

**Raising Awareness of Sex-Gender Stereotyping:
The Implications of Some Feminist Ideologies for Curriculum and
Pedagogy in Secondary Education**

by

Astrid Jeske

A Thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education
The University of Birmingham
February 2004

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with 1) establishing the origins of sex-gender differences and with ascertaining if these are changeable; 2) the structure and function of the postmodern patriarchal family and its role in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping; 3) the role of education in sex-gender/other stereotyping; 4) the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy; and 5) the implementation of this pedagogy.

The thesis is structured around six research questions. The first three research questions *What are the origins of sex-gender differences?*, *What is the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and what functions does it have?* and *What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?* guide an interdisciplinary enquiry that provides the basis for the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy. The fourth question *What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?* delineates the context out of which an holistic inclusive pedagogy is developed. The last two research questions *What kind of pedagogy is needed to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping?* and *How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learner's-teacher's awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?* are concerned with the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, its salient features, philosophical and epistemological assumptions and aims, etc.

To Frank,
partner, lover and friend,
with deep gratitude
and
affection

Acknowledgements

I am first and foremost indebted to my husband, Frank Herbig, for all his help, technical expertise and constant moral support and patience during the past five years. I am also grateful to my supervisor, Dr Michael H. Grimmitt, for his support and advice. In addition I wish to thank Atossa Kouchekmanesh for the illustrations for my worksheets, Caroline Foggitt for providing accommodation which made studying from overseas possible, and, last but not least, Angelika Adam and Eva Heute for their encouragement.

Table of Contents

Preliminary	1
I. The contexts of my thesis	1
II. The purpose and relevance of my thesis.....	6
III. Research Structure	8
III.1 Central themes and concepts	9
III.2 Research questions and hypotheses.....	11
III.3 Preview of the content	13
IV. Methods	22
V. Summary	24
 1. In search of the origins of sex-gender differences: An examination of sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology	26
1.1 Introduction.....	26
1.2 Defining the starting point: A brief excursion into three influential feminist ideologies: liberal, socialist and radical feminism.....	27
1.2.1 Liberal feminism	29
1.2.2 Socialist feminism	31
1.2.3 Radical feminism.....	34
1.2.4 The common features of liberal, socialist and radical feminism.....	37
1.3 Sociobiology	41
1.3.1 Introducing sociobiology	41
1.3.2 Sociobiology and the origins of sex-gender differences	43
1.3.3 Some criticisms	46
1.3.4 Summary.....	47
1.4 Psychoendocrinology.....	48
1.4.1 Introducing psychoendocrinology	48
1.4.2 Psychoendocrinology and the origins of sex-gender differences	51
1.4.3 Some criticisms	55
1.4.4 Summary.....	56
1.5 Feminist Psychology.....	57
1.5.1 Introducing feminist psychology	57

1.5.2	Feminist psychology and the origins of sex-gender differences	58
1.5.3	Some criticisms	63
1.5.4	Summary.....	64
1.6	Conclusion	65
2.	An enquiry into structural changes in the patriarchal family with special reference to the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family	68
2.1	Introduction.....	68
2.2	Defining the object of study	69
2.2.1	What is the family?.....	69
2.2.2	Uncovering the myths surrounding the universal patriarchal family	70
2.2.2.1	The myth of the universal patriarchal family	72
2.2.2.2	The myth of the unchanging patriarchal family	73
2.2.2.3	The myth of the patriarchal family as the exclusive realm of love and security	74
2.2.2.4	The myth of the patriarchal family as an independent unit of society	76
2.2.3	Summary.....	77
2.3	The influence of the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family on the structure of the patriarchal family	78
2.3.1	The pre-industrial patriarchal family	79
2.3.2	The industrial revolution and the patriarchal family	80
2.3.2.1	The emergence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family...	82
2.3.2.2	The division of labour	84
2.3.3	The influence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family on the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family.....	86
2.4	Conclusion	92
3.	The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping with special reference to learning theories and psycho-social research	95
3.1	Introduction.....	95
3.2	Defining the object of study	96
3.2.1	What is sex-gender stereotyping?.....	96
3.2.2	Sex-gender stereotyping in the patriarchal family: The example of housework	97

3.3	The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping from the perspective of two learning theories	99
3.3.1	Social learning theory	99
3.3.1.1	The development of sex-gender	99
3.3.1.2	Some Criticisms.....	102
3.3.1.3	The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development	102
3.3.2	Cognitive developmental theory.....	104
3.3.2.1	The development of sex-gender	104
3.3.2.2	Some criticisms	106
3.3.2.3	The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development	107
3.3.3	Summary.....	107
3.4	The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on girls and boys: A psycho-social view.....	109
3.4.1	Growing up female: How does the patriarchal structure of the family affect girls?	110
3.4.1.1	The pressure to conform to female sex-gender stereotypes	110
3.4.1.2	The mother-daughter relationship	111
3.4.1.3	The father-daughter relationship	113
3.4.1.4	Girls' perception of the mother-father relationship.....	113
3.4.1.5	Summary.....	114
3.4.2	Growing up male: How does the patriarchal structure of the family affect boys?.....	114
3.4.2.1	The pressure to conform to male sex-gender stereotypes	114
3.4.2.2	The mother-son relationship.....	115
3.4.2.3	The father-son relationship.....	116
3.4.2.4	The mother-father relationship.....	117
3.4.2.5	Summary.....	117
3.4.3	Some criticisms	118
3.5	Conclusion	118
4.	The role of education in sex-gender stereotyping	122
4.1	Introduction.....	122
4.2	Setting out the context	123

4.2.1	Sex-gender/other stereotyping at British schools and its effect on girls and boys.....	123
4.2.2	Building ‘on’ the context: Laying the foundations for an holistic inclusive pedagogy.....	131
4.3	The underlying values of education as reflected in influential government legislation in the twentieth century	133
4.3.1	The Education Act 1944	133
4.3.2	The Sex Discrimination Act 1975	134
4.3.2.1	The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and liberal feminisms in education.	135
4.3.2.2	The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and radical feminisms in education	138
4.3.3	The Education Reform Act 1988.....	141
4.4	The different hierarchies in schools and their underlying values viewed through the lens of feminist poststructuralism	144
4.4.1	Introduction: Feminist poststructuralism in education	145
4.4.2	The hierarchies of state school education.....	148
4.4.2.1	The hierarchy of knowledge	148
4.4.2.2	The hierarchy of school subjects	150
4.4.3	The school hierarchies of competition	152
4.4.3.1	The hierarchy of league tables.....	152
4.4.3.2	The hierarchy of streaming.....	155
4.4.4	Beyond the hierarchies in schools and their underlying values: Implications for an holistic inclusive pedagogy	156
4.5	Conclusion	159

5.	Towards an holistic inclusive pedagogy: Critical and interactive learning-teaching and teaching-learning	161
5.1	Introduction.....	161
5.2	Rudolf Steiner’s Waldorf education and its contributions to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.....	162
5.2.1	Rudolf Steiner: A brief biographical sketch	163
5.2.2	Setting out the context: What is Waldorf education?	164
5.2.3	Waldorf education: Educating the whole human being.....	166
5.2.3.1	The tasks of education	166
5.2.3.2	School subjects	169
5.2.3.3	Inter-connectedness and responsibility.....	170

5.2.3.4	The role of teachers	171
5.2.4	Summary.....	172
5.3	Vygotsky's social constructivism and its contribution to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy	173
5.3.1	Lev Semyonovitch Vygotsky: A brief biographical sketch.....	174
5.3.2	Setting out the context: What is social constructivism?	175
5.3.2.1	Developing a new concept: Teachers-learners and learners-teachers ...	175
5.3.2.2	The Zone of Proximal Development	177
5.3.2.2.1	Collaboration between peers	177
5.3.2.2.2	The role of teachers-learners	180
5.3.2.2.3	Scaffolding: Facilitating critical thinking.....	181
5.3.2.2.4	School subjects	185
5.3.2.2.5	Assessment in the ZPD.....	186
5.3.3	Summary.....	186
5.4	The features of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.....	187
5.4.1	A pedagogy for all schools	187
5.4.2	The relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers.....	188
5.4.3	The initial lesson: Laying the foundations for the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers	189
5.4.4	Grouping and pairing.....	191
5.5	Ameliorating the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.....	194
5.5.1	Lifting girls' low self-esteem	194
5.5.2	Raising boys' achievement.....	196
5.5.3	Overcoming homosexual stereotypes.....	199
5.5.4	Overcoming race stereotypes.....	200
5.5.5	Overcoming social class stereotypes	201
5.6	Conclusion	201

6. An holistic inclusive pedagogy in practice: Implementing four teaching-learning models: two in Religious Education and two in German as a foreign language.....	208
6.1 Overall introduction.....	208
6.2 Two teaching-learning models in religious education: 1. Paving the way: becoming acquainted; and, 2. The meaning of the mikvah for Jewish Orthodox women.....	209

6.2.1	Lesson one: Paving the way: becoming acquainted	211
6.2.1.1	The theme and its context.....	211
6.2.1.2	The age group at which the teaching model is aimed	211
6.2.1.3	The aims of the lesson	211
6.2.1.4	The approach	212
6.2.1.5	Classroom material	212
6.2.1.6	Lesson plan.....	212
6.2.1.6.1	Beginning of the lesson: Getting to know each other (18 min).....	212
6.2.1.6.2	Setting the frame: Negotiating guidelines for working together (32 min)	214
6.2.1.6.2.1	Guidelines for the learners-teachers.....	214
6.2.1.6.2.2	Guidelines for the teacher-learner.....	217
6.2.1.6.3	Focusing on the content: What is religion? (6 min)	218
6.2.1.6.4	The end of the lesson: Rounding things up (4 min)	219
6.2.2	Lesson two: The meaning of the mikvah for Jewish Orthodox women.....	220
6.2.2.1	The theme and its context.....	220
6.2.2.2	The age group	220
6.2.2.3	The aims of the lesson	220
6.2.2.4	Approaches and activities.....	221
6.2.2.5	Classroom material and setting	221
6.2.2.6	Lesson plan.....	222
6.2.2.6.1	Preparation: Sharing personal experiences and knowledge of rituals (8 min)	222
6.2.2.6.2	Sharing of students' personal experiences of (cleansing) rituals (10 min)	223
6.2.2.6.3	Confrontation: Encountering the Mikvah by way of different senses (46 min)	223
6.2.2.6.4	Interpretation: Understanding the meaning of the mikvah, finding answers and raising questions (20 min)	226
6.2.2.6.5	Feedback (20 min).....	228
6.2.2.6.6	The end of the lesson (3 min).....	229
6.3	Two teaching-learning models in German as a foreign language: 1. Teaching-learning a new topic; 2. Expanding on the theme of the family	229
6.3.1	Lesson one: Teaching-learning a new topic: introducing one's family.....	230
6.3.1.1	The theme and its context.....	230

6.3.1.2	The age group at which the teaching model is aimed	230
6.3.1.3	The aims of the lesson	230
6.3.1.4	The approach	231
6.3.1.5	Classroom material	234
6.3.1.6	Lesson plan	235
6.3.1.6.1	Preparation	235
6.3.1.6.1.1	Rhythmic exercises (4 min)	235
6.3.1.6.1.2	Oral work: Revision (4 min)	236
6.3.1.6.2	Confrontation	237
6.3.1.6.2.1	Introducing eight members of the family (12 min)	237
6.3.1.6.2.2	Reading (4 min)	238
6.3.1.6.2.3	Revision of old and introduction of new grammar (10 min)	239
6.3.1.6.3	Interpretation	241
6.3.1.6.3.1	Writing (22 min)	241
6.3.1.6.4	The end of the lesson (4 min)	243
6.3.2	Lesson two: Expanding on the theme of the family	243
6.3.2.1	The theme and its context	243
6.3.2.2	The age group at which the teaching model is aimed	244
6.3.2.3	The aims of the lesson	244
6.3.2.4	The approach	245
6.3.2.5	Classroom material	245
6.3.2.6	Lesson plan	246
6.3.2.6.1	Preparation	246
6.3.2.6.1.1	Rhythmic exercises (4 min)	246
6.3.2.6.1.2	Oral work: Revision of vocabulary (5 min)	247
6.3.2.6.2	Interpretation	247
6.3.2.6.2.1	Revision of old grammar (4 min)	247
6.3.2.7	Confrontation	248
6.3.2.7.1.1	Introduction of new grammar (6 min)	248
6.3.2.7.2	Interpretation	249
6.3.2.7.2.1	Speaking: Practising the new grammar (14 min)	249
6.3.2.7.3	Confrontation and interpretation	250

6.3.2.7.3.1	Listening to an audio tape: German students introduce their families (10 min).....	250
6.3.2.7.4	Interpretation	251
6.3.2.7.4.1	Writing (12 min)	251
6.3.2.7.5	The end of the lesson (3 min).....	252
6.4	Conclusion: Theory and praxis: reflections on the teaching-learning models	253
7.	Conclusions, discussions and recommendations	256
7.1	Introduction.....	256
7.2	Discussion.....	257
7.3	Contributions and limitations of my thesis.....	265
7.3.1	The origins of sex-gender differences	266
7.3.1.1	Contributions	266
7.3.1.2	Limitations.....	266
7.3.2	The role of the patriarchal family in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping	267
7.3.2.1	Contributions	267
7.3.2.2	Limitations.....	268
7.3.3	The role of education in sex-gender/other stereotyping	268
7.3.3.1	Contributions	268
7.3.3.2	Limitations.....	269
7.3.4	An holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping.....	269
7.3.4.1	Contributions	269
7.3.4.2	Limitations.....	271
7.3.5	Raising students' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping through an holistic inclusive pedagogy	273
7.3.5.1	Contributions	273
7.3.5.2	Limitations.....	274
7.4	Conclusion	276
7.5	Recommendations.....	278
7.5.1	For curriculum development	279
7.5.2	For pedagogy	280
7.5.3	For classroom organisation.....	281

7.6	Suggestions for future research	282
-----	---------------------------------------	-----

Appendices.....284

A Material for the RE lessons: Encountering the mikvah by way of different senses ..285

A.1	Transcript of the personal account of the mikvah played on tape	285
A.2	Mikvah photos	287
A.3	Instructions for cleansing in preparation of the mikvah	289
A.4	Texts for the reading station	290

B Worksheets for the German lessons.....292

B.1	Worksheet 1a: Standard tasks (front page).....	292
B.2	Worksheet 1b: Differentiated task (back of the page)	293
B.3	Worksheet 2a: Listening exercise, standard tasks (front page)	294
B.4	Worksheet 2b: Differentiated tasks (back of the page)	295

List of References.....296

Preliminary

I. The contexts of my thesis

My point of departure is feminisms, i.e. the common features of liberal feminism, radical feminism and socialist feminism. Despite their diverse outlooks, they agree on the importance of laying bare and defining one's own specific contexts whenever a stance is formulated. Not only does it clarify *what* has influenced someone's thinking but also *why* he/she advocates a particular stance. For this reason I will first of all outline my autobiographical contexts out of which my thesis developed over a period of almost ten years. To illustrate how they have affected the progression of my thesis, I am borrowing Sue Middleton's (1995) idea of working with two columns to contextualise academic writing. While the left column lists those facts and dates of my personal and professional contexts that affected my thesis in any way, the right one elaborates them where appropriate and contains ideas that later became essential concepts for my holistic inclusive pedagogy. These are highlighted with italics.

To make reading easier, I suggest that the individual sections in the left column are read first before their respective counterparts are read in the right column.

1994: I resign from my position as teacher of German as a modern foreign language and religious education at a comprehensive school in the Dudley Borough. It was my first full time job after the completion of a PGCE.

I find the hierarchical structure at the comprehensive school very frustrating. Even between staff there is competition rather than support. I have to enforce school rules and cannot build up a relationship with the children I teach.

In April I apply for a part-time posi-

At the Waldorf school most classes

(pages 2 - 5 are not available in the online version of this thesis)

(pages 2 - 5 are not available in the online version of this thesis)

(pages 2 - 5 are not available in the online version of this thesis)

(pages 2 - 5 are not available in the online version of this thesis)

back to normal and I can focus again.

The issues that emerge out of my personal and professional contexts are: *teacher-learner, learners-teachers, contextualisation, the exclusiveness of feminisms, sex-gender stereotyping, holistic and inclusive pedagogy and relationship*. They will be explored in the course of my thesis. I will preview the importance and function of the two main issues, i.e. *sex-gender stereotyping and relationship*, for my thesis under section III.1.

II. The purpose and relevance of my thesis

Despite the advance of feminisms in the various subcultures of British society, for example through equal opportunity policies, sex-gender stereotyping and its ensuing discrimination continues to be a problem. Not only does it negatively affect girls' and boys' personal development, it also has an impact on their academic achievements. Girls still outperform boys in GCSE exams. In 2003, for example, 62.4 per cent of girls achieved grades A-C in contrast to 53.6 per cent of boys (Cush 2003). Despite their academic success, girls still suffer from a poor self-image while boys enjoy a higher status than girls in spite of their under-achievement (Arnold 1997, p.8; Burns & Bracey 2001, p.156).

As I will demonstrate in chapters one to three, the development of a sex-gender identity takes place primarily but not exclusively in the patriarchal family. It is a complex process involving identification with the mother and later also with the father as well as same sex-gender modelling and socialisation. Both parents and children are victims of sex-gender stereotyping but at the same time are themselves actively involved in creating and re-creating it. For these reasons I turn to education in general and pedagogy in particular as a means of breaking the vicious cycle of sex-gender stereotyping. My examination of education reveals that sex-gender stereotypes are always connected to other stereotypes such as race and class –

hence the term sex-gender/other stereotypes. Although education also participates in sex-gender/other stereotyping, it has the potential to bring about change and, contrary to families, to do so in a structured, formal way and on a large scale. I therefore develop an *holistic inclusive pedagogy* that equips boys and girls with the tools and skills needed for detecting sex-gender/other stereotyping and, if they choose to, for counteracting it. It is *holistic* in so far as it aims to educate the whole human being, at the same time it is *inclusive* as it seeks to address the sexed-gendered needs of girls *and* boys. To raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotypes, my pedagogy aims to equip them with tools such as analysing, questioning and evaluating that enable them to think critically. It does so through specific scaffolding which consists of three stages: *preparation*, *confrontation* and *interpretation*. At each stage questions are asked that help students understand, analyse and evaluate the topic and any related stereotypes.

The context in which my holistic inclusive pedagogy would be implemented is an education system that is shaped by influential government legislation like The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Education Reform Act 1988. As I demonstrate in chapter four, the latter Act does not only exacerbate sex-gender/other stereotyping in schools but also adds to the problem by emphasising the importance of competition and academic achievement. By contrast, the holistic inclusive pedagogy I present in my thesis is concerned with collaboration and a balanced concept of achievement which includes social skills and the process of learning-teaching. At its centre is the relationship between teachers-learners and students which seeks to be as egalitarian as is possible, given its educational context, and which serves as a 'training ground' for uncovering and challenging sex-gender/other stereotypes. During the lessons they swap role as often as is possible and feasible to undermine the *power-knowledge*

discourse that impedes the development of their relationship. In this way teachers-learners are consciously involved in *learning* while learners-teachers are consciously involved in *teaching* and, at the same time, learn responsibility and independence. My holistic inclusive pedagogy therefore takes on a crucial role within education in ameliorating the injustices caused by sex-gender/other stereotyping.

III. Research Structure

My thesis is divided into three main parts. Each part is further divided into chapters. The literature review covers chapters 1 to 3 while chapters 4 to 6, based on my findings in the previous chapters, are concerned with the actual development of my thesis. The last part comprises conclusions, discussions, limitations and recommendations. The structure is as follows:

- **Part 1 – Literature review**
 - **Chapter 1: An enquiry into the origins of gender differences** is a literature review covering three different subject areas: sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology.
 - **Chapter 2: An enquiry into the structural changes in the patriarchal family with special reference to the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family** establishes what structure and functions the postmodern patriarchal family has.
 - **Chapter 3: The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping with special reference to learning theories and psycho-social research** is concerned with the role of the patriarchal family in sex-gender stereotyping.

- **Part II – Development of my thesis**
 - **Chapter 4: The role of education in sex-gender stereotyping** delineates the educational context out of which I develop an holistic inclusive pedagogy.
 - **Chapter 5: Towards an holistic inclusive pedagogy: Critical and interactive teaching-learning and learning-teaching** presents an holistic inclusive pedagogy that seeks to raise student's awareness of stereotypes by teaching them to be critical of these.
 - **Chapter 6: An holistic inclusive pedagogy in practice: Implementing four teaching-learning models: two in Religious Education and two in German as a foreign language** demonstrates that the fairly egalitarian relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers is the key for raising the latter's awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping.
- **Part III - Conclusion**
 - **Chapter 7: Conclusions, discussions and recommendations** is a summary of my thesis, notes its contributions and limitations, makes recommendations for pedagogy, curriculum development and classroom organisation and points to future research in areas that were beyond the scope of my thesis.

III.1 Central themes and concepts

In each chapter *sex-gender stereotyping* is the central theme which gives the thesis inner coherence and continuity. Thus:

- **Chapter 1** explores the aetiology of sex-gender stereotyping;

- **Chapter 2** investigates structural changes in the patriarchal family and thus delineates the context in which sex-gender stereotyping takes place;
- **Chapter 3** explains the role of the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure in sex-gender stereotyping;
- **Chapter 4** delineates the role of education in sex-gender stereotyping;
- **Chapter 5** develops an holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to educate the whole human being and seeks to ameliorate the injustices girls *and* boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping;
- **Chapter 6** demonstrates that the key to raising students awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping is the fairly egalitarian relationship between them and teachers-learners;
- **Chapter 7** summarises my findings on sex-gender/other stereotyping.

Another theme which is common to all seven chapters is *relationship*. It is the key to uncovering the origins of sex-gender stereotyping in the micro-culture of the patriarchal family and in the macro-culture of education. It is also the lynchpin of an *holistic inclusive pedagogy* which emerges as a key concept in chapters 4, 5 and 6. It seeks to remedy the injustice students and by implication also teachers-learners suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping. Three essential components of an *holistic inclusive pedagogy* also come to the fore in these chapters: firstly, the concepts of *teachers-learners* and *learners-teachers* which point to the notion of life-long learning; secondly, the related notion of *change* which is inherent in human beings and, thirdly, *diversity* which is also part of human nature and a prominent feature of postmodernism, i.e. the broader context of my thesis.

III.2 Research questions and hypotheses

All chapters, except for the ultimate one, are guided by a particular research question which is, though different in outlook, connected to the others by way of the common theme of ‘sex-gender stereotyping.’ It leads my thesis through the various disciplines I examine and enables the reader/s to follow my arguments and understand my intentions. The research questions are as follows:

- **Chapter 1: The origins of sex-gender differences**

What are the origins of sex-gender differences?

- **Chapter 2: Structural changes in the patriarchal family**

What is the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and what functions does it have?

- **Chapter 3: The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping**

What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?

- **Chapter 4: The role of education in sex-gender stereotyping**

What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?

- **Chapter 5: Towards an holistic inclusive pedagogy**

What kind of pedagogy is need to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

- **Chapter 6: An holistic inclusive pedagogy in practice**

How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

Each research question is connected to a hypothesis that unfolds in the course of its respective chapter:

The **first research question** *What are the origins of sex-gender differences?* leads to:

Hypothesis 1:

That sex-gender differences have their origin in both biology and the social environment and that human beings are malleable. The injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping can therefore be ameliorated.

The **second research question** *What is the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and what functions does it have?* leads to:

Hypothesis 2:

That the postmodern patriarchal family consists of a husband-breadwinner, his semi-dependent/dependent wife who is in charge of the children and domestic work, and their children; it is characterised by male supremacy. Its functions are: to provide human beings with a common identity, to meet its members daily needs, to care for them and love them, to teach them social skills and to serve as an income 'pooling unit.'

The **third research question** *What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?* leads to:

Hypothesis 3:

That the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play a key role in sex-gender development by passing the power imbalance between mother and father on to girls and boys thereby perpetuating both sex-gender stereotyping and patriarchy.

The **fourth research question** *What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?* leads to

Hypothesis 4:

That education too perpetuates sex-gender stereotypes and other stereotypes but that it also has the potential to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.

The **fifth research question** *What kind of pedagogy is needed to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping?* leads to:

Hypothesis 5:

That an holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to educate the whole human being and addresses the needs of girls *and* boys regardless of their background, can serve to ameliorate the injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.

The **sixth research question** *How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?* leads to:

Hypothesis 6:

That it raises learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping through the fairly egalitarian relationship between them and teachers-learners which is pivotal for its success.

III.3 Preview of the content

I now give a preview of the content of my thesis. For lack of space I will limit myself to its most important points. The numbering in the preview therefore does not correspond to that in the actual table of content. For the same reason I do not preview the four teaching-learning models in detail but instead provide a brief description of their content.

Chapter 1: An enquiry into the origins of sex-gender differences: I begin my research by defining my starting point which is feminism. In search of the aetiology of sex-gender differences I then review literature from different disciplines, starting with the socio-biological

sphere and then moving on to the psychoendocrinological and the psychological sphere. From a broadly feminist point of view I present and analyse each area.

