		
Female	Male	Female	Male	
Nurse	Chimney sweep Florist Hunter	Teacher (15) Shop assistant	Chimney sweep (3) Hunter (8) Florist Construction worker (2) Writer (2) Teacher Poet (5) Ploughman (6) Famer	Sower (2) Harvester (2) Combine driver(2) Miller Baker (2) Seller (2) Shoemaker Watchmaker Servants (4)

Table 7. Occupations and roles for adults in pictures and texts from the **Grammar Workbook for grade 1** (if they appear more than once, the number is shown in brackets)

Pictures		Text	
Female	Male	Female	Male
Harvester Shop assistant	Hunter Harvester (2) Ploughman Sower (2) Miller Baker Buyer	Poetess (2)	Teacher (2) Poet (8) Partisan courier (5) Hunter (3) Florist

Table 8. Occupations and roles for adults in pictures and texts from the **Nature and Science for grade 1** (if they appear more than once, the number is shown in brackets)

Pictures		Text	
Female	Male	Female	Male
Teacher (19) Waitress Housewife (2) Field worker (2) Typist Cleaning lady (2) Coffee-cook Skier	Teacher (11) Janitor (5) Painter (2) Farmer (2) Head master Lawyer Skier Swimming instructor	Teacher (11) Teachers	Teacher (11) Teachers (2) Policeman Fireman Doctor

Table 9. Occupations and roles for adults in pictures and texts from the **Grammar Workbook for grade 4** (if they appear more than once, the number is shown in brackets)

Pictures		Text		
Female	Male	Female	Male	
Housewife Teacher	Miller Carriage-driver Airplane pilot Helicopter pilot Postman Farmers (3) boxers (4)	Empress Shop assistant (2) Teacher (4)	Stone mason Miller (4) Hajduk (3) Artist (2) Writer Apprentice(2) Master Neighbour Customers Shop owner Shop assistant Teacher Boxer (7) Emperor (2) Sportsman Teacher (8) Poet (4)	Chess player footballer Winner Owner Jeweller Miner Scouts (4) Shepherd (2) Prisoners Ustase (members of a military force fighting in World War II) Officer (2) Hunter (2) Combatant Doctor Leader (2) Basketball players Basket-maker

Table 10. Occupations and roles for adults in pictures and texts from the **Society for grade 4** (if they appear more than once, the number is shown in brackets)

Pictures		Text			
Female	Male	Female	Male		
Harvester Teacher (2) Tourist	Mountaineer Bee-keeper Chef (2) Wood-cutter (3) Carpenter Sawmill workers (3) Miner Cattle-raiser Fisherman (2) Hunter (3) Windsurfer Rafters Tennis players Rulers (7) Gusle player	/	Seafarers Head master Teacher (4) Poet (2) Ruler Mountaineer Fisherman Mayor Farmers Cattle-raisers(5) Bee-keeper (7) Caterers Construction workers Teacher Miner Smelter	Blacksmiths Pottery-makers Goldsmith Forest labourer Warriors (3) Peasants (2) Shepherds Bishop (6) Owner Tourists Host Guest Traveller Buyers Citizens	Ancestors Headmen Enemy Army leader Peacemaker Writer Poet Prince (2) King (4) Hero Ruler Fascists Conquerors Grandfathers Forefathers

V Presence of boys/men and girls/women in examples

Table 11. Presence of male and female characters or the use of male or female gender in examples used in textbooks for Serbian language

Textbook	Male	Female	Total
Primer	/	/	/
Reader (grade 1)	17 (94,5%)	1 (5,5 %)	18 (100%)
Workbook - Serbian (grade 1)	12 (67 %)	6 (33%)	18 (100%)
Reader (grade 4)	13 (93 %)	1 (7 %)	14 (100%)
Grammar Workbook (grade 4)	100 (71 %)	41 (29 %)	141 (100%)
Reader (grade 8)	/	/	/
Grammar Workbook (grade 8)	157 (92%)	14 (8%)	171 (100%)

Total	299 (83%)	63 (17%)	362 (100%)
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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TEXTBOOK AUTHORS

Checklist for Analysing Gender Bias in Textbooks

You should be able to answer **'YES'** to these questions.....