- **1.1 Defining the starting point: Feminisms**
- **1.2 Sociobiology**
- **1.3 Psychoendocrinology**
- **1.4 Feminist psychology**
- **Conclusion:** In light of the subject areas I studied I conclude that sex-gender differences are caused by biology *and* social conditioning and that human beings are to certain degree malleable. The injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping can therefore be ameliorated. The literature review also draws attention to the central role of the family in socialising the young.

Chapter 2: Structural changes in the patriarchal family: I begin my enquiry by closely defining the family and by demythologising the myths that surround it. I then examine the pre-industrial patriarchal family and investigate what influence the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family had on the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family.

- **2. 1. Uncovering the myths surrounding the patriarchal family**
 - **2.1.1 The myth of the universal patriarchal family**
 - **2.1.2 The myth of the unchanging patriarchal family**
 - **2.1.3 The myth of the patriarchal family as the exclusive realm of love and security**

- **2.1.4 The myth of the patriarchal family as independent unit**
- **2.2 The influence of the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family on the structure of the patriarchal family**
 - **2.2.2 The pre-industrial patriarchal family**
 - **2.2.3 The industrial revolution and the patriarchal family**
 - **2.2.3.1 The emergence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family**
 - **2.2.3.2 The division of labour**
 - **2.2.4 The influence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family on the structure of the postmodern family**
- **Conclusion:** My investigation reveals that the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family which coincided with the industrial revolution changed the structure of the patriarchal family by introducing a rigid labour division between husband and wife. The wife was now in charge of housework and child raising and she and the children were totally dependent upon the husband-breadwinner. In the postmodern patriarchal family the pattern is the same, although the family income is often supplemented by the wife. It too is characterised by male supremacy.

Chapter 3: The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping: After defining sex-gender stereotyping I examine social learning theory and cognitive developmental to establish what role the patriarchal family plays in sex-gender development. I then investigate how sex-gender stereotyping affects girls and boys by examining psycho-social research.

- **3.1 Defining the object of study: What is sex-gender stereotyping?**
 - **3.1.1 Sex-gender stereotyping in the patriarchal family: The example of house-work**
- **3.2 The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping from the perspective of two learning theories:**
 - **3.2.1 Social learning theory**
 - **3.2.2 Cognitive developmental theory**
- **3.3 The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on girls and boys: A psycho-social view**
 - **3.3.1 Growing up female: How does the patriarchal structure of the family affect girls?**
 - **3.3.2 Growing up male: How does the patriarchal structure of the family affect boys?**
- **Conclusion:** Sex-gender stereotyping teaches girls and boys the behaviours and roles, etc. which are deemed appropriate for their sex-gender. They learn these behaviours predominantly in the family through same sex-gender modelling, socialisation and reinforcement. They are aware of the power imbalance between their parents which is legitimised because it takes place in the context of love. They internalise it and perpetuate it. The patriarchal family thus creates and perpetuates sex-gender differences, and vice versa.

Chapter 4: The role of education in sex-gender stereotyping: Since the patriarchal family is too involved in sex-gender stereotyping I turn to education to break its vicious cycle. I de-

lineate the context of education in Britain by examining influential government legislation. Using feminist poststructuralism as a tool I then uncover four hierarchies that prevail in education. Finally, I delineate what implications these have for the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.

- **4.1 Setting out the context**
 - **4.1.1 Sex-gender/other stereotyping at British schools and its effect on girls and boys:** Based on a survey of statistics and different studies I demonstrate that schools damage both girls and boys through sex-gender/other stereotyping.
 - **4.1.2 Building on the context: Laying the foundations for an holistic inclusive pedagogy**
- **4.2 The underlying values of education as reflected in influential government legislation in the twentieth century**
 - **4.2.1 The Education Act 1944**
 - **4.2.2 The Sex Discrimination Act 1975**
 - **4.2.2.1 The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and liberal feminisms in education**
 - **4.2.2.2 The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and radical feminisms in education**
- **4.3 The different hierarchies in schools and their underlying values viewed through the lens of feminist poststructuralism**
 - **4.3.1 Introduction: Feminist poststructuralism in education**
 - **4.3.2 The hierarchies of state school education**

- **4.4 Beyond the hierarchies in schools and their underlying values: Implications for an holistic inclusive pedagogy:** From my analysis of the four hierarchies I glean three foundational aspects for an holistic inclusive pedagogy: change, i.e. life-long learning, difference and the notion of power-knowledge discourses.
- **Conclusion:** My examination of education uncovers that it too perpetuates sex-gender stereotypes and that these are always connected to other stereotypes. From feminist post-structuralism I glean that the notion of power-knowledge is problematic and subjective. It will make a major contribution to my holistic inclusive pedagogy.

Chapter 5: Towards an holistic inclusive pedagogy: Critical and interactive teaching-learning and learning-teaching: In this chapter I glean useful concepts for the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy from Waldorf education and social constructivism.

- **5.1 Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf education and its contribution to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy:** Waldorf education makes two main contributions to my pedagogy: firstly, by educating the whole human being, i.e. body, mind and soul; and, secondly, by demonstrating that education must have an undergirding pedagogy if it is to be effective.
 - **5.1.1 Waldorf education: Educating the whole human being**
 - **5.1.2 The tasks of education**
 - **5.1.3 School subjects**
 - **5.1.4 Inter-connectedness and responsibility**
 - **5.1.5 The role of teachers**

- **5.2 Vygotsky's social constructivism and its contribution to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy:** In referring to Vygotsky, I develop the concept of teachers *as* learners, i.e. *teachers-learners* and of learners *as* teachers, i.e. *learners-teachers* and suggest further components for an holistic inclusive pedagogy; these are: *inter-active learning-teaching*, *critical thinking*, *collaboration* and the *teacher-learner as assistant and instructor*.
- **5.2.1 Setting out the context: What is social constructivism?**
 - **5.2.1.1 Developing a new concept: Teachers-learners and learners-teachers**
 - **5.2.1.2 The Zone of Proximal Development**
 - **5.2.1.2.1 Collaboration between peers**
 - **5.2.1.2.2 The role of teachers-learners**
 - **5.2.1.2.3 Scaffolding: Facilitating critical thinking**
 - **5.2.1.2.3 School subjects**
 - **5.2.1.3 Assessment in the ZPD**
- **5.2.2 The features of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.** In this section I describe what an holistic inclusive pedagogy should be like, i.e. its aims, its philosophical and epistemological assumptions, its content, methods, and so forth.
- **5.2.3 Ameliorating the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping**
 - **5.2.3.1 Lifting girls' low self-esteem**
 - **5.2.3.2 Raising boys' achievement**

- **5.2.3.3 Overcoming homosexual stereotypes**
- **5.2.3.4 Overcoming race stereotypes**
- **5.2.3.5 Overcoming social class stereotypes**
- **Conclusion:** The pedagogy I develop educates the whole human being, addresses the needs of girls *and* boys regardless of their background, and is therefore *holistic* and *inclusive*. It aims to facilitate their development of critical thinking and to equip them with the necessary tools to do so, i.e. analysing and evaluating, etc. It specifically aims to lift girls' low self-esteem and raise boys' underachievement and to overcome other stereotypes.

Chapter 6: An holistic inclusive pedagogy in practice: Implementing four teaching-learning models: two in Religious Education and two in German as a foreign language:

In this chapter an holistic inclusive pedagogy is put to the test in four theoretical teaching-learning models each of which consists of a complete lesson plan that takes the reader literally into the lessons as if they took place here and now. Crucially, all four lessons demonstrate how the power-knowledge discourse that hampers the relationship between teacher-learner and learners-teachers is interrupted.

- **6.1 Two teaching-learning models in religious education:** The first teaching-learning model is an exemplar of an initial lesson which is an integral part of an holistic inclusive pedagogy. The second model is a regular RE lesson and is concerned with raising awareness of sex-gender stereotyping by way of the topic which deals with a purifying ritual for women.
- **6.1.1 Lesson 1: Paving the way: becoming acquainted:** In this lesson I describe how teacher-learner and learners-teachers get to know each other, negotiate guidelines for

working together and hence lay the foundation of their relationship. The lesson paves the way for all other RE lessons that follow. The final task ‘What is religion?’ prepares learners-teachers for a subsequent lesson.

- **6.1.2 Lesson 2: The meaning of the mikvah for Jewish Orthodox women:** Here learners-teachers encounter the ancient ritual of immersion, the mikvah, through different senses: listing, seeing, feeling and reading. They work in groups so that their peers can move them ahead of development where possible and their learning-teaching is social process. Throughout this encounter they are guided by specific scaffolding which facilitates their critical thinking.
- **6.2 Two teaching-learning models in German as a modern foreign language**
 - **6.2.1 Lesson 1: Teaching-learning a new topic: Introducing one’s family:** In this lesson I use the theme of the family to make learner-teachers aware of sex-gender/other stereotypes and offer alternatives to the traditional nuclear family. The theme is also conducive to the development of the relationship between them and the teacher-learner as family photographs are shared.
 - **6.2.2 Lesson 2: Expanding on the theme of the family:** Here I employ the theme of the family once more to challenge sex-gender/other stereotypes. I do so by means of a worksheet and a listening exercise that depict/describes different family types, including one headed by a homosexual couple.
- **Conclusion:** The four lessons illustrate *how* an holistic inclusive can be implemented. They also confirm my assertion that an initial lesson is the prerequisite for the successful implementation of this pedagogy, as can be seen in the first RE lesson. Moreover, they

corroborate that the relationship between teacher-learner and learners-teachers is the key to challenging sex-gender/other stereotyping. Finally, they verify the crucial role of specific scaffolding in facilitating students' critical thinking, particularly in respect of stereotypes.

Chapter 7: Conclusions, discussions and recommendations: In the final chapter of my thesis I summarise my findings, list the contributions of my thesis, its limitations, make recommendations for pedagogy, curriculum development and classroom organisation and point to future research.

IV. Methods

As I mentioned above, my point of departure and my research tool is feminisms. Although these have differential foci, they have the concern for women's and girl's rights and welfare in common as well as the notion of contextualisation.

Feminisms' first concern, namely equal rights in all areas of life, is also the focus of my thesis but *not* my priority. For giving priority to one sex, in this case females, necessarily means that I do so at the cost of the other sex-gender, i.e. males. As my enquiry into the aetiology of sex-gender stereotypes takes me through various disciplines and, finally, through the role of the family and that of education in sex-gender stereotyping, I conclude that both girls *and* boys suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping. For this reason I develop an holistic *inclusive* pedagogy, i.e. one that addresses the sexed-gendered needs of *both* sexes-genders. To focus only on the sexed-gendered needs of girls would further alienate girls and boys and lead to an increase in sex-gender discrimination. So while my starting point is feminisms, I in fact turn their exclusive concern on its head by changing it into an inclusive one.

Throughout the seven chapters I employ feminisms as both a perspective from which I conduct my research and as a tool to analyse the various disciplines and theories that have traditionally been male centred, for instance, sociobiology. In addition, I chose feminist branches of certain disciplines such as feminist psychology for my research. In both cases my intention is to redress the sex-gender imbalance in these disciplines and thereby provide a more comprehensive study of the causes of sex-gender stereotyping.

I chose all literature I refer to in my thesis out of my own personal and/or professional contexts. For instance, while doing my research I worked in a Waldorf school and therefore I opted for Waldorf education and not for example, for Pestalozzi's pedagogical model. The criterion for choosing Vygotsky's social constructivism was simply that it was congruent with the epistemology I gleaned from feminist poststructuralism. Some disciplines I chose for my literature review, such as feminist psychology and psycho-social research reflect my feminist perspective, while non-feminist disciplines like sociobiology and cognitive developmental theory demonstrate that I wanted to adopt an inclusive approach.

Feminisms' second concern which is contextualisation, is another research method I use in my thesis. In addition to delineating my personal and professional contexts out of which my thesis develops, I contextualise the research I refer to in the course of my thesis where possible to lay bare the authors' motivations and biases. In other words, I demonstrate that the literature I chose is *subjective* in the same way my thesis is. I thereby try to avoid any claim of objectivity and universal application of my thesis. For the sake of revealing the subjectivity of each author, I also refer to her/his full name when quoting her/him and list both first name and surname in the bibliography.

A feminist point of departure does necessarily incorporate an inclusive use of language. By this I mean that references to the third person singular always include both pronouns, i.e. she *and* he or his *and* her. Throughout my thesis I use both, for example he/she, but continually change their order to avoid giving one priority over the other. I appreciate that this makes reading a bit awkward but I find that this is the most effective inclusive option.

The method I used in chapter 6 deserves special mention. It is a descriptive presentation of four lesson plans that take the reader/s through the lessons as if they took place in the present. It immediately follows the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy in the previous chapter and thus illustrates its implementation and substantiates several claims I make about it. The lessons are described in detail and, where necessary, with additional comments so that misinterpretations that could arise from traditional-type lesson plans which merely use key words to present aims and objectives, contents, etc. are avoided. It is only in this way that I can illustrate how I would implement an holistic inclusive pedagogy and my motives and intentions become clear.

V. Summary

My thesis consists of three main parts:

- Part 1, comprising chapters 1- 3, is a literature review about the origins of sex-gender differences and the role of the family in sex-gender development;
- Part 2, comprising chapters 4-7, focuses on the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy;

- Part 3 which consists of the final chapter, 7, is a conclusion of my findings, lists contributions and limitations of my thesis, makes recommendations and points to future research.

My thesis is concerned with:

- investigating whether the origins of sex-gender differences are the result of biological predetermination or social conditioning or a combination of both and establishing if human beings are malleable;
- examining the role of the family in *sex-gender stereotyping*;
- examining the role of education in sex-gender stereotyping and its potential to ameliorate the injustices caused by it;
- developing an *holistic inclusive pedagogy* that equips children with the skills and tools necessary for detecting sex-gender/other stereotypes; the lynchpin of this pedagogy is the *relationship* between teacher-learner and students and its key concepts are *teachers-learners* and *learners-teachers*, *specific scaffolding* and *power-knowledge*.
- putting an *holistic inclusive pedagogy* to the test in four teaching models; and, finally,
- summarising my findings, note limitations and contributions of my thesis and making recommendations for pedagogy, curriculum development and classroom organisation.

1. In search of the origins of sex-gender differences: An examination of sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology

1.1 Introduction

The focus of this part of the thesis is the origins of sex-gender differences which are commonly referred to as 'gender differences.' 'Gender differences' is a term for describing certain psychological and emotional attributes "which a given culture expects to coincide with physical maleness or femaleness" (Tuttle 1986, p.123). As this definition indicates, there is a close connection between gender and sex. In fact, as I hope to demonstrate in my enquiry into sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology, there is a reciprocity between them since a gender identity without the corresponding sex is void of any meaning and vice versa. To reflect this reciprocity I will therefore use the term 'sex-gender' to describe this characteristic.

The aims of these studies are to establish firstly, the aetiology and nature of sex-gender differences; and, secondly, whether these differences can be changed. The findings will then guide my examination of the role of the family and of education in considering their influence upon sex-gender stereotyping. There are two reasons for my interest in the origins of sex-gender differences with reference to education: Firstly, as a teacher I notice all the time that girls and boys have different strengths and needs. However, I do not yet know whether these differences are there naturally or whether they have their origin in biology. If I can establish what causes these differences, I will perhaps, be able to understand students' behaviour better and re/act as a teacher in an appropriate manner in order to address their needs. Secondly, I am convinced that discrimination on account of sex-gender not only affects girls/women but also boys/men. Once the sex-gender differences and their origins are explained adequately, I hope to find a way of addressing their respective sexed-gendered needs

and of ameliorating the injustices both suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping if and where possible.

The question that guides my research into the three disciplines in the following chapter is:

What are the origins of sex-gender differences?

To answer this question I state **Hypothesis 1:**

That sex-gender differences have their origin in both biology and the social environment and that human beings are malleable. The injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping can therefore be ameliorated.

I begin my research with an examination of the contributions of sociobiology and psychoendocrinology to this question. The focus here is predominantly but not exclusively on the biological aspects of the origins of sex-gender differences. Then follows a study of feminist psychology which is more concerned with the social and psychological aspects of these causes. Before I embark on this enquiry, I will delineate my starting point which is feminist ideologies.

1.2 Defining the starting point: A brief excursion into three influential feminist ideologies: liberal, socialist and radical feminism

The starting point of my thesis is feminisms. Their common features which I am about to highlight affect the way I perceive of the world. On a personal level, studying them sharpens my mind to the injustices women and girls still suffer and makes me aware of related injustices such as those based on race and sexual orientation. In my academic work feminisms serve as a perspective from which I conduct my research, i.e. I am primarily concerned with the discrimination of girls/women but also deal with related types of discrimination since sex, race and cultural background are inextricably linked. Discrimination against girls/women

takes place in the context of patriarchy. Although boys/men are no doubt the main protagonists in the discrimination against girls/women, they are themselves affected by it in so far as it denies them the right to care, to express their feelings and admit their own weaknesses. In addition, sex-gender discrimination happens when girls/women and boys/men interact. For this reason I am also interested in the discrimination against boys/men although it is not my priority.

The term feminism is derived from the Latin *femina* which originally referred to the 'qualities of females.' It was first used in the context of the theory of sexual equality in the 1890s and replaced the term 'womanism' (Tuttle 1986, p.107). Feminism is a movement that advocates equal rights for women in all realms of life. Two developments shaped it: first wave feminism that spans the period between 1860 and 1920 and of which the women's suffrage movement is an essential part, and second wave feminism which took place in the 1960s (Ibid., p.114). While first wave feminism focused on bringing about structural changes such as the right to vote, second wave feminism was and is also concerned with the underlying philosophy of women's discrimination.

Today there are many different types of feminism, for instance, cultural feminism which seeks to develop a separate female culture, lesbian feminism which considers lesbianism as a "whole way of life uniquely combining the personal with the political" and womanism or black feminism which is concerned with the needs of black women (Ibid., p.180). One must therefore discern between feminism-the movement and different types of feminism. The different feminisms reflect women's ethnic and cultural diversity. Even though they are distinct in their outlooks, most feminisms share other common concerns in addition to women's

equal rights with men. In the following section I give a brief introduction to the three probably best known types of feminisms and highlight their common features.

1.2.1 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism is often referred to as individualist feminisms since it has individualism as its philosophical basis. One of its earliest and most influential advocates is Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), an English feminist, teacher and writer. Probably her best known work is A Vindication of the Rights of Women which was published in 1792 and is considered by many feminists as the “founding text of Anglo-American Feminism” (Kaplan in Wollstonecraft 1992, p.VII). Her starting point is the unhealthy state of women who are preoccupied with their own beauty. According to Wollstonecraft (1992) women’s sole purpose is to please everyone, especially men (p.21). She locates the reason for women’s state of mind in their upbringing and education. In her view women are brought up to dependence which does not only have a negative effect on them but also on society as a whole for if women “act according to the will of another fallible being, submit, right or wrong, to power, where are we to stop?” (Ibid., p.51). To achieve independence, women must therefore develop the skills of understanding and reasoning “instead of being modest slaves of opinion” (Ibid., p.55). She therefore demands equal education for girls and boys in mixed day schools where both study the same disciplines, including physical education (Ibid., pp.183-185). Women would then be able to work as physicians, nurses, business women and in other occupations. Only then would women and men be “equally necessary and independent of each other” and fulfil their respective duties (Ibid., p.153). But they should not have “power over men but power over themselves” (Ibid., p.67). Women would nevertheless take on the role of mothers but as mothers who are governed by reason and who work as professionals (Ibid., pp.209-210).

Of the modern-day liberal feminists the American Betty Friedan (1921-) is the most prominent. She is often regarded as the founder of the modern women's movement. Her best known and most influential book, The Feminine Mystique, was published in 1963. Her starting point is the present unhappy state of American women. Through numerous interviews of housewives and careful study of the media she became aware of a "problem that has no name" which manifests itself in unhappiness and a state of being unfulfilled (Friedan 1963, p.18). This problem is the feminine mystique which "says that the highest value and only commitment for women is the fulfilment of their own femininity" (Ibid., p.38).

According to Friedan, the feminine mystique has its origin in Freudian thought where concepts such as penis envy and the castration complex render women biologically inferior to men. Freudian thought also became influential in education. Friedan suggests that girls/women are educated for their role as women with an emphasis on developing their sexual function rather than their intellect (Ibid., p.139). This type of education causes girls/women to evade growth as individuals in two ways: firstly, through non-commitment; and, secondly, through repression of their own personality (Ibid., p.251). Like Wollstonecraft Friedan too recognises that this has a negative effect on both women and society. But she goes further by proposing that the symbiotic love of the mother for the child is pathological in character. If mothers are themselves dependent and infantile they will bring up their children accordingly and, as a result, their children will become more dependent and increasingly infantile. This pathological cycle can only end when mothers begin to encourage girls to live to their full potential (Ibid., p.264). Mothers who do not end this pathological cycle continue to "sow the seeds of progressive dehumanization because they have never grown to hulk humanity themselves" (Ibid., p.264). To stop this "progressive dehumanisation" women need to find

self-realisation outside of the house. They have to learn to combine both motherhood and career and to see housework and marriage for what it is. This is, however, only possible if society provides nurseries and employers allow for maternity leaves. Self-fulfilment is the answer to the feminine mystique.

To sum up, for liberal feminism women's unhealthy state of mind is the result of their one-sided and wrong education and, to put it in Fiedan's terms, of the feminine mystique which is characterised by dependency, lack of identity and single-minded devotion to children and household. Therefore girls/women need a better education that broadens their minds so that they become independent and thus better wives and mothers. To free themselves from the feminine mystique, women also have to pursue a career outside their domestic life.

1.2.2 Socialist feminism

Socialist feminism is a combination of Marxist analysis and radical feminism (Tuttle 1986, p.306). It seeks to overturn the present social order which is often referred to as capitalist patriarchy, a combination of capitalism and "a form of social organization in which the male is the head of the family and descent, kinship, and title are traced through the male line" (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.1138).

Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) is the most influential Marxist who makes a significant contribution to socialist feminism in his book The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State which was published in 1884. A German socialist and philosopher he is sympathetic to the women's question but does not believe that a separate feminist movement is necessary. He claims that there existed a type of communism which was characterised by group marriage and descent through the female line. It disappeared, however, with the emergence of private property and the patriarchal family (Charvet 1982, p.70). With the arrival of the patriarchal

family came private service; the wife was now the head servant and was confined to a domestic life. Engels traces the name family back to the Romans where *famila* was defined as “the total number of slaves belonging to one man” (Engels 1972, p.121). In the modern patriarchal family the situation is not much different. Engels (1972) states:

The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife. In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois, and the wife represents the proletariat (p.137).

In order to liberate women from their slavery, the single family must be abolished and common ownership must be introduced. The care of the young must also be in public hands so that women are free to pursue their own careers (Ibid., p.139).

The Marxist August Bebel (1840-1913) also deals comprehensively with the women’s question. He was one of the founders of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) in Germany and contributed significantly to its re-organisation after Bismarck was overthrown in 1890 (Microsoft Encarta Encyclopädie 2001, article ‘Bebel, August’). In his revolutionary Women under Socialism from 1879 he writes about the full equality of women and men:

Woman has the same rights as man to unfold her faculties and to the free exercise of the same: she is human as well as he: like him she should be free to dispose of herself as her own master (Bebel 1904, p.192).

He points out that this equality is not realised in society. On the contrary, women are social dependants of their husbands and are treated as “objects of pleasure by men” (Ibid., p.192). Bebel suggests that human beings are shaped by their environment and that the reason for women’s apparent mental inferiority can be found in “thousands of years of continued male supremacy” (Ibid., p.197). But he is convinced that human beings are also able to shape and hence change their environment:

As a thinking and intelligent being, man¹ must constantly, and conscious of his purpose, change, improve and perfect his social conditions together with all that thereby hangs; and he must so proceed in this that equally favourable opportunities be open to all (Ibid., p.201).

Bebel calls upon everybody to bring about this new society that allows women equal participation in all realms of life. In such a society women have equal rights and hence be able to develop their full potential, both physically and mentally so that they become free beings and men's peers (Ibid., p.182).

Modern socialist feminism combines radical feminism and socialism and hence considers the personal to be political. It seeks to bring about structural change, e. g. through "social responsibility for the raising of children" so that women are truly liberated (Booth et al. 1972, p.4). In contrast to Bebel's and Engels' ideologies, it insists on a separate women's movement and acknowledges that sexism pervades all areas of life. It therefore considers all issues to be women's issues and not merely class, ownership and the family. It also acknowledges women's differences with regard to race, class, age, etc. Sheila Rowbotham (1943-), professor in sociology at the university in Manchester, GB, is one of its main advocates. She focuses her research on the plight of women in the Third World and recognises the interconnection between sex-gender and race. In their book Dignity and Daily Bread: New Forms of Economic Organization Among Poor Women in the Third World and the First (Rowbotham & Mitter 1993) she and her co-author connect these two

by insisting on the basic Marxist notion of situating work and class centrally within social existence as a whole while also subverting the assumption that

¹ Note that the correct translation of the German 'Mensch' is human being and not man. This translation obviously reflects the zeitgeist of the early twentieth century which was not yet aware of sexist language.

new cultural forms and their theorizing originate only in the North (Bahl 1996, p.8).

To summarise, socialist feminism regards the patriarchal family as the equivalent of capitalism, and sex as the equivalent of class. When private property is replaced by common ownership of production, the single family will disappear. Through the provision of common households and common child care facilities women will be free to join the work force and enjoy equal rights with men. Without the patriarchal family male domination would disappear and true equality of the sexes would finally be realised. To achieve equality women must become socially and economically independent, receive the same education as men and choose their occupations freely. Finally, modern socialist feminism recognises that other factors such as gender, race, class and culture all cut across each other and hence need to be dealt with too.