1. Are girls and boys, men and women, equally likely to appear in texts illustrations and examples?
2. Are females and males shown taking an equal and active part as parents and members of families?
3. Are females and males shown participating equally in:
 - physical and practical activities?
 - scientific and technical activities?
 - artistic activities?
 - domestic activities?
4. Are females and males portrayed as being equally competent in both intellectual and practical activities?
5. Are males and females portrayed as having equal status at work and at home?
6. Are the situations and contexts used equally within the experience of, and of interest to, girls and boys?

..... And **'NO'** to these.

1. Is masculine gender used to refer to all people?
2. Are men and women shown only in stereotyped roles (e.g., women as housewives, carers, secretaries, and men as managers, scientists, engineers)?
3. Are females portrayed in more passive roles (sitting, watching) and males in more active roles?
4. Do females tend to be in sensitive roles and males in aggressive roles?

SUMMARY

Introduction

The first structured and scientific notions of the world and ourselves in it are acquired at primary school. Before the beginning of elementary schooling, children learn about the world in accordance with own interests, depending on natural curiosity and feedback from parents, who may, but not necessarily so, satisfy all the needs and provide the answers to all questions. The school, through compulsory education, offers uniform knowledge claimed to be scientific. School textbooks are one of major tools in education process. They are most trusted and represent a repository of truth and knowledge. Textbooks have a major socialisation role in the development of children. They convey important messages to the young on how the social relations in a society are to be organised and which value system they should adopt. Through the characters represented in textbooks children are offered a pattern of a preferred individual and behaviour model in the given society.

There appears to be a glaring omission in many textbooks. They omit the accomplishments of half of the human race. History, literature, art, music, and science books focus primarily on the accomplishments of men while simultaneously trivializing the accomplishments of women. They diminish the importance of women, placing them in positions of subordination and passivity. What also lacks are the descriptions of women who have taken on roles stereotypically reserved for men.

Psychological development of children at the time of entering school is characterised by fast development of perception that approaches "naïve realism". A child sees the world as it is presented to him/her. Knowledge acquired at this so-called concrete stadium of thought is internalised as complete and true. Not before the age of 12, with the development of abstract thinking, does this knowledge become questioned and changed. We believe that some of the knowledge acquired, having the existing education models in family and at school, never becomes subject to critical analysis and the change of attitudes and beliefs. It, thus, happens that this adopted ready-made knowledge lays the ground for bias and stereotypes in relation to gender, nation, religion, race, etc.

Textbook analysis

The textbooks analysed, Serbian, (Nature) and Science, and History, have been selected as subjects essential for creation of the awareness of self and others (the I-others relation). We regard them as crucial in creating the sense of identity, gender identity in particular, i.e. "I as a boy/girl in the world".

First, fourth and eighth grade have been chosen as turning points in education cycle and development processes of children at different development stages.

During the preparatory stage to our analysis, we researched relevant literature and similar analysis to help select the appropriate criteria. We wanted to compile the criteria to provide reliable findings and also to be able to control subjectivity and possible constant error that may stem from it.

The set of criteria refer both to the texts and the accompanying illustrations. We believe that they are of the same importance. Both representations of male and female characters in texts

and their visual representations influence the creation of beliefs and stereotypes referring to male and female gender roles. Also, the younger the children are, the more important the illustrations are. As children grow, they are replaced by messages presented in texts. Thus, we agreed for both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the chosen textbooks, using the following set of criteria:

Quantitative:

7. the presence of men and women
8. the presence of boys and girls
9. the activities of boys and girls
10. the roles for men and women
11. lists of professions and presence of men and women in different professional roles
12. number of men and women as authors of texts

Qualitative:

7. What the text is about:
 - How are performance standards expressed?
 - Who solves problems and how is it done?
 - Gender roles: is the success of girls and women based on own initiative and intelligence or because they are pretty or connected to a boy/man?
 - Can the story be told if gender roles have been switched?
 - Gender-related character traits and behaviour
8. Life style
9. Relations between people
 - Are boys/men in power, are they agile, are they leaders, do they make decisions, or do girls/women do that?
 - Family relations – who has the dominant role, etc.
10. Who are the heroes in stories?
11. Is self-esteem of girls/women included?
12. Which gender does the textbook author use?