1.2.3 Radical feminism

Radical feminism developed during the 1960s and 1970s and is often referred to as the second wave feminist movement. It seeks to uncover patriarchy in all aspects of life, i.e. the personal, social, and sexual and show that the personal is political. Of all the radical feminist works Kate Millett's (1934-) Sexual Politics which is in fact her PhD thesis and was first published in 1970, is the earliest and most influential. It is regarded as the cornerstone of the women's movement (Tuttle 1986, p.206).

In Sexual Politics Millett (1977) aims to show "that sex is a status category with political implications" (p.24). Political here is to be understood in terms of "power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another (Ibid., p.23). Millett calls these "power-structured relationships" patriarchy which is a political structure that grants privileges to men at the expense of girls/women and boys (Ibid., p.25). Ac-

according to her, patriarchy pervades all areas of society and is based on the psycho-social distinction between women and men. Popular opinion as well as science assume that these distinctions are due to the biological differences between the sexes. But Millett points out that research shows no evidence of that (Ibid., p.29).

Western patriarchal thought has its roots in patriarchal religion and ethics. It connects women with sex and sin and ascribes only to men a human identity. Millett writes:

Patriarchal religion and ethics tend to lump the female and sex together as if the whole burden of the onus and stigma it attaches to sex were the fault of the female alone. Thereby sex, which is known to be unclean, sinful, and debilitating, pertains to the female and the male identity is preserved as human rather than a sexual one (Ibid., pp.51-52).

What makes patriarchy so problematic is the subtlety with which it operates. Its primary institution is the family. It is the very place in which socialisation and conditioning of the young take place “into patriarchy’s ideology’s prescribed attitudes toward the categories of role, temperament and status” (Ibid., p.35). Millett proposes a sexual revolution that would lift those sexual taboos that pose a threat to patriarchal monogamous marriage. It would end patriarchy and abolish male supremacy. Such a revolution

would produce an integration of the separate sexual subcultures, an assimilation by both sides of previously segregated human experience. A related event here would be the re-examination of the traits categorized as ‘masculine and ‘feminine’, with a reassessment of their human desirability (Ibid., p.62).

The prerequisites for the sexual revolution include women’s economic independence, the same rights for minors as for adults, provisions of care facilities for children and the replacement of marriage by voluntary associations.

Alongside Millett, the Canadian author and activist Shulamith Firestone (1945-) has shaped radical feminism. She too believes that the family is the chief institution within patri-

archy. While women are oppressed by men, children are oppressed by both as they are economically dependent on their parents for a long time. Women and children therefore experience shared oppression which is in turn mutually reinforcing (Firestone 1988, p.73). For Firestone the structures of the nuclear family are responsible for reinforcing all types of age segregation and for this reason the liberation of women must go hand in hand with the liberation of children (Ibid., p.92). According to her the nuclear family is inherently pathological which has pernicious repercussions:

We have seen that the parental satisfaction is attainable only through crippling of the children: the attempted extension of ego through one's children – in the case of the man, the 'immortalizing' of name, property, class, and ethnic identification, and in the case of the woman, motherhood as the justification of her existence, the resulting attempt to live through the child, child-as project – in the end damages or destroys either the child or the parents, or both when neither wins, as the case may be (Ibid., pp.213-214).

The cause of the problem lies in sexual repression which is "the basic mechanism by which character structures supporting political, ideological and economic serfdom are produced" (Ibid., p.63). She claims that the sexual drive is undifferentiated at birth and becomes differentiated in reaction to the incest taboo which only serves to preserve the family. The family should therefore be abolished and sexual freedom be granted to all, including children (Ibid., p.62). Her other revolutionary demands include: 1) that women are freed from the tyranny of reproduction through contraception and artificial reproduction; 2) that women and children have "political autonomy on economic independence"; and, 3) that both are completely integrated into society (Ibid., pp-194-195).

Firestone's feminist revolution also includes an ecological dimension. To counteract the population explosion she calls for a shift of emphasis from reproduction to contraception. Work would be replaced by activity for its own sake which would demand a redefinition of

economy and of the family as part of that economy. Human beings would live together in large household combining all ages; these household would jointly bring up children and sexual activities of all kinds would be permitted for all.

To summarise, radical feminism shows that patriarchy runs through all social, political and economic structures. Since the family is patriarchy's chief institution, it must be abolished. Sexual taboos function mainly to preserve the family must therefore be lifted.

1.2.4 The common features of liberal, socialist and radical feminism

As the above explorations into three major feminist ideologies will, I hope, have indicated, there are many different types of feminisms and within these there are further variations. In this sense they cater for the specific needs girls/women from different backgrounds have. Feminist ideologies thus reflect the reality of life, namely, *diversity* which is one of the key issues in my thesis, and which, I propose, should be acknowledged as an inherent feature of being human. I will return to this aspect later.

Despite their different foci, the three main feminist ideologies have a number of features in common which shape the perspective from which I conduct my research. Firstly, they draw attention to the suffering and injustices that girls/women have been subjected to for thousands of years and are still subjected to in most parts of this world. In many African countries, for instance, girls are subjected to clitoridectomy or female genital mutilation at an early age. These countries include, for example, Benin and the Central African Republic where fifty per cent of girls/women still undergo clitoridectomy, and Egypt with ninety-seven

per cent (Amnesty International 1997, pp.1-2)². Many girls die of the infection of the wound, or later at childbirth. Other side effects of this cruel practice are extreme pain during menstruation and intercourse. Moreover, they can never experience a fulfilled sex life.

Compared to the suffering of these girls and women, the suffering of their counterparts in the developed countries seems minimal. Despite equal opportunities women hold only ten per cent of the most senior jobs in Britain (Muir 2004, p.10) and usually earn less than men. For instance, in the UK in April 1998 the average gross weekly salary of men was £425,6 per week, in comparison to that of women with £308,7 (National Statistics [no date]). In both developing and developed countries girls/women are still regarded as sex objects which finds expression, for example, in the thriving industry of pornography and prostitution.

Domestic violence is also part of some women's lives. For instance, in Berlin, the capital of Germany, 7552 cases of domestic violence were registered by the police in 2002 and in 76.5 per cent of the cases the offenders were males. In a place that should be a safe haven, i.e. the home, some women (and children) continue to be ill-treated, bullied and beaten by men (Senatsverwaltung 2004). Unfortunately other cities, whether they are European, American, African or Asian are likely to have similar, if not worse figures.

Secondly, all three feminisms have brought about change. For instance, radical feminism has coined the concept patriarchy and made it known. It has also drawn and still draws attention to sexist language and replaced/replaces it with inclusive language. It is due to the feminists of the First Wave Feminist Movement and the Second Wave Feminist Movement

² Some of the other African countries where female genital mutilation is practised are: Burkina Faso, 70%; Cameroon, 20%; Chad, 60%; Djibouti, 90-98%; Eritrea, 90%; Ethiopia,

that women now have the right to vote, have access to education and - at least in theory - to all professions. Liberal feminism also developed the term 'equal opportunity' which has been and still is implemented in most public institutions in this country, including schools. The very fact that I am able to write these lines is owed to them.

Thirdly, by pointing out that women are treated differently from men, and, to put it in the terms of radical feminism, that patriarchy pervades all areas of life, the three feminist ideologies also draw attention to the fact that this perspective is one-sided. This realisation is especially significant with regard to research. By implications or directly, these feminisms do not only reveal the inherent white, middle class, western male bias in past and present research but also point to the fact that no research is value-free but, rather that it is coloured by the researcher's personal history, her/his race, class, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, etc. As a consequence they insist that researchers acknowledge their bias by stating exactly where they stand. In so doing they acknowledge firstly, that their perspective is only one of many and, secondly, that there are other truths. The ensuing relativism is, of course, problematic as truth is seen and validated from different angles and certainty is replaced by uncertainty. But the flip side of relativism is problematic too in so far as a truth that claims to be absolute is inclined towards intolerance and separatism. In contrast, truth that acknowledges other truths is more inclined towards understanding and connectedness. In a multi-cultural, multi-faith society tolerance of other religion, race, class, sexual orientation, etc. is not enough. Tolerance has a negative undertone and does not involve a full understanding of the others' culture and faith. Collins English Dictionary defines tolerance as "capacity to endure

90%; Gambia, 60-90%; Guinea, 70-90%; Kenya, 50% and Nigeria, 50% (Amnesty International 1997, pp.1-5).

something, especially pain or hardship (Collins English Dictionary 1998, pp.1608-1609). Clearly, the word 'endure' indicates an imbalance of power between those who endure and those who are endured and as a consequence genuine connectedness is not possible. It is only through understanding and acknowledging of others' world views and belief systems that true connectedness can be achieved.

Fourthly, all three feminist ideologies are concerned with the family and its role in sex-gender stereotyping. While socialist and radical feminism seeks to abolish the family altogether, liberal feminism acknowledges the necessity of certain changes, e.g. equal education for girls/women so that the family becomes in fact a better social unit. It is to the study of the role of the family that I will turn in chapters three and four.

Fifthly, the three feminisms point out that education is to a large extent responsible for the discrimination girls/women suffer. Liberal feminism, for example, suggests that equal education for girls/women would improve their reasoning skills and hence their situation. Chapters five to seven are dedicated to the role of education in sex-gender stereotyping.

The sixth and last common feature of the three feminist ideologies is their interest in the origins of sex-gender differences, albeit at varying degrees. Some radical feminists claim that sex-gender differences have their origin in biology while others insist that they are the result of social conditioning.³ For socialist feminism social conditioning by capitalist patriarchy is responsible for the differences between the sexes. However, as my research into human sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology will show, sex-gender differences are a complex issue which cannot be answered simply by reference to only one aspect

of life, for instance, the social environment. To claim that women and men are merely the product of their social conditioning is to ignore the biological and psychological complexities inherent in each sex-gender. In the following sections I present the findings of my research into three of scientific disciplines in search for the aetiology of sex-gender differences with the intention of clarifying the issue.

1.3 Sociobiology

1.3.1 Introducing sociobiology

Sociobiology is a synthesis of biology and sociology which is rooted in Darwin's evolutionary theory. Its main and most influential proponent is Edward O. Wilson (1929-), an American entomologist whose probably best known work, Sociobiology: The New Synthesis was published in 1975. Sociobiology is "the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behaviour" (Kitcher 1985, p. 113). Wilson (1980) defines it as follows:

It attempts to explain human behaviour primarily by empirical description of the outermost phenotypes and by unaided intuition, without reference to evolutionary explanations in the true genetic sense (p.4).

On the ground of the common genes shared by human beings and primates such as chimpanzees, Wilson (1978) compares human social behaviour to other species, and finds the following common features between them: 1) humans and primates tend to have an intimate social group of 10-100 adults; 2) females are smaller than males; 3) the young depend upon the adults for long periods; and 4) through social play humans and primates learn social roles, aggression and sex practice (p.32).

³ For a detailed discussion of the influence of patriarchy in all areas of life see Millett 1977.

Although sociobiology does not refer to 'evolutionary explanations' in the true genetic sense, it is based on Darwin's theory of evolution which links genes directly to adaptability and therefore also to behaviour. Whatever behaviour increases an individual's inclusive fitness⁴ will then be passed on to the next generations. Behaviour and activities that may enhance an individual's fitness include territoriality, aggression, blind faith, dancing and cooking (Bethell 2001, p.5). Sociobiology therefore claims that the present social arrangements have evolved because they enhance the fitness of individuals and consequently also of groups

Even religion which is "unique to the human species" is influenced by the laws of natural selection. Whereas those religious practices that enhance survival and procreation last, those that do not disappear (Wilson 1978, pp.175-184). Advantageous religions then provide human beings with a purpose in life which is "compatible with self-interest" and hence with survival not just for the individual but also for the community (Ibid., pp. 188 & 207).

Despite its biological determinism sociobiology suggests an extreme plasticity of human behaviour. It also acknowledges that a certain degree of free will is inherent in human beings. Wilson states:

To the extent that the future of objects can be foretold by an intelligence which itself has a material basis, they are determined - but only within the conceptual world of the observing intelligence. And insofar as they can make decisions of their own accord - whether or not they are determined - they possess free will (Ibid., p.71).

⁴ Wilson describes inclusive fitness as "the sum of an individual's own fitness plus all its influence on fitness on its relatives other than direct descendants [..]" (Wilson 1980, p.314)

1.3.2 Sociobiology and the origins of sex-gender differences

For the majority of species there are obvious physiological differences between males and females.⁵ Females are usually smaller than males, have no or less facial hair, broader hips and more body fat. In addition, each sex-gender has very different reproductive organs (Leibowitz 1975, p.20). Sociobiology refers to such differences which are consistent and go “beyond the basic functional portions of the sex organs” as ‘sexual dimorphism’ (Wilson 1980, p.322). In Darwin’s view sexual dimorphism is the result of competition for mates among members of the same sex-gender. The effect of competition among males, for instance, is that adult males become larger and more distinguished in their appearance which in turn affects their behaviour pattern (Ibid., p.155). The result is secondary sex-gender roles⁶ for both females and males

that enhance individual as opposed to group genetic fitness. In other words, males and females tend to diverge in the kinds of activities and in the ways they find most profitable (Ibid., p.155).

Such activities include the raising of the young by females and defence of the territory by males. According to sociobiology, females are less aggressive and less assertive while males are generally more aggressive and dominant. The different anatomy of the sexes then “bears the imprint of the sexual division of labor” (Wilson 1978, p.126). In other words, sex-gender differences have their origin in biology. However, although sociobiology maintains

⁵ There are in fact some non-dimorphic species, i.e., species which show no distinguishable features between males and females except for the genitalia; one such species are the gibbons, anthropoid apes from India. (Leibowitz 1975, p.24).

⁶ Sociobiology does not distinguish between sex and gender and instead refers to sex differences at all times. I will therefore attempt to make a distinction where appropriate.

that sex-gender differences are genetically predisposed, it acknowledges that other influences exist too. According to Wilson

modest genetic differences exist between the sexes; the behavioral genes interact with virtually all existing environments to create a noticeable divergence in early psychological development; and the divergence is almost always widened in later psychological development by cultural sanctions and training (Ibid., p.129).

The differences between the sexes are thus exaggerated by culture at varying degrees “into universal male dominance” (Ibid., p.126).⁷ This also applies to aggressive behaviour which is generally associated with males. It is “a structured, predictable pattern of interaction between genes and the environment” which is defined by culture. Culture then sanctifies some forms of aggressive behaviour and condemns others (Ibid., p.114).

Dominance systems as an expression of aggressive behaviour are also a characteristic of most species including homo sapiens. In such systems

adults are dominant over juveniles, and males are usually dominant over females. In multi-male societies, it is typical for the rank ordering of the males to lie entirely above that of the females, or at most, overlap it slightly (Ibid., p.142).

Hormones, androgen in particular, can increase an individual’s masculinization with respect to anatomical behavioural traits. As a result an individual that has been exposed to more androgen than usual may move upward in the hierarchy (Ibid., p.143).

As I explained above, sociobiology links genes directly to certain traits and behaviours and proposes that advantageous behaviour is passed on to future generations. This also applies

⁷ Note that for Wilson culture is the highest form of tradition, and tradition is defined as certain types of learned behaviour which are passed on from generation to generation (Wilson 1980, p.86).

to sex-gender stereotyping or, as Wilson puts it, to “secondary sex roles” which have come about through natural selection. However, underlying sociobiology is Darwin’s theory of evolution which is concerned with adaptability. According to evolutionary theory adaptability is never achieved since “no organism is ever perfectly adapted” (Wilson 1980, p.74). Sociobiology states that “modest genetic differences exist between the sexes” and are then widened by sex-gender stereotyping (Wilson 1978, p.129).⁸ If an organism is never completely adapted, this too must apply to sex-gender differences.

Sociobiology therefore allows room for change, indeed, has change, i.e., evolution, as its scientific basis. A good example of such change is given by Lila Leibowitz (1975). The hamadryas baboons of the Ethiopian highlands typically live in groups which are ‘herded’ by males. When an artificial colony was created and the younger males did not fulfil their ‘herding’ role after the older males had died off, an elderly female took on the “herding” role. From these findings Leibowitz concludes that behaviour is malleable and sex roles⁹ are adaptable (Ibid., pp. 24-31). Since sociobiology insists on the homology between primate and human behaviour, the same conclusion can be drawn for human beings. Yet there is an obvious difference between human and primate behaviour. As Roger Trigg (1982) argues, what makes human beings different is their rationality and self-consciousness (p.xviii).

⁸ Note that Wilson uses the term ‘sex-stereotyping.’

⁹ The term sex roles in this context is appropriate since Leibowitz refers to non-human species. The use of the term sex-gender roles here would be most problematic, if not incorrect.

Men [women] are more than their genetic inheritance and more than their environment. They are rational, self-conscious subjects as well as physical objects (Ibid., p.xviii).¹⁰

Due to their rational abilities human beings can choose to follow or not to follow their biological nature. Indeed, rationality enables them to build and question cultures, and although they are rooted in biology and express themselves through culture, they are able to transcend both (Ibid., p.170). The ability to be rational, to be influenced by reason is, according to Trigg, even biologically advantageous. It makes it possible for human beings to transcend both genes and environment. Trigg writes:

Man [woman] is a biological species, but any attempt to assert that he [she] is no more than that, with characteristics no different in kind from those of other species, is not only mistaken. It is self-refuting, since no other species could formulate such a theory (Ibid., p.174).

Even though Wilson does not list rationality among the universals which are common to human beings, Trigg's notion of human rationality is implicit in his theory - for how else could he have written such a theory? Wilson himself insists that the extreme plasticity of human behaviour is a fact. If that is so, it must also apply to sex-gender differences.

1.3.3 Some criticisms

A main point of criticism is sociobiology's biological determinism which seems to sanction the status quo since it suggests that the present social order, and this includes hierarchies such as men/women and old/young, has come about through natural selection. In view of the fact that sociobiology developed just after the second wave feminist movement, it is not

¹⁰ I find the exclusive use of 'man' and 'he' quite offensive and will therefore insert the female equivalents in brackets wherever necessary.

unlikely that its proponents reacted against it by upholding traditional human institutions such as the family and maternal care.

As I explained above, sociobiology suggests that there is a certain degree of genetic continuity between human beings and primates. This is problematic as the Sociobiology Study Group (1978) points out:

But claimed external similarity between humans and our closest relatives (which are by no means very close to us) does not imply genetic continuity. A behavior that may be genetically coded in a higher primate may be purely learned and widely spread among human cultures as a consequence of the enormous flexibility of our brain (p.284).

There are several other flaws for which sociobiology must be criticised. Although it combines two disciplines to better study and understand human behaviour, it does not take the importance of various other factors into account: 1) It fails to deal at length with the effect of hormones on behaviour. 2) It does not explain what is meant by cultural influences. For example, would patriarchy be one such influence? Could cultural influence also bring about sex-gender role reversal and hence change sex-gender differences? 3) Finally, sociobiology, in attempting to explain everything from blind faith and cooking to territoriality in terms of genes and behaviour, is not really a scientific discipline but is on the brink of becoming a religion, as Tom Bethell (2001) points out (pp.5 & 8).

1.3.4 Summary

Sociobiology claims that sexual dimorphism or sex-gender differences are a direct result of competition over mates between members of the same sex-gender. Sex-gender divisions of labour as well as traits peculiar to each sex-gender are predetermined by biology. The present social order has therefore come about through natural selection. But since sociobiology is based in Darwin's evolutionary theory which states that an organism is never perfectly

adapted, or, to put it differently, is constantly changing, the status quo cannot be regarded as final and unchangeable. The biological prerequisite of adaptability thus implies that sex-gender differences are not immutable. If one takes into account that human beings can reason and have free will and their behaviour is, as Wilson suggests, malleable, then the logical inference must be that they are able to counteract their biological pre-disposition. Finally, sociobiology is a scientific discipline that combines biology and sociology and although it positions biology over sociology as the stronger force, it draws on both and hence, by implication, suggests that both play a role in determining human behaviour.

1.4 Psychoendocrinology

1.4.1 Introducing psychoendocrinology

Psychoendocrinology is a combined discipline which aims to study the influences of hormones on human behaviour. The psychoendocrine approach plays a significant role in the search of the causes of sex-gender differences because

throughout the mammalian class there appear to be marked similarities in the anatomical structures of the genitals as well as of sex-behavior-related brain regions and in the role of sex hormones in the differentiation and development of these structures (Swaab & Hofman 1984, p.390).

Hormones are ‘chemical messengers’ that are secreted directly into the blood stream by the numerous glandular tissues which are in the human body. They regulate reproduction and help individuals adjust to changes in the environment. For my purposes female and male sex hormones are of particular interest. It is important here to note that the female sex hormones estrogens and progesterone, and androgens, the male sex hormones, are all present in both sexes “albeit in different quantities and ratios” (Ehrhardt 1992, p.466). John Archer and Barbara Lloyd (1982) elaborate:

These so-called 'male' and 'female' hormones are not confined to their respective sexes. The ovaries and testes each produce three hormones, and the adrenal glands, situated above the kidneys, secrete androgens in both sexes. The ovaries and the adrenal glands of women produce androgens which affect hair growth under the arms and in the pubic region (Gluckman 1974); the testes produce a small quantity of estrogens, but at present there are no known psychological effects (p.60).

With conception begins the process of sexual development. The chromosomes are sexually differentiated; the XX pair is related "to the development of the anatomically normal female" while the XY pair is related to the normal male (Lloyd & Archer 1976, p.2). At first these differences are not visible in the embryo. The gonads, i.e. organs that produce sex cells,¹¹ are undifferentiated until six weeks after fertilisation. Then the testes begin to develop in the embryo which carries the XY chromosomes and male sex hormones take effect:

Between 9 and 18 weeks of foetal age, high levels of androgens secreted by the foetal testes differentiate the foetus as male. The foetus differentiates as female when exposed to lower levels of androgens during this period. Thus, it is the influence of androgens on undifferentiated foetal tissues during a 'critical period' for phenotypic differentiation that results in male development (Finegan et al. 1992, pp.444-445).

As a result of prenatal hormonal influence females and males do not only develop differently physically with regard to height, weight, genitalia and certain traits, they also develop significant differences in their respective brain structure and function. Sex hormones which influence the nervous system of an individual during the prenatal period are thus organisational. For example, Roger Gorski and Laura Allen found that the corpus callosum is up to 23 percent larger in women than in men. The corpus callosum is "a bundle of neurones" which carry messages between the two halves of the brain. This finding has led scientists to conclude that the two halves of the brain in males do not 'communicate' while there is constant

¹¹ The female gonad is the ovary, the male gonad is the testis (Wilson 1980, p.313).

‘communication’ between them in women. The same is true of the anterior commissar, a collection of nerve cells which link both sides of the brain. In women it is larger than in men which seems to suggest that both halves are in use on tasks involving emotional responses and language (Begley 1995, p.45). The finding is supported by other research (Jakabovics et al. 2000; Sabbatini 2000).

In females there are two kinds of sex hormones in high concentration. These are estrogens and progestogens; even androgens are present, albeit at low levels. In most female mammals estrogens appear to be directly linked to sexual behaviour (Messent 1976, p.186). In human females, however, such links are difficult to establish. If the ovaries are removed women do not cease to be interested in sex and to display sexual behaviour. This does not necessarily suggest that sex hormones have no influence on female sexual behaviour. It merely shows that other factors, such as the environment may be important too. However, there is evidence which suggests that the influence of non-steroidal oestrogen in individuals who were exposed to it during the prenatal period can lead to demasculinization and feminisation. June Machover Reinisch and Stephanie A. Sanders (1984) report of a study of females and males who had been exposed to Diethylstilbestrol (DES) “a non-steroidal oestrogen with 5 times the potency of oestradiol¹² when taken orally” (p.413).¹³ They state:

In our evaluation of personality in males and females exposed to DES the exposed males and females received scores indicating that they were ‘more group oriented’ (less individualistic) and more group dependent (less self-sufficient) than their unexposed siblings (Ibid., p.414).

¹² Oestradiol is “the most potent oestrogenic hormone secreted by the mammalian ovary: synthesized and used to treat oestrogen deficiency and cancer of the breast (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.1079).

¹³DES was commonly administered to women with at-risk pregnancies in the United States until 1975 (Reinisch & Sanders 1984, p.413).

In adulthood sex hormones are activational, “suggesting that they can activate behavior that was preorganized during an earlier phase of development” (Ehrhardt 1992, p.464). There is thus a link between the hormonal influence on behaviour during the prenatal and the postnatal period. In adulthood male sex hormones can influence a whole range of behaviours which, according to Peter R. Messent (1976), are concerned with changes in attention, aggression and mating:

These tend to behaviourally differentiate males more from the immature state than perhaps is true of females, where behavioural effects are generally more subtle and transient, and do not involve neonatal effects (pp.200-201).

That there is a link between hormones in the prenatal period and adulthood can be seen in the case of female XX mammals who were exposed to androgens in utero at different critical stages in their foetal development. As adults these mammals displayed male behaviour patterns which seems to suggest that “prenatal endocrinology biases psychosexual development by affecting the central nervous system (Kipnis & Diamond 1998, p.9).