All three researchers worked with the same set of parameters, aiming to increase objectivity of the findings through interpersonal reliability.

Observations and caveats

It is difficult to generalise the results since all the textbooks are different, and there are many criteria for analysis. Still, some trends are evident, like the more recent the textbook is, the more gender sensitive it is, or that the textbooks for Nature and Science and History, which are among the last that have been published, are more politically correct textbooks, so there is an increase in the presence and visibility of women and sensibility for women's issue. The most gender sensitive of all the textbooks analysed is the Nature and Science for 1st grade.

If we try to sum up some of the findings according to different criteria, we come up to the conclusion that the presence of boys and girls in illustrations is approximately equal, i.e. girls are represented in 48% of cases, and boys in 52%, taken totally for all the textbooks analysed. The situation changes drastically for adults, where women are shown in 18.5% and men in 81.5 % of all the illustrations in all textbooks analysed.

It is much more difficult to calculate the presence of women in texts, but the most striking example is the one in Serbian Reader for the 4th grade, where the hero of the story is a boy in

31 cases, and a girl only 5 times (3 of them being fairy tales). We will give the example with a girl as a hero of the story ("Bird's nest in a mail box"). The girl does a noble thing and helps little birds to make a nest and take care of the eggs. In the task after the story, the author asks pupils to make the boy a hero of the story and finish it. By doing so, on a rare occasion of a girl as a hero in a Reader having six times more texts with boys as heroes, the author does, in our opinion, unjustifiable discrimination. Not a single task after texts abounding in male characters did ask for the gender roles to be switched for a girl or woman to become the hero of the story. Moreover, what did the author expect would happen if the gender roles were switched? Is it maybe, the stereotype of boys being violent?

Speaking of adults, the greatest disparity is probably present in textbooks for 8th grade abounding in male characters, particularly Serbian Reader and History textbook, with over 90% of male characters.

As for the activities of boys and girls, there is approximately the same number of school activities both represented in the illustrations and in texts. As for other activities, and this particularly holds true for Serbian textbooks for 1st and 4th grade, they are, for the most part, gender stereotypical. Thus, girls go for walks, make themselves pretty and tend to spend their leisure time in a passive way. Boys, in contrast, go in for sports and hobbies, they are adventurous and demonstrate more practical skills.

Speaking of roles, activities and professions for adults, taking the Reader for 1st grade as an example, we see women as housewives, doing housework when at home, or going for walks and sitting in parks with female friends and children, when outside. Men representing fathers are always dressed in suits, even at the dinner table, very severe, and only relax playing the traditional folk instrument (gusle).

In texts, women are mostly referred to as mothers, and when in professional settings they are usually teachers. Men are represented mostly in professional roles, rarely as fathers, let alone husbands.

Texts for lower grades abound in men in professional roles, mostly crafts, usually obsolete ones and not found in modern Montenegro. As an illustration, the texts from Serbian Reader for 1st grade, have women represented in two roles altogether, as teachers (15 occurrences) and shop assistants, and men as chimney sweepers (4), huntsmen (8), florists, construction workers (2), writers (2), teachers, poets (5), ploughmen (6), crop farmers, sowers (2), reapers (2), combine drivers (2), millers, bakers (2), shop assistants (2), "opanak" (old-fashioned peasant footwear)-makers, watchmakers, servants (4).

As for the language used in the textbooks analysed, it is also very difficult to generalise. One of the basic indicators is the gender authors use when addressing pupils/readers and what gender they use to refer to all people. Here, a great range of different solutions may be noticed. On one side, as a gender stereotype extreme, there are textbooks in which authors consistently use masculine gender to address all pupils. Such textbooks are those used for the Serbian Reader and Grammar in 1st grade, Grammar for 4th grade and Science for 4th grade.

Then there are textbooks addressing readers neutrally, like the Reader for 4th grade, in 2nd person singular of present or imperative, both of them gender unmarked. However, whenever there is a need to be gender-specific, masculine gender is used, with one sole exception when the forms for both genders were used. The Reader used in 8th grade is similar, except that here the form used is 2nd person plural of present and imperative. There are a few exceptions when masculine gender was used, and again only one including both genders. As for the History textbook used in 8th grade, it is consistently, throughout the book gender unmarked.