1.4.2 Psychoendocrinology and the origins of sex-gender differences

Within psychoendocrinology there is an approach which claims that both female and male sex hormones are equally responsible for sex-gender related traits: the GC model (=the general covariance model). According to this model, sex-gender related traits such as interests, specific roles and cognitive style, “develop harmoniously as a primary function of circulating sex hormones” (Nyborg 1984, pp.503 & 493). While females are influenced by “higher concentrations of 17β -estradiol (E_2)¹⁴”, males are exposed to higher concentrations of circu-

¹⁴ see footnote 12

lating testosterone (T) during the prenatal, the perinatal¹⁵ and the postpubertal period. Nyborg explains:

According to the general covariance (GC) model, circulating T and E act as intervening variables coordinating the development of the gender related traits [...] Thus, we assume these two factors to explain concerted prototypic development of the male and female gender pattern of personality and intelligence, in addition to differentiating the body sexually (Ibid., p.493).

This model therefore considers social influence to be secondary to hormonal influences. H. Nyborg undertook a study involving individuals who had been exposed to higher levels of testosterone (T) or 17 β -estradiol (E₂). The research concerning the two hormonally different groups focused on the relationship between problem solving abilities and the gonadal hormones with the aim to compare gender-related traits. Nyborg summarises the findings:

The major pattern that emerges from the findings is that the majority of T/E individuals exhibited the male gender repertoire, whereas most E/T individuals had the female gender repertoire. These observations support the main predictions of the GC model, namely that sex hormones act as primary determinants whether a prototype male, female or mixed mental development will take place (Ibid., p.501).

According to the GC model then, sex hormones are responsible for all sex-gender related differences. However, proponents of this model insist that sex hormones do not cause certain behaviours directly but that they “promote gender-related tendencies to experience and to behave consistently in different situations.” Responses which are conditioned by sex hormones can therefore be positively or negatively reinforced through social conditioning (Ibid., p.504).

¹⁵ the period between three months prior to and one month after birth (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.1153)

As has been noted above, prenatal hormonal influence is believed to be organisational and thus permanent, while hormonal influence in adulthood is said to be activational and hence changeable. To what degree these are changeable is, however, still unclear. To shed light on the matter I will refer to two case studies that involve sex-gender reassignment. The first case study is of a boy, one of a pair of monozygotic twins who, at seven months, had an accident during circumcision which burnt his penis. Sex-gender reassignment was recommended by the renowned psychoendocrinologist Dr John Money and after four months he underwent the first corrective surgery which was followed by surgical castration at 22 months of age. At the onset of puberty she took oestrogen but with great reluctance. Her mother took special care over her choice of clothes and toys and admits to bringing her up differently from her twin brother (Money & Erhardt 1972, p.118-120). Despite this, Brenda¹⁶ seemed to be unhappy with her new sex-gender identity; she did not feel like a girl even though everyone told her she was one (Colapinto 1997, p.23). When she was nine her teacher wrote in her school report that her

interests are strongly masculine. She has marvelous plans for building tree-houses, go-carts with CB radios, model gas airplanes [...] and appears to be more competitive and aggressive than her brother and is much more untidy both at home and in school (Ibid., p.25).

Her brother too noticed that she did not at all behave like a girl. Brenda suffered severely from the conflict between her assigned gender identity and her biological sex. At fourteen her desire to live as a boy was finally heard and male-hormone treatment and surgery to excise his breasts followed immediately. Before his 16th birthday John had a rudimentary penis constructed. Five years later he underwent a second phalloplasty to improve the size and

¹⁶ Brenda later became known as John/Joan, a pseudonym John Colapinto used in his

sensation of his penis. At the age of 25 he married a woman with three children and therefore was able to fulfil one of his dreams (Ibid., pp.17-33).

Susan J. Bradley et al. (1998) report of a second case study of a boy whose penis was also burnt at circumcision when he was two month old.¹⁷ Since the penis was beyond repair, its remainder as well as the testes were removed five month later. When the child was seven months old, he was reassigned as a female and raised as a girl. Like Brenda she took hormones at the onset of puberty. At age sixteen the girl underwent vaginoplasty and ten years later followed further vaginoplasty. She was interviewed on both occasions and appeared to be certain about her female sex-gender identity. During childhood, however, she was a tom-boy and enjoyed masculine games and toys. Nevertheless her best friend was always a girl and her playmates were also usually girls. At the time of the second interview she had a relationship with a man and a few months later she began a lesbian relationship (p.2).

When comparing the two cases, only two similarities can be discerned: Both were “biologically ‘normal’ genetic” males and displayed masculine behaviour during childhood. The differences are more numerous: The boy in the first case was circumcised when he was seven months old and reassigned as a girl ten months later with the castration and genital reconstruction following at twenty months of age. By contrast, the boy in the second case was circumcised at two months of age and his testes and the remainder of the penis were removed five months later. Reassignment to the opposite sex took place at about the same time, i.e. when he was seven months old. Brenda/John was later exclusively attracted to women and heterosexual whereas the girl in the second case was predominantly attracted to women and

report of this case.

bisexual (Ibid., pp. 3-5). Finally, in contrast to the boy/girl in the second case study, Brenda/John had a twin brother whose presence may have made it more difficult for her/him to adopt the new sex-gender identity.

The first case study seems to suggest that sexual orientation and sex-gender identity are to a large extent inborn and although social conditioning may affect a person's sex-gender identity, nature seems to be the stronger force. However, as Bradley et al. remark, the second case seems to suggest the opposite, i.e. that a female sex-gender identity can develop "in a biologically 'normal' genetic male" (Ibid., p.3). The reason for this may lie in the facts that

sex of rearing as a female, beginning at approximately 7 months of age, over-rode any putative influences of a normal prenatal masculine sexual biology. Although it is not possible to state with precision what constituted our patient's sex of rearing as a girl, it clearly included her parents agreeing to the sex reassignment decision [...] the adoption of a stereotypically female name, and the patient being perceived as a girl by significant others in their social environment (Ibid., p.10).

Both cases highlight the importance of a number of factors that are crucial for the healthy relationship between a person's sex and sex-gender identity: 1) feeling comfortable with one's biological sex whether it has been surgically changed or not; 2) acceptance of one's sex-gender identity regardless of whether it was reassigned; 3) hormonal influence during a critical time in utero and, 4) confirmation and reinforcement of one's sex and attached gender identity by family, friends and colleagues, etc.

1.4.3 Some criticisms

Like any science psychoendocrinology is not value free. The terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' are used to describe sex hormones. This leads to a dichotomy which does in fact

¹⁷ Unfortunately the researches do not reveal the name of the boy.

not exist since the main sex hormones are present in both sexes (Ehrhardt 1992, p.466). The danger of focusing on the differences between the sexes is that it colours the researcher's aims and expectations. For instance, traditionally aggressive behaviour has been associated with males and the presence of androgens. Research has thus mainly concentrated on male aggression and has not considered the fact that females too display aggressive behaviour. To focus on the female/male dichotomy within scientific research is to magnify the differences between the sexes, thereby reinforcing the stereotypical notions of what it means to be male and female.

In addition to the female/male dichotomy inherent in psychoendocrinology there is the 'innate/learned' dichotomy. While hormones are believed to be innate and thus immutable, behaviour is believed to be learned and thus mutable. Yet, as Archer (1976) argues, this distinction is incorrect as it ignores the aspect of interaction:

When we consider the development of sex differences, it is important to ask how the genetic material or genome interacts with the environment, rather than seeing to assign behavioral traits to either nature or nurture (p.251).

Studies in psychoendocrinology should therefore focus on the interaction between sex hormones and environmental factors to arrive at more conclusive results concerning the origins of sex-gender differences and the variations of behaviour within the sexes.

1.4.4 Summary

The above study provides evidence for the claim that sex-gender differences are caused by biology and the social environment. Firstly, high levels of androgens in utero between the foetal age of nine and eighteen weeks differentiates the foetus as male while low levels of androgens differentiate it as female (Finegan et. al 1992, pp. 444-445). Secondly, sex hormones predispose an individual towards behaviour that is congruent with her/his biologi-

cal sex, although it has to be acknowledged that they do not directly cause behaviour. And, thirdly, sex-gender appropriate behaviour has to be reinforced to a certain degree, as the second case study demonstrates. If significant others such as family members and friends are uncertain about a person's sex-gender identity, as seemed to be the case with Brenda, it may contribute to the person's ambiguous relationship to her/his sex-gender identity. Both biology and the social environment then play a part in shaping a person's behaviour and are changeable as the example of the two case studies shows. But Ehrhardt (1992) referring to Money argues that this bipolarity between nature and nurture does not really exist since

both kinds of influences exist in the brain, irrespective of how they gained entry – whether internally by way of genetics or externally by way of stimuli transmitted through the senses from the environment (p.456).

1.5 Feminist Psychology

1.5.1 Introducing feminist psychology

Psychology is the study of human behaviour and its origins. It is concerned with different aspects of human behaviour such as “sensation-perception, motivation, emotion, innate patterns, learning, thinking, intelligence, personality, group dynamics, and behaviour pathology” (Cohen 1981, p.149). Psychology has been done by and focused primarily on men thereby making everything that is masculine the norm from which women deviate (Paludi 1992, p.43). For example, Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychological development and Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development are based exclusively on boy's and men's experience.

The American Carol Gilligan (1936-), Professor at New York University, was the first feminist psychologist who drew attention to the male bias inherent in traditional psychology. She taught with the renowned psychologist Erik Erikson at Harvard and worked as an assis-

tant to psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg who considered men's view of individual rules and rights to be superior to women's (Wylie 2003, p.3). In response to Kohlberg's and Erikson's male-biased work Gilligan concentrated her research on women's experiences and voices and published the groundbreaking findings in her book In a Different Voice (1982) which is one of the most influential feminist works ever written. She highlights the problems inherent in traditional personality theories which equate maleness with humanity and also associate adult qualities of maturity with maleness. Such adult qualities include rationality, independence, decision-making and "responsible action" (Gilligan 1982 p.17). While these are associated with men, they are not desired for women. There is thus a discrepancy between adulthood and womanhood. Gilligan explains why this is problematic:

Yet looked at from a different perspective, these stereotypes reflect a conception of adulthood that is itself out of balance, favoring the separateness of the individual over connection to others and leaning more to an autonomous life of work than toward the interdependence of life and work (Ibid., p.17).

Women do not fit these stereotypes as they focus on relationally and interconnectedness. They cannot live up to these developmental targets and are thus defined as failures. Their reluctance to separate "becomes by definition a failure to develop" (Ibid., p.9). Gilligan suggests that women's resistance should be seen as a way of finding an all inclusive solution "to conflicting loyalties" (Ibid., p.13).

1.5.2 Feminist psychology and the origins of sex-gender differences

For Gilligan there are obvious sex-gender differences. In general women are more dependent on others and focus on care while men are more independent and focus on justice (Gilligan & Attanucci 1994, pp.74-76). Part of the problem is that women are still primarily caretakers of children with the result that

the pattern of childhood attachments and identifications and the pattern of adult moral or “prosocial” behavior typically differ for males and females (Gilligan & Wiggins 1994, p.112).

Daughters identify with their mothers who are like themselves and therefore their female identity is formed within “a context of ongoing relationships” (Gilligan 1982, p.7). By contrast, sons experience that they are different from their mother and thus separate themselves from her. Consequently boys’ development is more individualistic and separate while girl’s development is more focused on others and thus connected (Ibid., p.8). Another consequence of boys’ separation from the mother is that they segregate themselves from everything that they associated with her at a time when they identified with her and were completely dependent on her (Stockard & Johnson 1991, p.197).

Gilligan believes that the child is more social than some psychologists have assumed. The infant is in fact very aware of herself/himself in relation to others. This awareness is shaped by two dimensions: 1) inequality; the child is small, helpless and dependent; and, 2) attachment; the child is aware that he or she has an effect on others. The experience of attachment is crucial for human development as it “generates a perspective on relationships that underlies the conception of morality and love” (Gilligan & Wiggins 1994). Gilligan suggests that the experiences of attachment and inequality in early childhood “lay the ground work for two moral visions - one of justice and one of care.” These experiences are universal but due to social and biological influences they differ for girls and boys (Ibid., p.115). She elaborates:

To the extent that biological sex, the psychology of gender, and the cultural norms and values that define masculine and feminine behavior affect the experience of equality and attachment, these factors presumably will influence moral development (Ibid., p.116).

Girls who identify with their mother to whom they are very attached, may thus find the experience of inequality less overwhelming and gain efficacy by creating relationships with

others. Connectedness may then be more central to their identity and self-esteem. On the other hand, boys who are attached to their mothers but cannot identify with her and instead identify with their father's authority and physical strength, may have a stronger desire to overcome inequality. As a result independence and separation may be more central to their identity and self-esteem (Ibid., p.116). For boys the moral vision of justice therefore becomes the main focus whereas girls tend to focus on the moral vision of care. Yet the two foci do not necessarily have to be exclusive to one sex-gender. Gilligan (1982) admits that these differences are "an empirical observation" and that overlaps exist (p.2). She also insists that both foci are important for human development and maturity. Women's focus on attachment "creates and sustains the human community" while men's focus on separation "defines and empowers the self" (Ibid., p.156).

For Gilligan the various differences between girls and boys are a direct result of this first identification with the mother. She refers to a study by Janet Lever which is concerned with sex-gender differences in games. Lever found that boys in early school years tend to play competitive games in larger groups which usually involve a set of rules. These types of games teach boys independence and organisational skills. In contrast, girls tend to play in smaller, more intimate groups and seem to keep to smaller places. In these groups girls learn to be sensitive and to have empathy for others (p.10). In light of the justice focus, boys' preoccupation with competitive games where fair rules play a central part, makes sense. In view of the care focus the intimate groups in which girls generally play non-competitive games is meaningful and thus substantiates Gilligan's theory.

Gilligan undertook a study of college students in which she asked them to describe themselves. In these statements women described themselves always in relation to others, i.e.

as wife, future mother, or former lover which confirmed her theory of women's ethic of care and responsibility (p.159). In contrast, men's self-descriptions revealed a very different picture of relationships and ethics. Although they occasionally saw themselves in relation to others, they did not mention any particular person. Instead of talking about attachments, they used words such as logical, intelligent and honest (Ibid., pp.160-161). These description thus provided evidence for her theory of the two dimensions, justice and care.

As I have demonstrated, for Gilligan the main difference between the two sexes-genders lies in their respective moral ethics. The question that remains is whether this difference is mutable or final. Regrettably, she does not deal with the interaction between developmental stages and the perception of sex-gender differences. In other words, she fails to pay attention to cognitive development. Dorothy Z. Ullian (1976) suggests a developmental model as an alternative to social learning and psychoanalytic theories. Underlying this model is the assumption that feminine and masculine sex-gender identities are not stable but instead change constantly in the course of cognitive and social development (p.31). According to this view

masculinity and femininity are concepts which develop in accordance with the changing nature of the child's thinking about the biological, social, and psychological differences between males and females. In other words, masculine and feminine identities are not merely a function of biological propensities; nor are they solely the result of particular societal conditions. Rather, they represent developmentally changing ways of viewing and interpreting differences between the sexes (Ibid., p.31).

To verify her theory Ullian interviewed seventy females and males between the age of six and eighteen and came to the following conclusion: 1) at level one (6-8 years) children mainly referred to biological differences; 2) at level two (10-12 years) sex-gender differences were associated with societal roles and obligations; and 3) at level three (14-18 years) "mas-

culinity and femininity were defined according to the psychological requirements of individual and interpersonal functioning” (Ibid., p.44). The study seems to substantiate the claim that femininity and masculinity are not single and static concepts. Ullian’s study also revealed that sex-gender role development goes beyond the mere acceptance of sex-gender stereotypes. For at the last level all interviewees made an attempt to construct ideal standards of equality and human freedom which are universally valid (Ibid., p.44).

Ullian’s view that sex-gender identity is in constant flux is not shared by everyone. For instance, Ellen Jordan (1995) argues that in light of recent poststructuralist theories one should distinguish on the one hand between sex-gender identity which is adopted at around the age of four and remains fairly stable and its meaning which develops “more slowly [...] through the negotiation of sex-gender discourses and practices” (p.73). In other words, even though human beings adopt a sex-gender identity with which most feel comfortable, they have the ability to re-define its meaning for themselves and others in different situations. Seen from this perspective, the two moral foci which are, according to Gilligan, the pivot of sex-gender differences, are not immutable. Instead they may change as the individual moves through the various stages of development and negotiates and re-negotiates them. I therefore propose that the early experiences of attachment and inequality do not necessarily outweigh experiences in consecutive stages of development.

Gilligan attempts to offer solutions for the sexed-gendered needs of girls/women and boys/men which are a direct result of the early identification with the mother. For instance, in adolescence girls’ voices are in danger of being silenced by patriarchy that coerces them to succumb to its power structures with the result that they may lose “their ability to know what

is rationally true or real” (Brown & Gilligan 1992, p.2). Gilligan and Lyn Mikel Brown define what voice implies:

Voice, because it is embodied, connects rather than separates psyche and body; because voice is in language, it also joins psyche and culture. Voice is inherently relational (Ibid., pp.14-15).

They propose that adolescent girls form relationships with women and speak with them “rather than trying to be good or bad girls.” In doing so they stay in relationship with themselves and hence do not lose their voice while the women become more radical in their thinking, detect false voices more quickly and distinguish between idealised and real relationships (Ibid., pp.2 & 219). Girls and women can therefore support one another in keeping and/or re-discovering their respective voices and thereby undermine patriarchy. For boys the solution is similar. If sons stay connected to their mothers and these, in turn, stay connected to their sons, patriarchy is interrupted for its survival “depends on breaking this relationship” (Gilligan in Wylie 2003, pp.11-12).

1.5.3 Some criticisms

In carrying out her explorations into moral psychology Gilligan also runs the risk of focusing too much on female issues whilst neglecting male issues. In so doing she makes the same error that she criticised traditional psychology for, i.e. that it focuses too narrowly on one issue, namely maleness. It must be acknowledged though that she has changed her focus in her latest work, The Birth of Pleasure (2002) which includes boys and men in her studies.

Gilligan ignores other aspects which affect human behaviour such as race, class and ethnicity and assumes that all girls/women have the same experiences (Contratto 1994, p.372). It is only in later works that she includes the social context and explicitly names patriarchy as being responsible for the schism between girls/women and boys/men.

Finally, in tracing sex-gender differences such as the focus of justice in boys/men and the focus on care in girls/women back to the identification with mother in early childhood, she unwittingly blames mothers for these differences. Even though she acknowledges the impact of patriarchy on girls/women and boys/girls in later works, the responsibility still seems to rest in mothers.

1.5.4 Summary

According to Gilligan the role of the mother as primary caretaker of infants is crucial to the development of sex-gender identification. Both girls and boys experience a strong sense of attachment and inequality from birth but depending on the infant's sex-gender, there are marked differences. Although the male infant might feel close to the mother he cannot identify with her since she is different from him; he identifies with the father instead. Separation, individuality and independence are therefore important for his sex-gender identity. In comparison, the female infant experiences sameness with her mother and is thus able to identify with her. For this reason she may find the experience of inequality less overwhelming and attachment, relationality and dependence become an important part of her sex-gender identity (Gilligan & Wiggins 1994, pp.114-116). The two divergent moralities that ensue are associated with a particular sex-gender, but not exclusively. Separation then is linked to a morality of justice with the emphasis on treating everyone in the same way, while attachment is linked to a morality of care with the emphasis that no-one should be hurt (Gilligan 1982, p.174). The biological sex of an infant is therefore important for the development of her or his respective sex-gender identity.

Since Gilligan sees sex-gender differences as lying in the identification of infants with their mothers, the question arises whether these differences would be the same if fathers were

the primary caretakers or were at least just as involved in raising and nurturing them as mothers. In light of what Gilligan says about the identification process it is plausible that an equal share in nurturing infants would alleviate these sex-gender differences. If fathers and mothers swapped roles in a non-patriarchal society that encourages nurturing qualities in both, then these differences may be overcome entirely.

Underlying Gilligan's developmental theory is her claim that social responsiveness and moral concern are already present in early childhood and influence adolescent development (Gilligan et al. 1994, pp.VIII-X). So in addition to fundamental biological and psychological differences between the two sexes-genders cultural values and norms also shape feminine and masculine behaviour (Gilligan & Wiggins 1994, p.116). The origins of sex-gender differences are thus a combination of biological, psychological and cultural influences.

1.6 Conclusion

The study of sociobiology and psychoendocrinology uncovered that biology is to a large extent responsible for sex-gender differences. Even though sociobiology is inherently deterministic and sexist, it highlights that human beings are extremely malleable. To reiterate, it is based in Darwin's theory of evolution according to which "no organism is ever perfectly adapted" (Wilson 1980, p.74). It is ever developing. This also applies to sex-gender differences which are part of human beings. In other words, the present state of sex-gender differences is not the status quo and are thus not final. If they can be reinforced through culture, they can also be ameliorated.

Psychoendocrinology highlights the importance of sex hormones for sexual differentiation in the undifferentiated foetus. To recall, sex hormones which influence the nervous system of an individual in the prenatal stage, are organisational, i.e. they determine not only

the sex of the foetus but also its brain structure. In adulthood sex hormones are activational, although they can also be to an extent organisational, as the two case studies illustrate. For instance, when the sex-gender reassigned teenager takes estrogens, she begins to grow breasts, her hips grow rounder and her skin changes. When looking at the two cases, it becomes apparent that biology, i.e. the sex of a person and the ascribed sex-gender identity are indeed malleable. The result of my enquiry is that a combination biological factors, i.e. sex hormones and the sex of a person as well as social factors, i.e. social conditioning are responsible for sex-gender differences.

My examination of feminist psychology has also shown that there are salient differences between females and males. From a psychological perspective connectedness and relationality are important to female sex-gender identity while independence and individuality are an integral part of male sex-gender identity. Men and women also have distinct moral visions: for men it is justice, for women it is care, although these are not exclusive to one sex (Gilligan & Wiggins 1994, pp.114-116). The differences are directly linked to the sex of the infant as he/she initially identifies with the mother. My examination of feminist psychology therefore corroborates the findings of sociobiology and psychoendocrinology, i.e. that sex-gender differences are caused by biology and the social environment and adds psychology as another factor.

To conclude, I examined sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology in search of the causes of sex-gender differences. My enquiry was guided by the first research question:

What are the origins of sex-gender differences?

I believe that my findings sufficiently answered this question and therefore I restate

Hypothesis 1:

That sex-gender differences have their origin in both biology and social conditioning and that human beings are malleable. The injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping can therefore be ameliorated.

*

My investigation of the causes of sex-gender differences drew attention to the family. It features in sociobiology as smallest unit in society and plays a prominent role in psychoneuroendocrinology and particularly in feminist psychology. What is still missing in my enquiry is a concise definition of the family and an analysis of its structure. The following chapter is dedicated to these issues.

2. An enquiry into structural changes in the patriarchal family with special reference to the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family

2.1 Introduction

In my enquiry into the aetiology of sex-gender differences the family was repeatedly named as being partly responsible for these differences. As my research into sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology brought to light, it is the place where children are raised and socially conditioned. The family is therefore the focus of the present chapter.

The family as an object of study is fraught with problems. This is mainly due to the fact that the majority of human beings are emotionally attached to it. They are born into and raised by a family that shelters them, feeds them, cares for them and, ideally, loves them. The nature of this emotional attachment, i.e. whether it is positive or negative or both, then colours the perception of their family. As a result there is a plethora of many definitions of the family and much confusion about these. The aim of the first part of the present chapter is therefore to clarify what I mean by the family. I will first of all closely define it and then attempt to demythologise the myths surrounding it.

The family as it is known today is a fairly recent phenomenon. Over the past centuries it has undergone many changes. The structural changes it underwent in the course of the industrial revolution are probably the most significant of all. They have far reaching consequences for the postmodern family. The nature of these changes, their origin and, more importantly, their impact on the postmodern family will be dealt with in the second part of this chapter. I will begin this part by scrutinising the pre-industrial family, its structure and functions and then study the industrial revolution and the transformations it brought which, as I will show, affected the structure of the family only indirectly. My main interest is, however,

to expose the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family and its impact on the structure of the family. Finally, by comparing the pre-industrial family with its postmodern pendant, I deal with the implications of the structural changes, i.e. the division of labour for the postmodern family. For, as I will show, it affects all its members, albeit at varying degrees.

My investigation is guided by the second research question:

What is the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and what functions does it have?

In an attempt to answer it I state **Hypothesis 2:**

That the postmodern patriarchal family consists of a husband-breadwinner, his semi-dependent/dependent wife who is in charge of the children and domestic work, and their dependent children; it is characterised by male supremacy. Its functions are: to provide human beings with a common identity, to meet its members' daily needs, to care for them and love them, to teach them social skills and to serve as an 'income pooling unit.'

2.2 Defining the object of study

2.2.1 What is the family?

Once again my starting point is feminisms. My definition of the family is therefore anchored in these. As I noted above, Friedrich Engels (1972), a proponent of socialist feminism traces the family back to Roman times where *famila* referred to all the slaves that belonged to one man (p.121). He likens *famila* to the modern family where the wife is enslaved to domestic work and her husband. The husband earns the family's living and has therefore power over her and the children (Ibid., p.137). This type of family is thus characterised by male supremacy which finds expression in the hierarchical structure of male/female and old/young. This is what is meant by the patriarchal family. It is, in Kate Millet's words, "patriarchy's chief institution"

(Millet 1977, p.33). Male supremacy finds expression, for example, in the family name which is usually that of the husband through which every member is defined. There are, of course, variations of the patriarchal family, such as the polygamous family or the three generation family which consist of a husband, his wife, children and parents. The patriarchal family is usually, but not necessarily, part of capitalist patriarchal society that considers males to be the norm and values paid work outside of the home while devaluing domestic unpaid labour. As can be seen from former socialist countries such as Russia and East Germany, the patriarchal family exists also outside of capitalist systems. What is decisive for the prevalence of the patriarchal family is therefore not indispensably what kind of economic system its society employs but that its society is itself patriarchal, i.e. it is characterised by male supremacy. The patriarchal family is thus defined: It consists of a husband-breadwinner, a wife-mother who engages in domestic unpaid work and who may or may not subsidise the family income with paid work and their dependent children. Its distinguishing feature is male supremacy, i.e. the rule of men over women.

In the following I uncover the four most common myths surrounding the patriarchal family. To be true to my definition of the patriarchal family I will use the term where appropriate.

2.2.2 Uncovering the myths surrounding the universal patriarchal family

Myths, according to Collins English Dictionary (1998) refer to a thing or person “whose existence is fictional or unproven” (p.1029). Another definition is provided by C. Stephen Evans (1996), who identifies four types of myths, each serving a different function which can also be combined. 1) Myths are pre-scientific explanations of natural phenomena which are only “mistaken explanations.” 2) Myths reinforce people’s identity and illuminate ritual practice. 3) Myths

embody “psychological truth.” 4) Myths are narratives which convey a metaphysical truth (pp.49-50).

I propose that there are a number of myths surrounding the postmodern universal patriarchal family whose functions correspond to those suggested by C. Stephen Evans. Firstly, in a technocratic age where divorce, cohabitation, single-parenthood, teenage pregnancies, promiscuity and abortions prevail, the pre-industrial patriarchal family is depicted as a harmonious, stable and caring safe haven. In other words, the ideal of the universal patriarchal family is projected back into the past and onto the pre-industrial family which is believed to be everything the postmodern patriarchal family is not. Secondly, the patriarchal family is the context into which most human beings are born, where they grow up and eventually die. It is also the preserver and transmitter of those traditions which give meaning to their life. It is within the context of the patriarchal family that human beings live and so the context - which is the patriarchal family - becomes the meaning of their life. Being a member of a patriarchal family or forming one's own family is therefore part of every human being's collective identity. Thirdly, it is commonly believed that true love and security are only found in the patriarchal family. The need of human beings to belong to a group of people who love them, take care of them and protect them from an evil world may be real, but the claim that it can only be sufficiently met by the patriarchal family is a myth. Fourthly, in postmodern societies where faith is often replaced by doubt, the patriarchal family becomes a quasi-religious symbol of love, hope, faith, personal security and care. The myth of the universal patriarchal family also claims that having children will make human beings immortal as their genes are passed on to the next generations. In this sense it expresses a kind of metaphysical truth.

I will now examine and demythologise the four most common myths surrounding the patriarchal family with the intention of defining it more closely.

2.2.2.1 The myth of the universal patriarchal family

The patriarchal family is not, as the word suggests, a single unit nor is it a universal phenomenon. There are in fact several different types of families and scholars have devoted much time to defining and labelling them accurately: 1) The family household comprises at least one adult who shares a dwelling place with either a spouse, children or other relatives. Married couples with or without children and single parents who maintain a household are all classed as 'family households'. 2) The one family household consists of a single adult who is not yet married, divorced or widowed; she or he may share the household with unrelated adults (Leslie & Korman 1989, p.18). World wide there is in fact an increase in single-parent households of which ninety per cent are headed by women (O'Connell 1994, p.4). This trend is also reflected in Great Britain where a fifth of dependent children lived in single family households in 2002 which is almost twice as many as it was twenty-one years earlier (National Statistics 2000d, p.1). 3) Extended families are run by a male and his wife/wives and the son's household/s which is the traditional and most common type of family in most countries in west Africa. In many African cultures polygyny is practised whereas polyandry is common among the poor in the Dominican Republic. In her research Susan E. Brown (1975) found that the multi mating pattern for women provides them "with a better existence than the single-mate pattern would" (p.324). It is significant here that the women's mates are absent most of the time. As O'Connell (1994) points out, in southern Africa, for example, "as many as forty to sixty per cent of spouses are separated at any one time" (p.4). 4) The three-generation family, which is the dominant type in Japan, consists of a son and his family and

that of his parents. The son who usually inherits the family property stays in the parental home and forms a single household (Ibid., p.3).

5) Single households with no children are on the increase in western countries. In Britain twenty-eight per cent of all households lived alone in 2000 which is three times more than in 1960 (BBC News Online 2000a, p.1). 6) The number of homosexual couples is also growing. In Canada, for example, 0.5 per cent of all couples were homosexuals in 2001 (Statistics Canada 2002, p.3). There is also an increasing number of homosexual couples who raise children. Nevertheless the patriarchal family is the predominant family type. As I have noted before the term gives the impression that it has universal application when in fact it does not. Even within Europe and North America there are many diverse cultures and family types differ between ethnic and religious communities (O'Connell 1994, pp.3-4). The claim that the patriarchal family as it is known today, comprising a wife, her husband and their children, is a universal phenomenon, is thus erroneous. It is a myth.

2.2.2.2 The myth of the unchanging patriarchal family

Contrary to the images of the media that portray the patriarchal family as ever young and static, the patriarchal family is in reality in constant flux. All its members go through the life cycle. They are born, grow up, leave it to form their own (patriarchal) family and die (Gittins 1993, p.167). In western societies the patriarchal family is threatened by death, terminal illnesses and, above all, divorce. In Great Britain the number of divorces in 2002 went up by 1.9 per cent from the previous year (National Statistics 2003a, p.1). Part of the reason is that divorce has become more accessible through the 1969 Divorce Reform Act as Ronald Fletcher (1988) notes. It came into effect two years later and as a result the divorce rate doubled (National Statistics 2003a, p.1). But Fletcher (1988) warns:

that the increase in divorce following any particular piece of legislation can often be no more than evidence of an overdue *legal recognition* of a *social actuality* (p.12).

Divorce is not only a traumatic event in the life of the adults concerned but also in the life of children. However, I do not propose that the psychological damage children suffer from a divorce is beyond repair. Such a standpoint would suggest that human beings are forever the victims of their past. This view is not only a denial of human rationality but accords childhood more importance than any other period of life. It is widely accepted though that children whose parents divorce suffer immensely. They often find themselves caught between their parents. What is most distressing though is that many children blame themselves for their parent's divorce. Couples also suffer from the effects of divorce which can be quite painful. Divorce is therefore not just a very real threat to patriarchal families today but its impact on those concerned can be quite traumatising. Stability is therefore not a characteristic of the modern patriarchal family. The myth of the unchanging patriarchal family therefore is just that: a myth.

2.2.2.3 The myth of the patriarchal family as the exclusive realm of love and security

Most human beings are born into a (patriarchal) family and even though they might have had a difficult childhood with parents who beat them or sexually abused them, they still long for the security and love of their own (patriarchal) family. The reason for this paradox is that the myth of the patriarchal family wants human beings to believe that they will never find love unless they "participate in this family" (Hite 1995, p.365). Part of the problem is, according to Shere Hite, that the patriarchal family is regarded as holy and that it is the only locus of true love and affection. Therefore everyone wants to be part of it. For her the patriarchal family in the western tradition is based upon the archetypes which are the holy icons of Mary, Joseph and Jesus. The absence of a daughter archetype is significant (Ibid., p.365).

Another icon people turn to is marriage. It is invariably linked to the patriarchal family. Marriage is in fact the *raison d'être* and the foundation of the patriarchal family (Fletcher 1988, p.32). Motherhood is also an icon. It is idealised as something which is not only – and supposedly - desired by all women but which is the fulfilment of womanhood. Yet the claim that all women have some kind of maternal instinct is simply unfounded as Diana Gittins (1993) argues. Instead motherhood is socially constructed from the moment a woman gives birth (p.67). That motherhood has an ideal context which is marriage and the patriarchal family, is also a social construction. Teenage mothers and single mothers, however capable, cannot therefore live up to the motherhood ideal. In Britain, for instance, in spring 2002 six per cent, of all households, i.e. 3.5 million, were single parent households (National Statistics 2003b, p.1). These figures provide evidence for the assertion that motherhood but also fatherhood are possible outside the context of the patriarchal family.

Contrary to the myth of the family as the only place of love and security, the patriarchal family is often also “a locus of *struggle*” and sometimes violence and not “an active agent with unified interests” as Heidi I. Hartmann (1981, p.368) argues. For instance, child abuse was for the first time recognised in the 1870s and ten years later thirty-three Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children were established in the USA alone, and about fifteen elsewhere (Gordon 1985, p.213). Despite their efforts child abuse continues today. For example, in a study published in 2003 the United Nations Children’s Fund found that two children under fifteen die in the UK each week as a result of maltreatment (Press Association 2003). Children are also often the victims of sexual abuse mainly by their fathers or other male relatives. Violence against women also takes place within the patriarchal family. In 2002 the Council of Europe analysed ten “domestic violence prevalence studies” and found that one in

four women are the victims of domestic violence in their life time. And the British Crime Survey from 2001/2002 brought to light that of the 635.000 estimated incidents of domestic violence in England and Wales eighty-one per cent of the victims were women and the remaining nineteen per cent were men (Women's Aid 2003, p.1). That the patriarchal family is the exclusive realm of love and security is therefore only a myth.

2.2.2.4 The myth of the patriarchal family as an independent unit of society

One myth of the patriarchal family also claims that it is a safe haven in a dangerous, unstable society, the pillar of society and the upholder of values and traditions. This, according to Diane Gittins (1993), is contradictory because “an institution that is a pillar of society obviously cannot at the same time be a refuge from it. In fact, the notion of its being a refuge only appeals to men” (p.166).

Another contradiction becomes apparent: While the patriarchal family is glorified as a refuge from society, it is at the same time held responsible for the increase in juvenile crime, teenage pregnancies, drug and alcohol abuse among young people, decline in moral values and the increase in divorce. This viewpoint does not only fail to recognise the interconnection between society and families but also ignores other factors such unemployment, social class, lack of education and the shortcomings of the education system. It is simply not tenable to treat the two as separate ‘entities’ as Kenneth Keniston (1985) argues:

For families are not now, nor were they ever, the self-sufficient building blocks of society, exclusively responsible, praiseworthy, and blameable for their own destiny. They are deeply influenced by broad social and economic forces over which they have little control (p.28).

To state the obvious: Society is the sum of all those who are/were in one way or another members of a (patriarchal) family. They affect society and are, in turn, affected by it.

Both are mutually dependent upon each other. The patriarchal family therefore cannot be an independent unit of society.

2.2.3 Summary

In the previous section I defined the term ‘patriarchal family’ more closely by uncovering the most common myths surrounding it. Firstly, there are many different types of families such as single-parent and three-generation families so that there is no such thing as the universal patriarchal family. Secondly, every member of the patriarchal family goes through the life-cycle so that it is in constant flux. Therefore the patriarchal family is not, as the myth suggests, unchanging. Thirdly, contrary to the myth of the patriarchal family as the exclusive realm of love and security, it is instead “a locus of *struggle*”, a place where children are neglected and sexually abused and wives and sometimes husbands are beaten (Hartmann 1981, p.368). Fourthly and finally, the patriarchal family is the smallest unit of society. Its members influence and shape it and are, in turn, influenced and shaped by society.

My demythologising of the myths surrounding the patriarchal family has exposed its negative side. However, there is also a positive side because each myth, although fictional and unproven, holds some form of truth. While it is certain that the patriarchal family is not a universal phenomenon, other family types – single-household, extended or same sex – provide valid, if not better alternatives. This reflects the diversity inherent in human beings which, I propose, is one of their strongest features. I will return to this point later. That the patriarchal family is constantly changing is in fact a positive feature which once again reflects human nature. Although it has the potential to inflict suffering on its members, it is nevertheless a social unit that provides them with food, shelter, warmth, security and, ideally, love. These are its primary functions. So while it is fair to say that the patriarchal family is “a locus of

struggle” it is also right to say that it is a locus of *harmony*. These two opposites are not mutually exclusive which seems to apply also to the other opposites that characterise the patriarchal family. It appears then that the patriarchal family is characterised by a number of contradictions. This has to be borne in mind when examining structural changes of the family and its role in sex-gender stereotyping. It is to the former that I will now turn.

2.3 The influence of the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family on the structure of the patriarchal family

During the past 200 years or so western societies have undergone drastic changes. The present era is often referred to as postmodernism which is not so much a movement as a feeling of ambiguity and uncertainty. According to Michel Foucault, for instance, the loss of meta-narratives such as Marxism and Freudianism is responsible for this feeling. These have been replaced by micro-narratives which are all equally valid. As these exist side by side, relativism, fragmentation, ephemerality and discontinuity ensue (Harvey 1992, pp.44-45). These features of postmodernism are reflected, for example, in the different types of families that currently exist alongside their patriarchal pendant.

As the smallest social unit of society, the patriarchal family as it is known today has also undergone considerable changes over the centuries. Some of its most significant structural changes coincided, as I am about to show, with the industrial revolution although they are not a direct result of it. The predominant structure of the present-day patriarchal family which consists of a husband-breadwinner, the wife-mother who either supplements the family income or not and their dependent children can thus be traced back to these changes. This structure ultimately affects the relationship between all members of the patriarchal family and thus plays an important part in sex-gender stereotyping. In the following I will compare the

pre-industrial patriarchal family with its post-industrial counterpart and the postmodern patriarchal family to establish which structural changes took effect and what kind of factors contributed to these changes. The underlying aim is to delineate the functions of the patriarchal family still further. Once these are clearly demarcated, I will deal with its role in sex-gender stereotyping.

2.3.1 The pre-industrial patriarchal family

It is a commonly held belief that the pre-industrial patriarchal family was larger than its modern counterpart. Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Seidler (1982) examined data from numerous counties and communities in England between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century. Their findings suggest that the mean household size from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth century was approximately 4.75 in comparison to today's average of 3.04 (p.27). The average household size in England prior to the industrial revolution deviates only slightly from that of today's patriarchal families. However, for brief periods patriarchal families in pre-industrial western societies were indeed larger. Wrigley and Schofield collected data of thirteen English parishes between 1600 and 1799. According to their findings, women and men married later: women between the age of twenty-five and twenty-six and men between twenty-seven and twenty-eight. By the time a woman reached forty she would have had seven or eight children; of these only five were likely to survive until they were fifteen. By then the oldest children would have left the household to work as servants or apprentices. The maximum size of a patriarchal family before the industrial revolution would therefore have been seven - that is, provided they all lived that long (Goldthorpe 1987, p.20).

Life in pre-industrial society in western Europe was fraught with danger. Only few were wealthy while the majority lived in poverty. The poor lived in small, cold and over-

crowded houses. From a medical point of view too, people were very vulnerable. In hot summers children often contracted gastrointestinal infections and died while the elderly were especially vulnerable in cold winters where they caught pneumonia or bronchitis. Diseases like smallpox and the plague could easily become endemic and wipe out whole villages (Ibid., p.18). Death was thus a real threat that permeated life. Due to the high mortality rate the pre-industrial patriarchal family was no more stable than its postmodern counterpart (Gittins 1993, p.9).

Before the industrial revolution the majority of people lived and worked in rural areas. To secure the survival of the patriarchal family everyone who was old enough had to do their share. In agriculture women were primarily responsible for the dairy, the orchard, the poultry, brewing, cooking, baking and the buying and selling of produce. Men's main responsibilities were fieldwork and paid work, e.g. during harvest (Ibid., p.14). Child care involved not only the mother but also older siblings and happened 'alongside' the daily chores; it thus had a rather informal character. The early period of the family life cycle when children were still too young to help their parents with the various tasks, posed special problems. It was common practice for children between the age of fifteen and twenty-four to be sent to kin-families where they worked as servants (Ibid., p.15). This relieved families of the stress of having to deal with their own adolescent children.

2.3.2 The industrial revolution and the patriarchal family

The industrial revolution was not an overnight event nor did it happen everywhere at the same time. In Britain, for instance, its official starting date is 1760 but important inventions like the steam engine already existed long before that time (Goldthorpe 1987, p.17). In addition, some trades were mechanised later whereas important industries like boot and shoe

making were not mechanised at all during the nineteenth century. Urbanisation too was uneven in its development. Exeter and Norwich, for example, lost their importance and decreased in size (Gittins 1993, p.21). Nevertheless the industrial revolution had an effect on people's life - and thus on the family.

As John Ernest Goldthorpe (1987) points out, the relationship between the industrial revolution and population trends was rather complex. In the early eighteenth century agricultural improvements such as new crops and crop rotation reduced the "subsistence crisis mortality" from local famines; the result was a general fall in the death rate (p.29). Agricultural improvements coincided with innovations in medicine which led, among other things, to better advice about breast-feeding. At the same time Britain saw a rise in fertility. The fall of the death rate, rise in fertility and general improvements in agriculture and medicine led to gradual changes in the structure of the family. Goldthorpe concludes that the western patriarchal family as we know it today is therefore not the creation of the industrial revolution (Ibid., p.34).

As a consequence of all these factors the population of Wales and England increased from about six million to nine million between 1700 and 1800; one hundred years later Britain's population had reached thirty-seven million (Gittins 1993, p.21). As a result of the steadily growing population there was immense pressure on resources. Land which used to belong to numerous small and medium landholders, was increasingly taken over by the wealthy. Commons that once were free for the poor to use were enclosed. This affected especially women who used the commons to graze their cattle and poultry and gather fuel and herbs. Gittins describes what effect this had on them:

The demise of this form of livelihood as a result of enclosure meant that the survival for widows or single women was more difficult than ever, particularly as the wages they could earn were only a fraction of those a man could command. Women were therefore less able to survive independently, and were becoming more dependent than ever on marriage and wage labour (Ibid., p.23).

2.3.2.1 The emergence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family

Peasantry ceased to exist in Britain as early as the eighteenth century while wage labour increased. But wage labour did not bring affluence. Instead, wages were so low that every member of the family who was old and well enough to work had to contribute. Adolescent children who used to be sent away to kin patriarchal families before the industrial revolution, now tended to stay with their patriarchal families (Ibid., p.24). Initially then, the separation of work and home equally affected men, women and children. However, in the first half of the eighteenth century, between 1780 and 1850, there emerged a patriarchal middle class ideology of the family which built upon the separation of work and home and which carefully demarcated the roles of women, men and children. This coincided with workers unions' demand of a family wage which would pay a man enough to feed his wife and children (Gittins 1993, p.26-27). As the industrial revolution progressed the middle class became increasingly wealthy, influential and powerful - not least because of the abundance of cheap labour. Gittins suggests that they wanted to set themselves aside from the rest of society and thus began to develop their own distinct values and ideals (Ibid., p.32). No doubt, the desire to control the ever increasing number of working class patriarchal families was another motive behind the development of the middle class philosophy.

In the 1840s the middle class attempted to impose their new-found values onto the working class. The 1842 Mines Act, for example, made it illegal for women and children to work underground in the mines. The act was not so much concerned with their health and

safety as with the moral dangers they would cause when working underground. Gittins remarks that conditions underground were hot and sweaty and that both female and male workers would wear few clothes. This “was seen as the epitome of immorality and potential pollution” (Ibid., p.141). Linda Gordon (1985) gives another illustration of how the middle classes sought to impose their values onto the working class. In the USA, for instance, in the 1870s the newly founded Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children integrated the patriarchal middle class’ family ideology into their philosophy. According to this philosophy the father was the sole breadwinner who was “much less involved in child raising than had been customary in, say, peasant or artisan families” while the mother was solely responsible for their children, who, ideally, would be in full time education (p.215). Gordon also reports of the SPCC in Massachusetts which did not approve of working class children being left unsupervised, especially not on the streets since this was not common for middle class children. Rather they were expected to be with their mothers who “were supposed to be tender, gentle, and protective of their children” (Ibid., p.215). Such efforts to protect children also served “to control and reform *adult* behaviour, and particularly to enforce or re-enforce a particular adult sexual division of labour” (Ibid., p.216).

It becomes apparent then that behind this attempt “to control and reform adult behaviour” was the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family. In fact, the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family was, as Diana Gittins (1993) suggests, “the linchpin of their new philosophy” (p.32). Within this new philosophy children too were to play a certain role which once again was modelled on the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family. In 1870 Forster’s Education Act made primary schooling compulsory. As a result young children were excluded from the labour force; this in turn made them even more dependent on their parents

for food, shelter and protection (Gittins 1993, p.143). Yet behind this Act was not the concern for the health of children under ten but the need of the middle class to bring up new generations of docile male workers and domesticated future mothers. Girls were taught domestic skills like cooking and needlework, while boys were taught gardening and carpentry. The concept of childhood was thus more rigidly defined and children were rendered even more dependent on their parents (Ibid., pp.143-144). By the same token motherhood was praised as a national and patriotic duty while working women were portrayed as bad and negligent mothers. The Poor Law Act of 1899 was another attempt by the middle class to impose its patriarchal ideology of the family onto the working class (Gittins 1993, p.145). According to the Act appointed guardians were able to remove children from working class patriarchal families if they were not brought up properly. The Act expected mothers to look after their children and thereby undermined the informal child care systems which were typical of the working class (Ibid., p.145).

2.3.2.2 The division of labour

As I noted before, central to the patriarchal ideology of the family was the division of labour between wives and husbands. Although labour division was already evident before the industrial revolution, it was not as punitive since home and work were not yet completely separate. However, the situation changed as the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family became increasingly influential. On marrying, women were immediately allocated unpaid domestic work while men engaged in paid work away from home. This happened in a system, i.e. capitalism, which recognised the monetary value of work while at the same time depending on the unpaid work women do at home (O'Connell 1994, p.50). Within this system men's dependence was of a different nature: they began to rely solely on their wives for look-

ing after the children and the household. Women, children and men therefore began to experience some form of dependence in the family, and “dependence” is, as Shulamith Firestone (1988) proposes, “the origin of inequality” (p.95). According to Heidi H. Hartmann (1981), the fast growing capitalist societies needed patriarchal family households as “income pooling units.” Even though they treated the patriarchal family as a unit, it was in fact only the husband whose time and skills were valuable for capitalist society (p.374). To treat the patriarchal family as a unit is therefore integral to consumer-oriented capitalist societies.

Every society exercises social control over its members to create a safe environment in which they can live. But social control is not confined to the area of individual safety. Instead it is, as James M. Henslin (1985) postulates, “so pervasive that it affects almost every aspect of life” (pp.8-9). The patriarchal ideology of the family emerged as a means of social control. Henslin explains:

Because the excessive withdrawal of some persons from the activities and interests of the larger sociocultural unit would threaten the collectivization of resources, each society attempts to control the excessiveness of paired involvements (Ibid., p.9).

In other words, society exercises social control over people’s sex drive, intimate relationships and reproduction. For patriarchal western societies this means that intimate relationships between women and men are expected to lead to marriage and children are to be born and raised within the patriarchal family. Henslin elaborates:

This centrality to society of the social control of the sex drive becomes apparent when we note that, among other things, marriage and family represent a means of reducing sexual competition, encouraging co-operation, providing a regularized and socially acceptable sexual outlet while reducing erotic outlets deemed unacceptable, defining the responsibilities and privileges of social relationships, and bestowing major role identities such as husband and wife, son and daughter, parent and child (Ibid., p.10).

The patriarchal family is thus society's primary unit as it groups together its members in spite of their individual differences, thereby making it more accessible to social control.

To summarise, my examination of the pre-industrial and industrial patriarchal family has shown that the patriarchal family as we know it today was not the direct result of the industrial revolution. Nevertheless, the advances it brought in the areas of technology, agriculture and medicine were conducive to the development of a very different lifestyle which eventually led to changes in the structure of the patriarchal family. The patriarchal ideology of the family first originated with the middle class in the first half of the eighteenth century who sought to impose their new philosophy onto the working class. Central to this philosophy was a new understanding of the division of labour that confined women to the roles of housewife and mother and men to the role of breadwinner.

2.3.3 The influence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family on the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family

As I mentioned earlier, in pre-industrial times each member of the patriarchal peasant family had to follow her or his specific tasks. While women were usually in charge of domestic chores, the dairy, poultry and of buying and selling of their produce, men toiled the land or engaged in wage labour on the fields. Children were brought up by the mother and by older siblings alongside the daily tasks. The division of labour between wives and husbands today shows similarities and at the same time marked differences. In pre-industrial times women's labour was a vital contribution to the family income, especially at times when there was no wage work for their husbands. In contrast, the income of today's employed women in most cases only subsidises the husbands' income. The most striking difference between the pre-industrial patriarchal family and today's western patriarchal family is, however, the separation

of work and home. In the rural communities of pre-industrial Europe, life evolved around the home where wife, husband and children lived, acquired skills and worked. The pre-industrial patriarchal family was therefore very much an economic unit in which every member had an important role to play whereas the present patriarchal family is concerned

with activities to do with shelter, domestic companionship, sexual gratification, child-rearing and socialisation and entertainment. The concern of the companionate family is for the interpersonal needs of its members (Toomy 1989, p.391).

This is not to say that the pre-industrial patriarchal family was less caring. Rather, its primary concern was economic survival which would make the survival of the next generations more likely.