It is only the Science and Nature textbook for 1st grade that has all the instructions and comments consistently given using both genders. Feminine gender and female forms are

given in brackets, after the male counterparts, although sometimes precede the male forms, especially when dealing with teachers. This textbook is a proof positive that political correctness in textbooks is possible and easily achievable, as a counterargument to all those who doubt the practicality of introducing double forms to include feminine gender.

The next important criterion is the presence of males and females in examples. Looking at the presence of men and women in examples in Serbian textbooks, it is seen that men and masculine gender are used in 83% of examples, and women and feminine gender in the remaining 17% (this statistics includes only the examples talking about humans, not the one with only grammatical gender).

As an extreme example, in the Grammar book for 4th grade, when talking about Past Tense in Serbian, the author provides only examples for masculine gender and says that "forms for feminine and neutral gender differ slightly from the given masculine forms." Are these not of the same importance? After all, we do have a language with a highly pronounced grammatical gender.

Using the same book as an illustration, we will show that even when women are used in examples, they are depicted in highly stereotypical gender roles and relations. For instance, when simple sentences are taught, pupils will also be able to see how Srdjan's family functions: "Grandma is knitting. Mother is cooking. Srdjan is drawing. Father is writing. Sister is singing." Or when simple sentences are expanded, there is an example "Mara is knitting." which eventually becomes: "Today my curious girl Mara is knitting a nice jumper for her brother." Curiosity here is only declarative, whereas "good" or "obedient" would be more suitable. Also, based on the messages sent throughout this and other textbooks, it is only to be expected a sister would knit a jumper for her brother. It is impossible to knit it for herself or not even mention who it is for.

The use of the word "čovjek" (inclusive word for "human being") is highly interesting. For instance, when a wolf asks if there is a good "čovjek" in the village where he could go, a cat sends the wolf to four different men (Reader for 1st grade). Or the example from Grammar book for 4th grade as an illustration of adjectival gender "A good "čovjek", a good woman, a good child", or when describing a market day, "Crowds of people, women and children are coming", even though we have a separate word for "men".

This use of the word «čovjek» to mean "man" is very usual. We point this out since it illustrates well the so-called generic use of male forms. It is usually said that we use male forms generically, to refer to all people. It is hard to believe that generic use readily invokes generic meaning – that is, using male forms in neutral contexts does not result in most people thinking both of men and women, since, obviously, it does not happen even with a purely generic and inclusive word.

Conclusion

The analysis of selected textbooks clearly shows that the recognisable patriarchal socialisation pattern still holds true for our educational system. Rare are the textbooks with gender sensitive orientation which open up possibilities for constructing different perception of gender roles and gender relations. In most of the analysed textbooks gender roles still reflect traditional, stereotypical and binary male/female division.

Female roles include a couple of stereotypical ones, usually mother or "extensions" of mother figure, like the one of a female teacher.

Male roles are no less stereotypical, they are only more diverse. Still, most of them are historical and mythical, then craftsmen and soldiers.

Gender stereotypes are also present as regards boys and girls, but compared to men and women it almost looks benign and subtle. There are in certain textbooks some gender-related divisions both in illustrations and texts. Thus, girls are either invisible, or passive, caring and dressed up, while boys are skilful, intellectually dominant, naughty and of adventurous spirit. Still, boys and girls often have the same number of different roles and activities, particularly connected with school.

One big issue is what happens to agile, active and capable girls when they grow up to be mothers and housewives, closed indoors and passive, without professional lives. Is it that such an educational system with textbooks in which authors mostly address males, with stories that reassert the passive position of women and carefully protect them from the public eye, makes that girls, early on in their lives, get these messages which will later on prevent them from developing their full abilities?

Patriarchal Montenegro in 21st century is a place where it is necessary to redefine the existing stereotypes of gender roles and gender relations, break taboos connected with male-female positions and abilities. Changing the image of women/men represented in textbooks is one way of raising the awareness for the issue, of developing critical thinking and creating a new, more correct notion of the world and the place of women in it.

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