The separation of home and work has differential consequences for men and women. In a society that values paid work more than unpaid work, women's domestic work is devalued and often not acknowledged. This, in turn, may negatively affect their power and influence in the patriarchal family (Okin 1987, p.150). Despite this married women may derive meaning and status from being primarily wives and mothers in a society where this kind of labour division is ubiquitous. This labour division is also evident at work where women often experience discrimination and do not have the same opportunities to gain access to highly paid, powerful positions. This view is supported by Mary C. Noonan (2001) who argues that women's housework involves tasks such as child care, cooking and cleaning which are ordinarily performed on a regular basis and at certain times. These may therefore "act as a barrier to the accumulation of experience and seniority at work" (p.1136). She analysed statistics for married men and women about household chores in the United States and came to the conclusion that the reward structure which society promotes includes "continuous employment and long and inflexible hours" that are inconsistent with women's domestic work (Ibid., p.1143).

While their daily involvement with children and domestic tasks teaches women vital skills such as caring, nurturing, mediating and organising, their absence from senior jobs keeps them from further developing their self-esteem, self-confidence and self-assertion.

The division of labour in the patriarchal family affects men in a different way. On the one hand they are solely or largely responsible for the provision of their family's daily needs which may be quite a burden on them. On the other hand, their task as (main) breadwinner means that they are much less involved in raising their children and in domestic work. While their paid employment may provide them with useful managerial or technical skills, their lack of involvement at home deprives them of skills that have to do with caring and nurturing.

In pre-industrial times children too had to contribute to the family income. As I have shown, it was also common practice to send adolescents away to work as servants in kin-families where they acquired practical skills and learned to be independent. Today children are not active members of a productive agricultural family group. Instead they are in full time education until the age of sixteen. In addition, children today receive more attention and special treatment than they did prior to the industrial revolution. Childhood emerged as a new concept in the 17th century and thus marked the beginning of the childhood cult. Children were given special toys and girls and boys were dressed differently. When the middle class gained power and influence over the working class during the industrial revolution, it adopted the cult and built upon it. The cult reflected its family ideals and became an integral part of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family (Firestone 1988, pp.78-81). I propose that the childhood cult escalated with the growth of capitalism and its ensuing consumerism.

In Britain there is no law that specifies at what age children may be left unsupervised. However, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children recommends that children

under twelve should not be left at home or anywhere else without adequate supervision. (BUPA 2002). This is hard to believe in view of that fact that children in pre-industrial England were sent away at about that age and were entrusted with tasks which involved independent thinking and responsibility. Today, children are constantly chaperoned and supervised. Moreover, few children do household chores on a regular basis and, instead, are waited upon by their mothers (and in some cases also by their fathers) which prevents them from acquiring useful skills. It appears then that the childhood cult deprives children of the chance to learn independence and responsibility.

In consideration of the evidence then there emerges a picture of the patriarchal family which has been stripped of its economic function. The patriarchal family as it is known today is obviously not what its patriarchal ideology would like it to be. Rather, it is characterised by diversity, continuous change, labour division, power imbalance, dependency and injustice. Yet, ironically, its patriarchal ideology portrays it as uniform, stable, hierarchical but at the same time fair, independent of society and just. Obviously the problem is that there is a gap between reality and ideology which widens as the latter becomes stronger (Gittins 1993, p.166).

The question that arises is, *why* did the ideology of the patriarchal family become stronger over time. I propose that the increasing feeling of uncertainty and ambiguity, fragmentation, ephemerality and discontinuity which is characteristic of postmodernism, creates a fertile soil, so to speak, for myths and ideologies which provide some measure of faith and certainty in the midst of doubt and relativism. What makes the patriarchal ideology of the family so attractive and popular is its claim to universality. Gittins elaborates:

But the all-encompassing and yet elusive concept of the family makes it appear both as a universally shared experience and a goal which all can, and should, achieve - regardless of economic circumstances - even if its realisation remains obscure. Its strength and endurance as an ideology lies in its appearance as a universal experience not specific to a particular class. In this way it comes to have what amounts to a religious character: it is (in theory) open to all and, through “good works”, that is a well ordered family life, salvation can be achieved by all (Ibid., p.158).

The patriarchal ideology of the family is, as I have shown, based on conservative premises. In a confused postmodern world, where much is permissible or at least acceptable, it is precisely this conservatism which makes the patriarchal family ideology so appealing. It is thus not surprising that religious leaders, politicians and educators appeal to the patriarchal family as the primary, stable and traditional unit of society and, as their expectations of the patriarchal family grow, the gap between reality and ideology widens. On the other hand, the more the gap between reality and ideology widens, the more the expectations increase. What is problematic then is not only the hierarchical structure of the patriarchal postmodern family but also the all-pervasive patriarchal ideology of the family. It permeates all areas of life and exercises power over all members of the family while at the same time ensuring the perpetuation of its values from generation to generation.

The patriarchal ideology of the family presents itself as the status quo and for this reason it is rarely challenged. This applies to all of society’s institutions and organisations, including education. For instance, subject choice at school and other educational institutions is also heavily informed by it. Alison Kelly et al. (1982) carried out a study about sex-gender roles at home and at school. They interviewed the parents of 116 first year pupils at an urban comprehensive school about their educational and occupational aspirations of their children, about sex-gender equality and children’s activities outside school (Ibid., p.281). Their findings suggest that parents’ own sex-gender stereotyped attitudes as expressed, for instance, in

the division of domestic labour, have a strong influence on their children's subject choice even though most of them also displayed an egalitarian attitude (Ibid., p.287). The ideology of the patriarchal family thus seems to perpetuate itself despite the fact that it coexists with its opposite, the ideology of equality as Kelly et al. elaborate:

Parents' ideas and behaviours are often contradictory; the same is true at school where a formal ideology of equality often coexists with sex-stereotyped expectations from teachers. Moreover sex differences at school are not merely reproduced from home; they are reconstituted. At home sex differentiation takes the form of different household tasks and spare-time activities. At school this is transformed into different subject choices in a way which is by no means clear, but is certainly not a simple reflection of parental wishes (Ibid., p.294).

There is thus a discrepancy between theory and praxis as both ideologies exist side by side. In addition, it seems that at home and at school both are interpreted in different ways. Yet of the two ideologies the patriarchal ideology appears to be the stronger and the more pervasive. In view of the prevalent sexism in schools there seems to be no other explanation. For this reason it is paramount that the patriarchal ideology of the family is exposed and challenged in education in general and schools in particular. For where sexism-genderism operates, boys, but especially girls, experience discrimination, and their chances to reach their full potential are reduced from the start. Religious education too must communicate the dangers of the patriarchal ideology of the family to its pupils. This is particularly important *because* the family is at the centre of most religious traditions. As I mentioned above, due to the structure of the patriarchal family, children often do not learn responsibility and independence until much later. This shortcoming too needs to be addressed by education. I will return to this point in chapters 4 to 6.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I defined the meaning of the term ‘patriarchal family’ from a feminist perspective. According to this definition the patriarchal family consists of a husband who earns the family wage, his dependent or semi-dependent wife and their dependent children. Other forms of the patriarchal family such as the three generation family also exist. It is characterised by male supremacy and is ordinarily part of a patriarchal society whose economic system may be capitalist or socialist. As I demonstrated, several myths surround the patriarchal family. These reinforces people’s identity, embody “psychological truth” by claiming that true love can not be found outside of it and serve as a quasi-religious symbol of hope and love. The four most common myths surrounding the patriarchal family – that it is universal, unchanging, the exclusive realm of love and security and an independent unit of society – are not only myths but also contain some truth. The patriarchal family is thus characterised by a number of contradictions: It is at once a place of love and hate, struggle and harmony, security and violence, continuity and change, and even though it is inextricably linked to society it provides a refuge from it.

The pre-industrial patriarchal family was, as I have shown, very different from its postmodern counterpart. All its members, except for very small children, had to contribute to the family income. The patriarchal middle class ideology of the family that coincided with the industrial revolution changed this structure by introducing a rigid division of labour. According to this ideology, the patriarchal family was headed by the husband who earned the family wage, then followed the wife who was in charge of the children and domestic work and, at the bottom end of the hierarchy were the dependent children who were in full time education.

This new division of labour deprived the patriarchal family of one of its functions; it no longer was an economic unit.

This labour division still prevails in postmodern times but in contrast to post-industrial times, women in today's patriarchal family often subsidise the husband's income. Nevertheless, women's and children's financial dependency on men in combination with the prevailing male supremacy puts both in a vulnerable position. Some men misuse their power position which may lead them to abuse their wives and children as I pointed out in section 2.2.2.3. But both women and men suffer as a result of the division of labour. To reiterate, women who are primarily in charge of the children and time-consuming domestic work so that they cannot pursue a career of their own, may not be able to further develop their self-assertion, self-confidence and self-esteem while men as the main breadwinners may not have the chance to develop skills that have to do with caring and nurturing. Children who are at the bottom end of the hierarchy are bound to feel helpless and dependent on both the parents as they often do not have a task within the patriarchal family. Since they often stay in the parents' home till they have finished school, they learn responsibility and independence much later than their pre-industrial pendants. The structure of the present patriarchal family is therefore characterised by inequality, sexism-genderism, dualisms such as men/women and old/young and continuous tension between its members. Its functions can be summarised as follows: firstly, to give human beings a common identity; secondly, to provide its members with food, drink, shelter, clothes, etc.; thirdly, to give them security and, ideally, love; fourthly, to teach them social skills; and, fifthly, to serve as an 'income pooling unit.'

In closing this chapter I repeat the second research question which guided my enquiry:

What is the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and what functions does it have?

After close examination of the influence of the industrialisation and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family I believe I have sufficiently answered it and therefore re-state **Hypothesis 2:**

That the postmodern patriarchal family consists of a husband-breadwinner, his semi-dependent/dependent wife who is in charge of the children and domestic work, and their dependent children; it is characterised by male supremacy. Its functions are: to provide human beings with a common identity, to meet its members' daily needs, to care for them and love them, to teach them social skills and to serve as an 'income pooling unit.'

*

Having analysed the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and established its functions, I now turn to the role of the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping.

3. The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping with special reference to learning theories and psycho-social research

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I investigated the structural changes in the patriarchal family against the backdrop of the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family. The investigation brought to attention the unequal division of labour between husband and wife which prevails in postmodern patriarchal families. My investigation also disclosed that the functions of the postmodern patriarchal family changed as a result. With the exception of family businesses, it is no longer an economic unit but primarily serves to look after its members' physical and emotional needs.

The patriarchal family is, as my research into feminist psychology revealed, directly involved in creating and re-creating sex-gender differences. However, so far it is not clear how sex-gender identity is learned and how exactly sex-gender stereotyping takes place. The first part of the present chapter is therefore dedicated to these issues. I begin by defining what sex-gender stereotyping is and then examine two learning theories to establish how girls and boys learn the behaviours and actions that are deemed appropriate to their sex-gender. I will then turn to psycho-social research on the patriarchal family with the aim to show how girls and boys feel about sex-gender stereotyping and what impact the patriarchal structure of the family has on them.

My present enquiry is guided by the third research question:

What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?

In an attempt to answer it I pose **Hypothesis 3:**

That the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play a key role in sex-gender development by passing the power imbalance between mother and father on to girls and boys thereby perpetuating both sex-gender stereotyping and patriarchy.

3.2 Defining the object of study

3.2.1 What is sex-gender stereotyping?

Stereotypes are “a set of inaccurate, simplistic generalizations about a group that allows others to categorize them and treat them accordingly” (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.1505). Sex-gender stereotypes are thus generalisations of the traits and behaviours commonly associated with each sex-gender.

My enquiry into the causes of sex-gender differences revealed that biology predisposes individuals toward learning certain types of behaviour which, in turn, inform popular beliefs about sex-gender differences “so that the innate tendencies help to produce the cultural lore that the child learns” (Maccoby & Jacklin 1974, p.364). Sex-gender stereotyping can thus be defined as teaching individuals about their appropriate behaviour, role, dress and appearance on the basis of their sex. It is directly and inextricably linked to sex-gender identity since it shapes and forms it. In other words, sex-gender identity can be said to be the result of sex-gender stereotyping.

Sex-gender stereotyping is not a unitary process firstly, because there is often a discrepancy between people’s notion of sex-gender identity, how they apply it to others and the relationship to their own sex-gender identity, and, secondly, because of a multiplicity of coexisting definitions. Sex-gender is, as Barrie Thorne (cited Jordan 1995) argues, continually created and recreated “through social interaction and collective practices” (p.74). Sex-gender

is therefore not static, it is, instead, in constant flux and must be learned and relearned again and again.

3.2.2 Sex-gender stereotyping in the patriarchal family: The example of housework

If sex-gender is not static, this too must apply to sex-gender stereotypes. Moreover, there are salient differences between female and male stereotypes as Janet Saltzman Chafetz (1991) points out:

Gender norms in such societies will assign to females behaviors and attributes that are of low social esteem and, more importantly, those that function to reinforce the gender division of labor and male dominance. Conversely, masculine norms will stress traits that are defined as socially valued and those associated with dominance - at least over women - and male segregated work roles. Moreover, the very assignment of a trait or behavior to masculinity enhances its social value, while the converse is true of femininity, given a gender ideology that defines femaleness as inferior to maleness (p.83).

My investigation into the structural changes of the patriarchal family revealed that masculine norms are reflected in the patriarchal family where the husband-breadwinner has power over his wife and children. While his work is rewarded with payment, his wife's domestic work is not. The injustices women suffer in the patriarchal family are also reflected in the *type* of housework they usually do. To recall, Mary C. Noonan (2001) analysed the household chores men and women engage in and found that women cook and look regularly after the children while men occasionally carry out household repairs (Ibid., p.1136). This is not to say that the patriarchal family has no egalitarian values. In their study concerning sex-gender roles at home and at schools Alison Kelly et al. (1982) asked 116 parents of year seven children if girls and boys should do the same household chores. Even though seventy-nine per cent of the parents answered with yes, seventy-two per cent of their daughters and only twenty-nine per cent of their sons washed the dishes regularly. Moreover, it turned out that the

role models which the parents provided were rather sex-gender stereotypical in spite of their good intentions. Eighty-seven per cent of mothers and only seventeen per cent of fathers cooked regularly and eighty per cent of mothers but only eight per cent of fathers cleaned the house regularly (pp.291-293). The sex-gender typical chores that girls and boys do are thus a reflection of their parents' role models.

There appears to be a discrepancy between what parents believe and what they practise. Parents seem to believe in equal opportunities for boys and girls but find it difficult to implement their beliefs at home. Their beliefs coexist with other values. Another study conducted by Thomas S. Weisner et al. (1994), who undertook research into domestic tasks in relation to sex-gender egalitarian values in conventional and non-conventional families, supports this claim.¹⁸ In some non-conventional families where household chores were equally shared between adults and children, children were less sex-gender stereotyped while in others they were not. Their overall findings suggest that parents' values and task assignment "compete with many other influences in shaping family task accommodation" (p.49). In addition, there is no unitary definition of sex-gender and each patriarchal family has its own distinct definitions and practices. This will have to be borne in mind whenever references to sex-gender are made.

¹⁸ Weisner et al. (1994) based their research, the so-called Family Lifestyles Project, on 156 non-conventional families since 1974-75 and a random comparison sample of fifty-one conventional families in the USA. (p.23).

3.3 The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping from the perspective of two learning theories

So far I have shown that sex-gender stereotypes are imposed and reinforced by society and the patriarchal family. What remains to be addressed is, how sex-gender identity is learned. To address this issue, I will depict two learning theories that focus on the acquisition of sex-gender: social learning theory and cognitive developmental theory. Each theory will be introduced, examined and criticised. The two learning theories are to a large extent based on empirical data which, I think, is problematic in the sense that interactions between subjects are studied in an artificial environment. The tasks which the subjects, who are young children, have to carry out are often artificial too. For this reason I will present in my last section the findings of the Hite Report on the Family. Growing Up Under Patriarchy (1995) that are based solely on questionnaires which adult subjects from a number of different countries have completed. Hite's findings present a psycho-social view of sex-gender stereotyping. They serve as a good counterbalance to the empirical studies to which the learning theories refer and thus complement my investigation into the influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender stereotyping.

3.3.1 Social learning theory

3.3.1.1 The development of sex-gender

According to social learning theory sex-gender identity is the result of a number of social influences. Children are exposed to stereotypical models in the patriarchal family, through peers, at school and, of course, through the media, especially television (Bussey & Bandura 1992, p.329). As children imitate various behaviours, only those that are sex-gender appropriate are encouraged and reinforced whereas sex-gender deviant behaviours are dis-

couraged and punished which results “in a generalised tendency to imitate all same-gendered ‘models’”(Oakley 1985, p.154).

Imitating same sex-gender models is central to this theory. Very young children engage in same sex-gender modelling as soon as they can discern between males and females in relation to their own sex-gender. Research conducted by Kay Bussey and Albert Bandura (1992), for example, provides evidence for the importance of same sex-gender modelling for developing a sex-gender identity. They wanted to establish whether children always choose same sex-gender models even if social factors are altered. Sixteen girls and sixteen boys aged three to five years and ten months from Stanford Nursery School, USA, were shown a video in which three male actors were portrayed as "powerful controllers of rewarding resources and three female models occupied a subordinate role" (p.335). The situation was reversed in a second condition. Children in the control condition were not shown the video but saw two cartoons instead. After the video the children were exposed to collective modeling and their actions and reactions were observed and recorded. If social power influences model choice, then "cross-sex modeling would be expected in those conditions in which models of the opposite sex are portrayed as wielders of social power" (Ibid., p.335) The results were remarkable: Both girls and boys emulated same sex-gender models more, but while girls seem to be less ready to emulate opposite sex-gender models, boys emulated female models *if* they commanded power (Ibid., p. 336). There emerged thus a salient difference between girls and boys in reference to model selection. Bussey and Bandura elaborate:

The stronger same-sex modelling shown by boys [...] presumably stems from boys' desire to adopt masculine behavior, and, simultaneously, to reject feminine behavior. Girls also adopt same-sex behavior, but not at the expense of rejecting behavior patterns modeled by the opposite sex (Ibid., p.336).

This is not to say that children only learn from the same sex-gender parent. Rather, they learn from both but select “what they express behaviorally” (Ibid., p.333). Yet, as Eleanor Emmons Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin (1974) argue, this is problematic where a parent is absent. Their meta-analysis of sex-gender differences revealed that boys are more sex-gender stereotyped than girls in spite of the father’s absence or non-involvement in early childhood (p.288). The role models are therefore not only limited to the patriarchal family but include other influential role models.

Modelling is not the only means by which sex-gender identity is learned. Maccoby’s and Jacklin’s meta-analysis uncovered that parents treat and dress girls and boys differently, and give them differential toys which they believe to be sex-gender appropriate. In addition, the study showed that boys receive more physical punishment and more positive feedback from their parents and that parents decide in which sex-gender typical activities their children will participate (Ibid., pp.327-329). At school too sex-gender appropriate behaviours are encouraged and reinforced. Sex-gender typical choices of games played during physical education lessons, for instance, clearly demarcate the activities schools deem appropriate for boys and girls. Netball is still a typical girl’s game while football is mainly played by boys. However, the socialisation process is, according to Maccoby and Jacklin, not the same for girls and boys:

Boys seem to have more intense socialization experiences than girls. They receive more pressure against engaging in sex-appropriate behaviors, whereas the activities that girls are not supposed to engage in are less clearly defined and less firmly enforced. Boys receive more punishment, but probably also more praise and encouragement. Adults respond as if they find boys more interesting, and more attention provoking (Ibid., p.348).

Despite these distinctions, both girls and boys develop their sex-gender identity in the same way, i.e. through a learning process “that is essentially the same as other learning proc-

esses” (Oakley 1985, p.154). Social learning theory thus maintains that the development of sex-gender identity is also a cognitive achievement. Hence children must first master certain cognitive achievements “before their sex-typing can to any significant degree be influenced by imitation of like-sex models” (Perry & Bussey 1992, p.348).

To sum up, social learning theory states that sex-gender appropriate behaviour is acquired through observation, imitation, socialisation and conscious learning. Central to the theory is same sex-gender modelling which plays key role in the development of sex-gender identity.

3.3.1.2 Some Criticisms

The main shortcoming of social learning theory is that it treats children as passive recipients ‘of environmental forces’ and not as active agents who strive to understand and organise the world around them (Bem 1992, p.382). Children are not, of course, ‘passive recipients’ but rather shape the world around them and are, in turn, shaped by it. The theory focuses too much on the environment and too little on individuals who seek to find their sex-gender role in the world.

Social learning theory also fails to deal comprehensively with the development of sex-gender identity in the different developmental stages human beings undergo. It is therefore at odds with its definition of sex-gender role development according to which sex-gender is also acquired through a learning process; as such it ultimately becomes more complex with age.

3.3.1.3 The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development

Social learning theory makes a vital contribution to the psychology of sex-gender by emphasising that a combination of factors such as modelling, reinforcement, socialisation and

conscious learning all play an important part in developing a sex-gender identity. Except for the last one, these measures are employed by society at large and by the patriarchal family. The latter is thus not solely responsible for creating and reinforcing sex-gender differences but it is highly influential as it provides powerful role models for the young. The family's major role models are mothers and fathers. Their respective roles are not only polarised according to their sex-gender, they are also usually characterised by inequity, injustice and power imbalance. Parents as role models are especially powerful because they are the first role models children encounter and because they are so close and emotionally attached to them. The domestic and paid work they do or do not do as women and men ultimately affects their children's perception of sex-gender appropriate behaviours. For example, research into sex-gender roles at home and at school¹⁹ seemed to suggest that parents' domestic responsibilities are mirrored by their children. In those cases where the mother bore the brunt of the housework, daughters did more housework than sons. But same sex-gender modelling is far more complex; other aspects are also involved. As Weisner et al. (1994)²⁰ discovered, children whose parents shared domestic tasks equally may or may not be more sex-gender stereotyped.

It becomes clear then that social forces outside of the family also play a part in sex-gender development. In patriarchal society male values are depicted as the norm at the expense of everything female. Experiments (e.g. Bussey & Bandura 1992, pp.335-336) have shown that boys are more stereotyped and are more inclined to imitate same sex-gender models *unless* opposite sex-gender models exercise power, in which case they emulate these models. Power thus appears to be an idiosyncratic feature of male sex-gender identity. These ex-

¹⁹ see section 3.2.2

periments thus support the claim that same sex-gender modelling – primarily but not exclusively in the patriarchal family - is crucial for the development of a sex-gender identity.

3.3.2 Cognitive developmental theory

3.3.2.1 The development of sex-gender

According to cognitive developmental theory gender is based on sexual differences between males and females (Oakley 1985, p.154). Children learn first of all whether they are girls or boys. In that sense the theory is cognitive and treats children as active agents who are, to some extent at least, in control of their environment. Lawrence Kohlberg²¹ (1967), elaborates:

Our theory, then, is cognitive in that it stresses the active nature of the child's thought as he [she] organises his [her] role perceptions and role learning around his [her] basic conceptions of his [her] body and his world (p.83).

Since children first of all see themselves as female or male, their sex-gender identity is the cause and not the product of "gender learning"(Stockard & Johnson 1991, p.168). At the age of three they normally know to which sex-gender they belong. Only later on are children able to label others correctly. Once they have formed their own sex-gender identity and learn that sex-gender and genital differences do not change, children begin to adopt sex-gender appropriate behaviours (Ibid., p.168). Kohlberg refers to this as gender constancy. This

consistency between the child's gender, self-categorization, and appropriate behaviors and values is thought to sustain the child's self-esteem (Bussey & Bandura 1992, p.329).

²⁰ see section 3.2.2

²¹ see section 1.5.1

The acquisition of sex-gender constancy is a long process. Kohlberg (1967) conducted an experiment whereby children aged four and six to seven were asked if a girl in a picture could be a boy if she wanted. The younger children answered 'yes' whereas the older children answered 'no' (p.95). Sex-gender constancy is thus usually achieved around the age of six or seven. Yet children as young as four and five are already aware that women and men differ in size and strength. Because they think in concrete terms, children link greater physical strength and size to social power (Ibid., p.101). As a result, children's stereotypes of masculine social power "develop largely out of this body stereotyping of size, age and competencies." Kohlberg finds support for his hypothesis from a number of studies which found that children agree that fathers are bigger and smarter than mothers (Ibid., p.102).

Identification also takes a prominent place in cognitive developmental theory but in contrast to social learning theory "sexual identifications with parents are primarily derivatives of the child's basic sexual identity and his [her] self-maintaining motives" (Ibid., p.88). Put differently, as soon as children know that they are male or female, they engage in activities and display behaviours that are expected of their sex-gender so that the opportunity to do these things is rewarding (Ibid., p.89). The importance of modelling and imitation is therefore only secondary to children's sex-gender identity since they first learn about their own sex-gender and only later about that of others, including their parents. Consequently, modelling and imitation do not depend on prior relationships between parents and children but as children imitate models, attachments develop (Ibid., p.133). However, identification is not the same for girls and boys. Boys prefer to imitate masculine role models because they are like them and because they attribute to them superior power and prestige (Ibid., p.136). Girls, on the other hand, identify with the mother throughout childhood. For them adult female stereo-

types are attractive since a female adult role is still superior to that of the child. Yet both roles are “inferior in power and competence” to male roles (Ibid., p.121). In contrast to boys, girls are more likely to imitate opposite sex-gender models.

To summarise, according to cognitive developmental theory, children first learn about their own sex-gender. When they have understood that sex-gender is invariant, their sex-gender identity develops further and, eventually, becomes constant. From this point onwards, children make conscious decisions about sex-gender appropriate actions and behaviours. Imitation and modelling are thus the result of these conscious choices.

3.3.2.2 Some criticisms

Cognitive developmental theory is rooted in biology. Children’s sex is decisive for the sex-gender identity they will develop. It does not deal with cases where children’s sex-gender identity does not correspond to their sex, as the example of Brenda/John illustrated. In this sense it is deterministic. The theory also claims that genital differences are linked to differences in body size and strength which, in turn, are connected with social power and status. Superior social power and strength are, however, only awarded to males. It does not question this imbalance of power nor does it attempt to look for its origins. Moreover, it fails to distinguish between nature and nurture, i.e. between the traits that are associated exclusively with one sex-gender and a person’s sex. Cognitive developmental theory thereby upholds the status quo. This is also reflected in the exclusive male language Kohlberg uses throughout. Finally, central to cognitive developmental theory are biology and cognition but little attention is paid to social influences.

3.3.2.3 The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on sex-gender development

In cognitive developmental theory the role of the patriarchal family in the development of a sex-gender identity is only secondary. Nonetheless it is crucial for sex-gender learning as it provides the initial same sex-gender role models which children emulate. As they imitate their mother or father, children become emotionally attached to them. Kohlberg does not elaborate on the effect of these attachments on their sex-gender learning but research about sex-gender domestic tasks and same sex-gender modelling (Kelly et al. 1982; Bandura & Bussey 1992)²² seems to substantiate that parents have a strong influence on their children's sex-gender development *because* they are close to them.

The patriarchal structure of the family also plays a prominent role in the development of a sex-gender identity although cognitive developmental theory does not concern itself with it. Kohlberg's claim that children associate physical strength with social power is supported by a number of studies which found that children think of fathers as bigger and smarter than mothers (Kohlberg 1967, p.102) The hierarchical structure of the patriarchal family that accords males power over females is thus reflected in children's sex-gender identity. Boys, for instance, prefer to imitate same sex-gender models and power influences their model selection (Bussey & Bandura 1992, p.336).

3.3.3 Summary

My examination of social learning theory and cognitive developmental theory revealed that sex-gender development is a complex process that involves identification with the same-

²² see section 3.3.1.1

sex parent, observation, cognition, socialisation and same sex-gender modelling. For social learning theory same sex-gender modelling is crucial for sex-gender development whereas cognition is the main focus of cognitive developmental theory. Regardless of whether cognition precedes socialisation, both are obviously involved in sex-gender development.

Both theories refer to the patriarchal family as playing a significant role in sex-gender development, although it is only of secondary importance in cognitive developmental theory. As I pointed out above, the theory underestimates the influence of the patriarchal family *because* it does not take seriously its power structures. In this power structure the inferior, less powerful mother and the superior, powerful father reflect the values of the patriarchal society. As role models that their sons and daughters imitate, they contribute to the perpetuation of the patriarchal family structure. As a result, boys reject models that are weak and inferior to males and incorporate power and the notion of male supremacy into their sex-gender identity while girls incorporate female inferiority into their sex-gender identity. It appears then that boys define themselves at the cost of everything female whereas girls have no such inclination. This assertion is supported by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) who suggest that boys are more intensely socialised and are under more pressure not to engage in sex-gender inappropriate behaviours. They are punished, praised and encouraged more than girls which seems to indicate that they are more interesting and hence more valued (Ibid., p.348). With this in mind it is not surprising that fathers are more concerned with sex-gender stereotyping than mothers. However, both parents reinforce sex-gender roles in the way they dress their children, give them sex-gender typical toys and encourage sex-gender appropriate behaviour (Ibid., p.339).

The patriarchal structure of the family is thus perpetuated through same sex-gender modelling. As children imitate their mother and father, they incorporate into their sex-gender

identity the power imbalance between their parents, i.e. male supremacy and female inferiority, respectively. This power imbalance and other characteristics and behaviours commonly associated with a particular sex-gender are then reinforced through socialisation. But children are not the victims of their sex-gender identity. Rather, they are active agents who organise their role perceptions and role learning around their basic conceptions of their body and their world (Kohlberg 1967, p.83).

3.4 The influence of the patriarchal structure of the family on girls and boys: A psycho-social view

The preceding investigation into the two learning theories was concerned with the influence of the patriarchal structure of the family and the way in which sex-gender identity is developed. The focus of the present enquiry is how this structure affects girls and boys and how they feel about their sex-gender identity. The American cultural historian and feminist Shere Hite (1943-) undertook research on the patriarchal family over a period of fifteen years and summarised her findings in the acclaimed The Hite Report on the family. Growing Up Under Patriarchy (1995). It provides an insight into the psychology of sex-gender. Her report is not purely psychological but combines psychology, cultural history, sociology and innovative feminist methodology which is both quantitative and qualitative. (p.xvii). It is qualitative in so far as she intersperses statements her subjects made with theories, hypothesis and research. Her report on the family is also quantitative. It is based on over 3000 questionnaires which women and men, boys and girls from altogether sixteen countries completed. The questionnaire consisted of eighty essay-type questions of an “in-depth format”.²³ Included in the

²³ Question one, for example, reads as follows: “When you were very little, around three or four, can you remember what it was like being close to your mother? Can you de-

questionnaire were two separate sections, one addressing women and girls and one for parents. At the end of the questionnaire participants were asked to give details concerning their age, sex, occupation, sexual orientation, religious background and ethnic origin but not to reveal their names and addresses. Although Hite asked details about participants' ethnic origin and education, she does not distinguish between ethnic or educational background when quoting an answer. She does so because she wants to avoid categorizing and stereotyping people and thereby make sure that quotes are as value-free as possible.

Hite views the patriarchal family as a political institution. which seems to exist in all the cultures that she included in her research. This has been one of her most significant finding since it shows that patriarchal structures exist despite cultural differences.

In the following I will explore how the patriarchal structure of the family affects girls' and boys' sex-gender development. In both instances I will elaborate how they feel about sex-gender stereotyping, describe the nature of their relationship with their mother and father and, lastly, how they perceive of and deal with their parents' relationship.

3.4.1 Growing up female: How does the patriarchal structure of the family affect girls?

3.4.1.1 The pressure to conform to female sex-gender stereotypes

One of the most striking findings of the Hite study is that sixty-nine per cent of the female participants experienced a period of freedom before adolescence which is commonly referred to as "tomboyhood" (Ibid., p.59). During this time girls were able to enjoy their bodies without having to worry about the "beauty culture" (Ibid., p.65). Yet this time of freedom came

scribe her presence, her sounds, her skin, her smell? How she touched you? How she looked?" (Hite 1995, p.380).

to an end just before adolescence when anti-tomboy rules implemented by parents and society forced them to adopt behaviour which is perceived to be more appropriate for a female. As many as ninety-seven per cent of women say that they were expected to change their behaviour at the onset of puberty. From then on the message was: “Be a good girl” which was meant in a sexual sense. (Ibid., p.83).

The end of tomboyhood was usually marked by the arrival of the girls’ first period. Here Hite makes an interesting discovery: It seems as if little attention was paid to the girls’ physical maturing and their first menstruation (Ibid., p.74). Most patriarchal families simply ignored their daughters’ first period and did not give them the necessary information about it, thereby implying that girls and their sexuality are unimportant (Ibid., p.76). They also put pressure on girls not to speak about their sexuality in general. Their intention is, according to Hite, to take away girls’ power by telling them that neither menstruation nor masturbation are their power (Ibid., p.97). The hidden message is that sexuality is bad (Ibid., p.99).

When girls started dating, parents were not open with them but only warned them “to be good” and fathers often overreacted, calling them “sluts” (Ibid., p.127). Since the family did not accept girls’ sexuality and private life, girls became lonely and their self-identity was forced underground, which, as Hite suggests, “does not strengthen the emotional or psychological development of a person” (Ibid., p.124).

3.4.1.2 The mother-daughter relationship

Hite (1995) found that most girls did not want to be like their mother although they felt deep affection and love for her. Seventy-three per cent say that they were disappointed with their mother because they perceived her as being submissive to her husband and passive in the face of his domination (p.140). Mothers constantly told girls not to upset or contradict

their fathers; in this way they were told their right place, namely that they were of secondary importance. This negatively affects their self-image:

How can girls have a good self-image if they think their mother is subservient, ineffectual and automatically inconsequential? If girls are taught subtly and convincingly that women are less important – and believe it – this leaves them in a situation of either feeling self-hatred, or identifying with the father and with ‘male’ values (Ibid., p.145.).

Yet changes can be identified: Women in the 1990s felt it was good to be a woman but nevertheless insisted that they did not want to be like their mother (Ibid., p.145). Hite’s study disclosed another important aspect of the mother-daughter relationship: After tomboyhood, when girls were told “to be good”, they began to resent their mother and started to rebel against her. The relationship between mother and daughter was now characterised by resentment and distance. In Hite’s view this is precisely what patriarchy wants: to destroy the closeness and love between mothers and daughters (Ibid., p.137).

Mothers are caught up in a dilemma: On the one hand they want to be good mothers and teach their daughters the rules of propriety, and on the other hand they are aware of the inequity of the patriarchal family system of which they are part and in which they are caught up (Ibid., p.157). In order to be loyal to the patriarchal system, they must not only deny themselves but also treat their daughters as second-class citizens. This is supported by another significant finding: Eighty-three per cent of girls claim that they felt that their mother was nicer to their brothers and gave them more freedom. Evidence thus shows that mothers too adopt the “girls-are-worth-less stereotypes” which creates a rift in the mother-daughter relationship (Ibid., p.170). By contrast, girls with single mothers did not experience this rift and had a much better opinion of them (Ibid., p.152).

3.4.1.3 The father-daughter relationship

Hite (1995) notes that statements concerning girls' relationship with their father are very different in nature: they are less clear and more contradictory. Fifty-five per cent say that they had a mixture of feelings for their father. They felt close to him and distant, feared him and at the same time longed for him, felt joy and fury all at once (p.192). Fifty-nine per cent respected their father; indeed, respect was ten times used more frequently in responses about fathers than mothers (Ibid., p.193). Eighty-one per cent of the girls feared the father in contrast to only seven per cent who were afraid of their mother. Thirty-eight per cent of girls were angry at their father because they felt they are not understood and not taken seriously. As many as twenty-eight per cent did not remember that their father was ever affectionate with them (Ibid., p.198). Moreover, there seems to be sexual tension between fathers and daughters which, Hite suggests, is socially constructed and makes intimate relationships between them very difficult, if not unachievable.

In father-daughter relationships distance, anger, disappointment, misunderstanding and hostility are common. The majority of fathers who replied to my questionnaire do not feel sexual attraction for their daughter, but they remain terrified at the possibility. Of course, there is frequently a large element of sexism also interfering with these potential friendships: when fathers see their daughters as 'mere females', 'not important' and thus trivialize them (Ibid., p.180).

3.4.1.4 Girls' perception of the mother-father relationship

Seventy-three per cent of the women in Hite's (1995) study recall that their parents showed no affection to one another, at least not in the presence of their daughter and sixty-four per cent of girls *and* boys say that they remember feeling torn between the parents (p.202). The majority of girls/women also focus their answers on the sex-gender power between their parents which they found problematic. Seventy-three percent of them felt a deep

love for their mother but were at the same time disappointed or angry about their subservience, 'passivity', or even 'cowardice' in the face of her husband's domination (Ibid., p.140). Hite concludes that if girls grow up being afraid of their father and/or see their mother tiptoes around him, they may develop "a habit of acceding to males, especially males in power" which can cause problems later in life (Ibid., p.106).

3.4.1.5 Summary

Hite's study of the patriarchal family demonstrates that the patriarchal structure of the family exercises enormous power over girls as it tries to teach them 'to be good' and to behave in a way which is appropriate for their sex-gender. To achieve its aims, it uses mothers as 'police-women' who ensure that their daughters keep in line. The hierarchical structure creates a rift in the father-daughter and the mother-daughter relationship. Within this structure girls grow up with the feeling of being less important than boys/men; they are made to believe that they are second-class citizens.

3.4.2 Growing up male: How does the patriarchal structure of the family affect boys?

3.4.2.1 The pressure to conform to male sex-gender stereotypes

Hite's report on the family revealed that boys experience tremendous pressure at puberty to leave their mother and to start 'acting like a man.' To 'act like a man' boys have to develop new emotions such as aggression and anger. Moreover, they are constantly told not to cry and not to act like girls. The pressure on boys to conform to male sex-gender stereotypes has still further implications for their relationship with women, as Hite (1995) elucidates:

Since most boys learn that their primary allegiance must be to other males, and that 'identification' with a woman makes them somehow 'less than men', later in life, when they are in love, they can sense a terrible inner identity conflict,

danger, when they again feel ‘that close’ to a woman – since through this identification, they are breaking the code they have been so brutally taught (p.232).

The findings also indicate clearly that fathers and peers, but not mothers, exerted pressure on boys to conform to male values and to keep away from girls (Ibid., p.234). Crucial for the development of boys’ gender identity is the male group where power and control are learned and emotion has no place (Ibid., p.241). Here boys are expected to be tough and to do cruel things, e.g. to animals, in order to prove that they are ‘real men.’ In this way, Hite argues, patriarchy tries “to frighten boys into compliance and loyalty” (Ibid., p.246).

3.4.2.2 The mother-son relationship

Patriarchy exerts pressure on boys to leave their mother and not to ‘hang out’ with her since this is the only way in which they can remain loyal to the male group (Hite 1995, p.254). Their male identity is therefore defined at the cost of everything female. This, in turn, has an effect on the mother-son relationship. Rather than looking upon their mother’s love and care as something positive, boys define it as weakness and, due to the pressure of peers and other male models, they seem to feel the need to dominate their mother, lest they lose their self-respect (Ibid., p.258). Moreover, Hite found that most boys are angry at their mother. They blame it on her that they are forced to conform to male values. Indeed, they feel that it is the mother who deserts them and not the other way around (Ibid., p.265). Leaving the mother is thus a rather painful process for boys. Hite concludes that boys between ten and thirteen are very aggressive towards their mother because this is the time when they have to choose between deserting her and giving in to peer pressure or staying with her and being labelled a ‘sissy.’ When boys leave their mother and learn to be loyal to the male group, they lose their innocence and their ability to express their emotions. Hite proposes that this is the reverse of male power: “men’s power comes from *not* expressing themselves” (Ibid., p.251).

Boys who had single mothers have positive opinions of them which may have to do with the fact that they did not experience the same pressure to dissociate from women as they would from a mother-father household (Ibid., p.266).

3.4.2.3 The father-son relationship

Most of the men who answered Hite's questionnaire did not have a close and intimate relationship with their father. They feel that they could not talk to their fathers and, conversely, that their father did not talk much to them (Ibid., pp.323-324). Only eighteen per cent state that they were close to their father. Physical affection between fathers and sons evidently stops when boys are between five and fifteen (Ibid., p.330). The main problem appears to be the father's aloofness, his distance. Hite remarks, that it is precisely his aloofness that makes him even more desirable and at the same time less attainable. Eighty per cent recall being physically punished by their father and forty-one per cent state that they feared their father's "explosive temper" (Ibid., p.335).

In spite of the emotional distance between fathers and sons, the majority of boys state that they spent time with their father either watching live matches or games on the television. These times are, according to Hite, important for the development of male sex-gender identity as it allows them to be excited about something (but not one another) and to share emotions together which is legitimate as long as these are directed at something else (Ibid., p.241).

Even though fathers serve their sons as role models, they do not, as the research reveals, teach their sons *what* men *do*, but rather what they *do not do* (Ibid., p.235). When speaking of their father most boys mention that they respected him; indeed, respect is the word they use most with regard to their father, as do girls.

3.4.2.4 The mother-father relationship

Seventy-nine per cent of the men in Hite's study state that they noticed "an attitude of superiority by the father towards their mother" (Ibid., p.258). Most boys, and most girls, as I discussed above, recall that their father gave them a double message: On the one hand he told them to respect their mother, but on the other hand their father showed no respect for her himself as one participant in the study illustrates:

There was a dual attitude. He always taught me to love, respect, obey and protect my mother. However, my father behaves in a pitying and superior way towards her. He is fairly careful about it but it has increased over time (Ibid., p.259).

Although most boys say that the father's attitude toward the mother was negative and condescending, they do not think that the father should do something about it. Instead, they believe that the mother should change or leave (Ibid., p.260). Hite finds the power imbalance between women and men in the patriarchal family highly problematic. Since the relationship between the parents is based on love, children learn that domination and power are inherent in love (Ibid., p.367). This has far-reaching repercussions not only for girls'/women's and boys'/men's sex-gender identity but also for their relationships with the opposite sex-gender. While girls learn that they are less important and, as a result, often suffer from low self-esteem, boys learn that their male values are superior and, moreover, normative (Ibid., p.370). This power imbalance is then perpetuated in their relationships with the opposite sex-gender.

3.4.2.5 Summary

The patriarchal structure of the family forces boys to desert their mother and to deny everything female so that they are free to conform to the superior male values. As a consequence they learn to define themselves at the cost of everything female. In the male group

they learn power and control while fathers teach them what they should *not* do as ‘tough’ boys. They often struggle to express their emotions and therefore tend to find intimate relationships with women and men difficult.

3.4.3 Some criticisms

Shere Hite has been severely criticised especially by traditionalists, not just for the way she presents her findings but also for their content. My own criticism is directed at the way she presents the statements of her participants. As I mentioned earlier, she does not include details of their race, class and cultural background, etc. when quoting an answer. She does so to avoid any categorisation of these statements and the ensuing biases. As Hite puts it: “A ‘poor migrant agricultural worker’ may be read very differently than if the same reply was labelled as being from an ‘Oxford University professor’” (Ibid., p.xx). Nevertheless, these categories, or rather differences, are part of life as I remarked earlier; they reflect human diversity. From a feminist point of view they are crucial for understanding a person’s thoughts, actions and statements and hence for putting them into the right context. By not acknowledging peoples’ backgrounds in conjunction with their answers, she betrays one of the basic principles of feminist research.

3.5 Conclusion

My study of the two learning theories disclosed that the patriarchal family and its hierarchical structure play a key role in sex-gender development. In this structure the superior father and the inferior mother serve as role models which girls and boys imitate. These findings are substantiated by Hite’s study of the patriarchal family who found that children are aware of the inequity between their mother and father. They observe that the father treats the

mother in a condescending and negative manner. What is crucial here, is not only that children observe and imitate their parents but that they also *internalise* what they see. Therefore, when girls identify with their mother who is treated condescendingly by the father, they learn that all women, including themselves, are inferior to men. It is not surprising then, that girls often lack self-confidence and self-esteem and therefore rarely reach their full potential. In addition, girls are told that they are unimportant, that their maturing bodies do not matter and that they should keep their sexuality hidden from the family and particularly from males. When boys identify with their father, who looks down on all women, they learn that all men, and hence also all boys, are superior to women.

In contrast to girls, boys are told that they are important, that men are superior and male values are normative. At first sight it may look as if boys only benefit from the patriarchal structure of the family but this is not the case. As Hite's study has shown, boys too suffer from the pressure to conform to patriarchal values. Since patriarchy claims that "men's power comes from *not* expressing themselves", boys are under pressure not to show their emotions (Ibid., p.251). Consequently they often find it difficult to develop close friendships with other males. Their relationship with females is also fraught with problems as they feel trapped between being loyal to the male group of which they are a part, and being in love with someone who apparently embodies everything they are supposed to deny. For this reason men are often afraid of intimate relationships with women.

As both girls and boys observe the power imbalance between their parents and identify with them, the message is conveyed to them that this is the way it is precisely *because* it takes place within the context of love and care (Ibid., p.369). Love thus legitimises domination and inequality; it upholds the status quo. The implications of this are problematic especially in

view of the fact that love and care are part of the ideology of the patriarchal family which, as I have noted above, is desired by everyone. But if everyone desires love despite the fact that it entails inequity between men and women and, of course, between parents and children, it is unlikely that they will ever see it for what it is and criticise it. The patriarchal structure of the family creates and is, in turn, created by sex-gender differences and thereby perpetuates itself from generation to generation.

Hite made another intriguing discovery. One of the alternatives to the patriarchal family, the single-parent family headed by a woman, has, contrary to common opinion, a positive effect on boys and girls. Male participants in Hite's study who were raised by their single mother did not experience "the process of dissociation from women" as strongly as boys who were raised by both mother and father (Ibid., p.266). They also have a more positive opinion of their mother: they admire her and do not consider her a 'wimp.' The same is true for daughters of single mothers (Ibid., p.152 & p.267). Hite's research revealed that children often felt torn between their parents because of the power imbalance between them. This brings her to the conclusion that children who are brought up by a single parent are sometimes better off "than with two who are unequal and thus present the child with an insoluble loyalty conflict" (Ibid., p.351). Although single parent families are on the increase world-wide which is, I think, a clear indication that the patriarchal family is failing people, the patriarchal structure of the family nevertheless continues to be strong and influential. The two learning theories and Hite's report on the family have made this quite clear: Both girls and boys suffer the consequences of a structure that is based on inequality and injustices – albeit at varying degrees.

To bring this discussion to an end, I repeat the third research question which lead my enquiry:

What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?

After examining two learning theory and psycho-social research on the patriarchal family I believe I have answered it sufficiently and therefore pose **Hypothesis 3** once more:

That the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play a key role in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping by passing the power imbalance between mother and father on to girls and boys thereby perpetuating both sex-gender stereotyping and patriarchy.

*

In order to break free from the vicious circle of creating and recreating sex-gender differences and the injustice they entail, children need to understand that sex-gender is socially constructed and that the restrictions it imposes on them can therefore be overcome. It is unlikely that they learn to be critical of sex-gender stereotypes within the patriarchal family since research has shown that even non-conventional and progressive families who try hard to avoid sex-gender stereotyping their children, are unable to make them more aware of injustices caused by sex-gender (Weisner et al. 1994). Teaching children to be critical of sex-gender stereotypes must therefore come from a source other than the family. I propose that it is the task of education in general and pedagogy in particular to make children aware of how sex-gender is constructed. How education addresses this issue will be dealt with in the following chapter which marks the beginning of the second part of my thesis.

4. The role of education in sex-gender stereotyping

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I explored the influence of the patriarchal family on sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping and found that it is intrinsically unjust toward all its members. In the patriarchal family sex-gender differences are created and recreated. The skill of critical analysis that enables children to free themselves from this vicious cycle of sex-gender stereotyping must therefore be taught elsewhere. I propose that it be taught in schools for three reasons: firstly, apart from their families, it is at schools where students spend most of their time; secondly, schools are one of the most influential loci of education²⁴ and, thirdly, in contrast to families, schools are organised by an overarching body, in this case the government, and for this reason the influence they exercise can be organised too. The focus of this part of my thesis is therefore education in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. My enquiry into the role of education in sex-gender stereotyping also serves to set out the context of education out of which I will develop an holistic inclusive pedagogy in the subsequent chapter.

The fourth research question that guides my enquiry in the present chapter is:

What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?

To answer this question I posit **Hypothesis 4:**

That education too perpetuates sex-gender stereotypes and other stereotypes but that it also has the potential to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.

I begin by presenting the current situation in British schools and then show what effect some of the government's educational acts and sex-gender policies have on education. My

examination of the current situation in British schools also lays bare that other stereotypes related to and intertwined with sex-gender, e.g. race and class, also affect girls and boys. Finally, I uncover the underlying values of education through the lens of feminist poststructuralism and present its implications for an holistic inclusive pedagogy.

4.2 Setting out the context

4.2.1 Sex-gender/other stereotyping at British schools and its effect on girls and boys

Like families schools do not exist in a vacuum. They are part of a particular society and as such are influenced by the languages, religions, laws and institutions of that society. Social pressures on all members of society are exerted – mostly in a subtle way- to uphold what is deemed the norm. The focus of these social pressures is multiple but usually centres around morality in general and sex-gender stereotypes in particular; both are kept in check and are reinforced for example by the media. Máirtín Mac an Ghaill (1994) explains in what way schools are involved in this process:

It is suggested that schools alongside other institutions attempt to administer, regulate and reify unstable sex-gender categories. Most particularly, this administration, regulation and reification of sex-gender boundaries is institutionalised through the interrelated material, social and discursive practices of staffroom, classroom and playground microcultures. In turn, male academics have reinforced this institutionalisation with their own representation (p.9).

Sex-gender socialisation is not a uniform process. As I have shown elsewhere, at home and at school traditional views about sex-gender appropriate behaviour coexist with an ideology of equality (Kelly et al. 1982, Weisner et al. 1994). However, as I am about to demonstrate, latest statistics and studies indicate that traditional sex-gender discourses outweigh

²⁴ other loci of education are colleges and other institutes of higher and further educa-

those of an egalitarian nature. In addition, sex-gender stereotypes are always connected to other stereotypes such as those pertaining to race, class and sexuality. On the basis of these statistics and studies I propose that schools are failing boys and girls alike in seven areas.

Firstly, a sex-gender gap with regard to subject choice prevails. Janet Powney (1997) was commissioned by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) to review statistics and research about pupils' attainment when they finish school. The study covered the period between 1985 and 1995. She found that "twice as many boys as girls took computing studies at Standard Grade and four times as many at Higher Grade." Only one third of all pupils opting for physical education and physics for Standard Grade in 1994 were girls while at the same time over two thirds of all entrants for home economics, office studies and biology were girls (Ibid., p.2). As the example shows, girls still opt for traditional 'female subjects' while boys tend to chose traditional 'male' subjects. These traditional subject choices in turn affect girls' and boys' occupational choices. According to the Labour Force Survey from 1998, for instance, over ninety-seven of the British childcare workforce is female. The low number of men in childcare is striking. The most female-dominated occupations are secretaries and personal assistants with 99.1% (MACS Steering Group 2001, p.4). By contrast, figures from 1999 show that there are only fifteen per cent of women working full or part time in traditional 'male' professions of science and engineering. Further up the hierarchical ladder there are a mere 2.1% women working as professors in engineering and technology (The British Council 1999a, p.1).

tion, nurseries and kindergartens

Secondly, there is still a sex-gender gap with regard to GCSE results. As the latest GCSE results show, it narrowed on the whole. In 2003 62.4 per cent of girls achieved grades A-C while boys improved their results from the previous year by 0.2 per cent to 53.6 per cent thereby reducing the sex-gender gap by 8.8 per cent (Cush 2003). Nevertheless girls still outperform boys in most subjects except biology, physics and other technology (BBC News On-line 2002, pp. 5-6).

This brings me to the third point of why schools are failing girls and boys. The evidence that boys underachieve is provided not only by GCSE results but also by the increasing number of boys who are excluded from school for disruptive and anti-social behaviour. Of all the pupils excluded from secondary schools, eighty-three per cent are boys (Donovan 1998). Despite being outperformed by girls, boys, paradoxically, “tend to overestimate their prospects and abilities” (Arnold 1997, p.8; Burns & Bracey 2001, p.156). A reason for this paradox may be that they blame teachers for their poor achievements. As Licht and Dweck (1987 cited Arnold 1997) put it: “While this attribution may result in lower expectations and efforts [...] it still allows a boy to maintain confidence in his abilities” (p.8).

There are many possible causes for boys’ underachievement but to explore them in detail goes beyond the scope of my thesis. I therefore list only the most plausible ones: 1) biological differences between the sexes, i.e. girls have more developed areas of the brain that deal with linguistic fluency, giving them a head start in developing linguistic skills (Pickering 1997, p.48); 2) boys become disaffected toward school already in primary school where feminine norms such as being quiet and obedient predominate (Nicholson 1994, p.80); and, 3) at about eight years of age sex-gender identity becomes a key issue for boys’ identity and they distance themselves from everything female. By the time boys enter secondary school their

idea of difference has changed “into one of conscious superiority over girls with ‘being male’ according them a higher status than girls” (Pickering 1997, p.38). And since their male sex-gender identity is not compatible with the school ethos of working hard, they find ways of coping by playing truant, disrupting lessons or by working just enough to ‘get by’ (Ibid., p.38).

Fourthly, while boys underachieve even though they enjoy a higher status than girls, girls, by contrast, suffer from a poor self-image despite better marks. They tend to underestimate their abilities (Arnold 1997, p.8). Daniels et al. (1995) gathered data about sexed-gendered practice in special educational needs and found that girls are under-represented in all provisions for special educational needs (p.206). A project conducted in schools in Newham Borough, London (Haddock & Cruddas 2000), that focused on equal opportunities in special educational needs, brought to light that girls’ emotional difficulties are not catered for by Special Educational Needs with the result that girls are marginalized. The report identified a number of issues which stop girls from learning in co-educational schools: relational problems, academic issues such as the transition from primary to secondary school, health issues like pregnancy and body image, stereotyping and emotional issues (p. 6).

Girls are conscious that teachers treat them differently from boys even though their behaviour may be similar. In the interviews which the Newham project team conducted girls repeatedly said that boys who are ‘acting out’ get too much teacher attention whereas they had little opportunity themselves to contribute to lessons orally and felt that teachers did not listen to them (Ibid., p.26). Anne-Mette Kruse (1992) who undertook extensive research into single sex-gender settings in Danish co-educational schools supports this view. She writes

Boys receive more attention, talk more, are more respected and found more interesting as persons than girls. Girls are regarded as good pupils (on average they get better marks) but are seen by their teachers as less interesting than boys (p.85).

It is therefore not surprising that girls often have a distorted view of their abilities. Kruse states that the presence of dominating and self-asserting boys in school reminds girls again and again that they are only 'second rate'. The far reaching consequences for girls' self-esteem include "a loss of identity, disqualification and a feeling of powerlessness and devalue girls personally and professionally (Ibid., p.85).

My fifth point of why schools are failing boys and girls centres around the issue of homosexuality. To reiterate, sex-gender identity is inextricably linked to sexual identity. This is true for both male and female sex-gender identity although at varying degrees. According to Madeleine Arnot (1984 cited Mac an Ghaill 1994), femininity is ascribed, whereas masculinity, by contrast, has to be achieved in a continuous process of confirmation and struggle (p.90). Because there is much at stake for boys and men, i.e. their superiority over females, they can only achieve manhood by distancing themselves from everything female and from other types of masculinities that do not correspond to their hegemonic masculinity, especially homosexuality (Mac an Ghaill 1998, p.12). A study about homophobic bullying that was conducted by Dr Debbie Epstein from the University of London Institute of Education found that homophobic bullying and abuse are widespread in schools and "any child who seems 'different' may be subjected to it" (BBC News Online 2000b). Boys who are especially hard working at school are often called gay which may have a detrimental effect on their achievement (Ibid.). 'Tomboyish' girls are also a target of homophobic bullying. Anti-homosexual bullying makes the life of its victims difficult, negatively affects their self-confidence and may, at worst, even lead to suicide. Even though eighty per cent of British schools are aware of ho-

mophobic bullying, only six per cent have drawn up policies to deal with the problem (Bentham 1998).

My sixth point brings me to the issue of racism in schools. The figures I have quoted above regarding subject choice and occupational preferences, academic achievement and underachievement, self esteem and the lack of it, do not explicitly distinguish between white middle class Anglo-Saxon students and, for instance, those of African-Caribbean or Asian descent. Yet I suggest that many of the issues I raised apply to boys and girls of all backgrounds albeit at varying degrees. As a report by the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) reveals, black pupils seem to be disciplined more harshly in the classroom than their white counterparts (Smithers 2001). Black pupils were usually removed for five days for challenging behaviour whereas white pupils were suspended for only three days. Although the report is based on only ten school visits across the country it may well be representative of most British schools. The report also suggested a possible cause for the harsher punishment of black pupils: Some teachers felt intimidated by black Caribbean boys and were thus reluctant to discipline them for “minor misdemeanours out of fear of accusations of racism.” It is not surprising then that “black pupils are six times more likely to be excluded than their white peers” (Ibid.). Within the different ethnic minority groups there are also variations: Black Caribbean pupils are more likely to be excluded than their peers (Major 2001). While more black than white boys are excluded, black girls are often stereotyped by teachers as having behavioural problems. In their Newham project Haddock & Cruddas (2000) discovered that

Ethnicity emerged as a key issue in relation to the identification of girls’ EBD (=emotional and behavioural difficulties) [...] girls from African-Caribbean backgrounds were over represented while girls from Asian backgrounds were under-represented as having EBD. Schools saw many of the African-Caribbean girls referred to the team as having behavioural difficulties, rather than emotional needs (p.18).

Students from minority ethnic communities are also bullied more than their white counterparts. A study by the Oxford University's Centre for Research into Parenting and Students and the charity Young Voice disclosed that thirteen per cent of white students reported severe bullying in comparison to twenty-five per cent of students from ethnic minority groups (Oxford Blueprint 2001). With regard to academic achievement of ethnic minority groups the trend has been upwards but variations between the different ethnic groups are significant. In 2002 only thirty per cent of pupils from black Caribbean backgrounds received five or more good grades in their GCSEs in comparison to sixty-four per cent of Indian students (BBC News Online 2003).

Finally, and this is my seventh point, schools are failing girls and boys also on the grounds of their social class. This is especially true of white working class boys. As Kamal Ahmed and Mark Townsend (2003) point out, only eighteen per cent of the poorer white boys achieved five or more GCSEs at grade A to C in 2002 "compared with an average among white boys of fifty per cent". By contrast, twenty-five per cent of the poorer girls scored five or more GCSEs at those grades in comparison to the national average of sixty-one per cent. Poorer white boys are also overtaken academically by Pakistani, Chinese, Indian and Bangladeshi boys. The only group that performs worse than white working class boys are Afro-Caribbean children. Here only sixteen per cent of the poorer students achieve five or more GCSEs at grades A to C (Ibid.). As these figures demonstrate, working class boys seem to be disaffected toward school which they express, for instance, through "a tough masculine identity against male teachers' and students' involvement in academic feminized work" (Mac an Ghail 1998, p.72).

The needs of working class students are often not registered and rarely met. Máirtín Mac an Ghaill (1998), for example, conducted research at Parnell school, an inner city co-educational comprehensive school with a predominantly working class student population. His enquiry into the 'making of masculinities' also led him to look at girls' perception of schooled masculinities. He quotes the reaction of Kelly, a working class girl, to a vocationalist course for girls in low sets that was concerned with 'constructions of caring subjectivities.' She states:

The teacher told us to write down what we had learned from the caring course. I told him nothing. And then he said what about all the stuff you learned about child care. What a stupid man. I couldn't even begin to tell him, that's not learning. I do all that at home. I have to look after my younger brother and sister (p.119).

This example serves as a good illustration of the alienation between students from working class backgrounds and teachers or, as Mac an Ghaill puts it, the "gendered cultural gap" (Ibid., p.119).

As I have demonstrated above both girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping. Boys are often disaffected with school, do not reach their full potential and are more likely to be excluded even though they get more teacher attention than girls and receive overall more Special Needs care, particularly in reading and writing (Daniels et al. 1995; Haddock & Cruddas 2000). By contrast, girls achieve better school results than boys but despite this often suffer from lack of self-confidence in relation to their abilities. As a result they tend to choose jobs which are below their potential and/or which are traditionally 'female.' Girls' emotional problems which range from low self-esteem to a distorted body image are not catered for by Special Needs or any other instance within the school system. Their difficulties with spatial and mechanical skills are not addressed either (Daniels et al.

1995, p.213). Schools' institutional racism also affects ethnic minority groups. Pupils and teachers are discriminated against because of their sexual orientation and homophobic bullying and abuse continue with impunity.

4.2.2 Building 'on' the context: Laying the foundations for an holistic inclusive pedagogy

So far I have demonstrated that sex-gender socialisation at school has a powerful negative influence on girls and boys alike. If the negative can successfully be turned into something positive, then schools' influence can be utilised constructively. Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed which was first published in 1970 serves as a good illustration of the positive influence and power of education. It demonstrates education's potential to bring about change. For Freire political, social and economic domination are responsible for the lethargy and ignorance of the poor who, in consequence, are unable to develop the skill of critical analysis and critical thinking. The key to freeing people from any such domination is an education that is characterised by a non-authoritarian approach, building on student's experience and continual shared enquiry and research (Freire 1996). Women's entry into universities and colleges in the northern hemisphere and the education of women in the 'Third World'²⁵ countries also show how education can aid human beings in realising their potential, in the course of that process change them and, eventually, society too.

What emerges from the figures I quoted and the studies I referred to is that schools are a 'site' of differences. As micro-cultures of society they mirror its diversity. Here the younger

²⁵ Educationalists have (finally) discovered that women's influence on their family is strong even in extremely patriarchal 'Third World' countries. Many therefore focus their educational efforts on women, especially with regard to AIDS and personal hygiene (e.g. in African countries and India).

(pupils) and older (teachers), female and male, black and white and those of mixed race, heterosexuals, homosexuals and bisexuals meet. I suggest that the differences they represent are not the reason for why schools are failing girls and boys. Instead I propose that schools attempt to counteract differences by regulating and enforcing male and female sex-gender categories that are conveyed as the norm and that they are, therefore, in part responsible for damaging girls and boys. Even though differences between pupils may be divisive they also join them together because they all experience it. Differences are part of humankind and are in fact a good point of departure for developing an inclusive holistic pedagogy. I will return to this issue in the next chapter.

Schools are ambivalent in relation to sex-gender stereotyping. Their hierarchical structure of head at the top and non-allowance staff at the bottom prevents their members from becoming an independent, free-thinking part of a community of equals who, in addition to being different, have something else in common: they all have something to learn and to contribute, i.e. to teach. Herein lies another of schools' promising potentials. Learning or, in biological language adapting, is inherent in human beings. Learning and re-learning makes them what they are. This applies to every age group regardless of their skin colour, race, sex-gender, etc. Learning too is thus a common denominator for students and teachers. If learning is part of human development, the same applies to teaching although not necessarily in the formal sense. A toddler for example, may teach her parents again the joy of discovering a butterfly on a blossom; a teenager who lives in the here and now may remind teachers of the carefree side to life. Learning and teaching are both part of being human. A pedagogy must therefore make the process of learning and teaching visible and valuable and build upon the knowledge students bring with them.

I propose that the creation of a pedagogy with remedial features is urgent and paramount given the damage sex-gender/other stereotyping causes in students. Such a pedagogy aims to make pupils and staff alike aware and critical of the continuing process of sex-gender stereotyping and of other types of discrimination, e.g. on the basis of race, class, creed or sexual orientation. It must be truly inclusive to meet students' sexed-gendered needs, i.e. those needs that have been created through sex-gender stereotyping, for example, boys' difficulty with articulating their feelings and girls' lack of self-esteem. It must also give both girls and boys the opportunity to move beyond their respective sex-gender stereotypes, i.e. it must teach boys, for example, the value of listening sensitively and girls the value of speaking assertively. To be truly holistic such a pedagogy must also educate the whole human being. I will return to this point later.

4.3 The underlying values of education as reflected in influential government legislation in the twentieth century

To uncover the underlying values of education in Britain, it is first of all necessary to establish what has shaped education as it is known today, i.e. to contextualise it in accordance with feminisms. In the following I will briefly explain what impact the three most important pieces of government legislation since the second World War had on education in general and on sex-gender stereotyping in particular. The underlying values of education that emerge will then be examined. This will be done through the lens of feminist poststructuralism.

4.3.1 The Education Act 1944

The first significant government Act that shapes the structure of education in Britain even today is the Education Act 1944. It set up the system for the management and organisation of education in Britain. According to this system the Secretary of State for Education

holds the central authority for education and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES)²⁶ administers it (The British Council 1999b). The Act made education free and compulsory for students between the age of five and fifteen. In addition it introduced the eleven plus examinations which were to decide which school a child would go to: the technical school, the secondary modern or the grammar school. This was referred to as ‘tripartite system’ but in reality only the latter two types of schools existed (The British Council 1999c, p.2). With regard to the issue of sex-gender the Education Act of 1944 “provided free state secondary education for all, and implicitly but not explicitly afforded girls equal opportunity alongside boys” (Arnot et al. 1999, p.39). Yet these equal opportunities for girls did not extend to the employment market and in addition, traditional roles of women as housewives and mothers continued to be idealised and extolled (Ibid., p.40). The underlying values of the Education Act of 1944 are therefore ambiguous. On the one hand the Act assured that all girls now received the same secondary education as boys did while on the other hand it did not deal with equal opportunities on a larger scale, i.e. by including higher education, the employment market and free child care. Moreover, the Act failed to recognise the complexity of equal opportunities and the underlying issue of sex-gender stereotyping and for this reason it did not have enough impact on girls’ education and hence on their occupational choices.

4.3.2 The Sex Discrimination Act 1975

Another important government legislation which had an impact on education is the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. It must be seen within the context of second wave feminism which began in the 1960s. For the first time the British government took seriously the prob-

²⁶ formerly Department for Education and Employment

lem of sex-gender discrimination in schools and in employment. According to the Act it was unlawful to discriminate against girls, e.g. by not admitting them to school as pupils (HMSO 1975). It was likewise unlawful to exclude pupils on the grounds of sex-gender (Arnot et al. 1999, p.40). The Sex Discrimination Act provided, as Madeleine Arnot et al. put it “the incentive to create a more gender-neutral educational framework.” The legislation aimed to insure that there was a wider range of subjects for both boys and girls but subject choice continued to be sex-gender divided during the 1970s and 1980s as pupils aged thirteen and above could choose between four and six subjects until their compulsory schooling was completed (Ibid., pp.40-41).

The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 went a step further than the Act from 1944. It acknowledged discrimination against women as a fact and as a problem and made it explicitly unlawful in the fields of education and employment. But it too failed to realise the complexity of the issue of sex-gender which is evident from the vocabulary it used. Throughout the document the term ‘sex discrimination’ is employed instead of ‘sex-gender discrimination.’

The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 failed to address the issue of sex-gender stereotyping in all its facets. It also did not deal with the inherent hierarchies of education, other institutions and the employment market. Like the Education Act of 1944 it attempted to ‘heal’ some of the symptoms of sex-gender discrimination rather than dealing with its many causes. It is therefore not surprising that sex-gender discrimination continued in British schools and other areas despite this decisive legislation.

4.3.2.1 The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and liberal feminisms in education

In reaction to the Sex Discrimination Act two feminist groups emerged: One had its origin in liberal feminism and focused on reform from within, e.g. by encouraging girls to

choose traditionally male subjects and dealing with female sexuality, whereas the other was strongly anti-sexist, girl-centred and based in radical feminism (Weiner 1994, p.78).

To reiterate, liberal feminisms grew out of eighteenth century liberalism and their main concerns are the independence, importance and the personal freedom of the individual (Tuttle 1986, p.182). They claim that ignorance is primarily responsible for the disparity between women and men and use “knowledge dissemination”²⁷ as their main method (Weiner 1994, p.71). Their aims include equal rights and opportunities for women, justice and liberty by way of social and legal reforms (Ibid., p.71). According to Sandra Acker (1987) three major conceptual foundations can be distinguished in liberal feminisms: 1) equal opportunities; 2) socialisation and sex-gender stereotyping; and. 3) sex-gender discrimination (p.423). She observes that within education the strategies liberal feminists employ “involve altering socialisation practices, changing attitudes and making use of relevant legislation” (Ibid., p.419).

Liberal feminists thus aim to uncover and then remove those barriers in education which prevent girls from achieving their potential (Ibid., p.423). A typical example of this is the Girls Into Science project (GIST) which was designed and overseen by a number of scholars from Manchester University in the early 1980s. It was an “action research project” with the aim of breaking down traditional sex-gender roles in the school context and encouraging more girls to opt for technological and scientific subjects (Kelly et al. 1982, p.283).

Consciousness raising is also very typical of liberal feminisms in education. A good example of this is an experiment in a co-educational elementary Danish school in which girls and boys of two fifth grade classes (aged 10-11) were separated for two months. The separation

was used as a pedagogical tool to aid both in seeing their respective sex-gender roles and attitudes for what they are, i.e. as social constructions which can be changed (Kruse 1992, p.100). In the girls' class the emphasis was on sharing opinions about a number of topics. The work covered during this time included body-work, sex education and interviewing techniques. After eight weeks in single sex-gender classes, boys and girls came back to their co-educational setting and Anne-Mette Kruse who had been observing the experiment noticed that

the girls openly struggled for more space and mounted fierce reaction to the boys' dominant behaviour. The boys were irritated but showed more respect for the girls than they had done earlier (Ibid., p.96).

Even though the methods employed by liberal feminism are on the whole quite successful, they are not unproblematic. Jane Kenway and Helen Modsen (1992) point out that feminisms in education often fail to examine their own "gendered assumptions" which are entrenched in their respective theories (p.138). Such assumptions are particularly evident in so-called 'girl friendly' approaches which focus on girls' interests, the way they learn and how they are motivated. Interestingly, these assumptions are derived from those stereotypes which liberal feminism seeks to combat and eliminate (Ibid., p.145). Liberal feminisms' insistence on changing the content, e.g. by encouraging girls to opt for traditional male subjects, is also flawed. It merely continues "to position girls as passive recipients of others' knowledge, thus still denying them a sense of agency" (Ibid., pp.142-143). However, whether girls are actually passive recipients depends on the method that is being employed. The two examples above clearly demonstrate that a certain amount of 'others' knowledge', i.e. input, is needed in the initial phase. During the Danish experiment, for instance, girls became 'agents' in the

²⁷ The term 'knowledge dissemination' is rather unfortunate. It implies that knowledge is an 'objective entity' that can be acquired. I will deal with this issue under sections 4.4.

end and took charge of their situation; this happened after they had been introduced to women's issues. This was obviously done in a sensitive manner: the girls involved in the experiment were encouraged to think about feminist issues through role play, group work and discussions; a 'top-down' approach was not employed (Kruse 1992, p.93).

A final point of criticism must be raised. By focusing its attention primarily on equality of opportunity, socialisation and sex-gender role models, liberal feminism loses sight of the influence of patriarchy. But because its approach is pragmatic, i.e. because it concentrates on practical issues like subject choice and consciousness raising, it is probably relatively successful in affecting government politics.

4.3.2.2 The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and radical feminisms in education

Radical feminist approaches to education also emerged in reaction to the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. Their main enemies are patriarchy and everything male. In education radical feminisms focus predominantly "on the male monopolisation of knowledge and culture and on sexual politics in schools" (Acker 1987, p.419). Unlike liberal feminisms they are very critical of education as Dale Spender (1983) argues:

What constitutes education, what is believed to be worthwhile and necessary, what is accepted as a reasonable way of imparting knowledge, what is perceived to be a logical system of classifying and treating students, have all been formulated by men from their position of dominance and put into practice without reference to those areas of human experience which are the prerogative of women (p.40).

Radical feminisms in education analyse how the sexual subordination of women is reproduced through schooling and how male-dominated curricular alienate girls and women from their own experience (Middleton 1993, p.126). This analysis provides the backbone for radical feminist pedagogies.

According to Jennifer M. Gore (1993), there are two strands within radical feminist pedagogy both of which concentrate on adult education. The first focuses on institutional aspects of pedagogy, how and what is to be taught. Women's Studies departments of universities and colleges of higher education are the locus for the production and dissemination of its ideas. Here feminism takes a central position and this strand is consequently more inclined to choose and utilise feminist pedagogy as technique, strategy and methodology. Feminist pedagogies which grow out of Women's' Studies departments tend to envisage women-only classrooms and frequently equate feminist pedagogies with feminist teachers; for some women-only classrooms are even a goal in itself (Gore 1993, p.86). The second strand has feminism as its main emphasis and is situated at universities' and colleges' schools of education where new ideas are created and passed on (Ibid., p. 17). Feminist pedagogy in education departments is primarily concerned with the origins of sexed-gendered knowledge and experience, yet its central argument is anchored in feminism and not in pedagogy (Ibid., p.27). As Gore puts it, it is therefore "less concerned with details of classroom practice than with bringing feminism into education, making the theoretical links" (Ibid., p.30).

Sandra Hollingsworth (1994) provides a good example of feminist pedagogy in education departments. For her theory and praxis are inextricably linked. Her notion of 'teaching as research' provides a good example of a radical feminist pedagogy developed in a school of education. She taught a graduate-level course at the University of California, USA, entitled 'Teaching as Research' over a period of four years to classroom teachers, supervisors and administrators. Since teachers are educated at hierarchical institutions where masculine paradigms predominate, her aims were "to raise teacher's consciousness, and to untangle the pedagogical processes which would clearly lead to a feminist critique of teaching and re-

search” (pp.51-52). In addition she also wanted her students to find out for themselves that teaching is research and to transform the disciplinary approaches in their own classrooms. Her political goals included “clarifying the role of ethical, personal and political power in research” and her personal goal was to learn how her students acquired, created and evaluated knowledge (Ibid., p.52). She redesigned each subsequent course based on the experiences she gained from the previous ones. The emphasis was on designing new methods for oneself rather than replicating someone else’s.

Hollingsworth tells the story of one of her students, Lisa, a fourth grade teacher who participated in the fourth course and who seemed to find classroom discipline difficult. This was due to the fact that there was a disparity between the authoritarian role of the teacher in the theoretical classroom and her own role as a teacher (Ibid., p.65). In response to Lisa’s problem, the class advised her to give up her “borrowed image”; her class teaching was then observed again and videotaped. The video and the group discussions that followed revealed that Lisa’s ‘focus problem’ was minimal and she was able to begin revising her role as a teacher (Ibid., pp.65-66).²⁸

As the example illustrates, feminist pedagogy here functions as a critique of those pedagogies that hold the status quo, i.e. ‘masculinised’ pedagogies which value discipline, authority and control. Hollingsworth demonstrates that sound pedagogies can grow out of school of education departments. However, this example describes a pedagogy that has only an indirect influence on classroom teaching in schools. This is regrettable since its method of first exposing and

²⁸ Note that this was a joint decision by all members of Hollingsworth’s graduate class. In her article she repeatedly emphasises the importance of operating on the same level with her students. For her they are as much learners as they are teachers; the same applies to her.

then delineating masculinised norms has far reaching implications also for teaching in schools. The example also highlights the importance of eliminating the traditional dualism of theory and practice as it grounds research in teaching and vice versa.

For both strands of radical feminist pedagogies the question that arises is what their actual aim is if they are not to be implemented in schools. The fact that on the one hand they call themselves a feminist pedagogies but that on the other hand they are absent from schools, is at odds with the meaning of the word pedagogy. Historically pedagogy is derived from the Greek word *paidagogia* whereby *paidos* means boy or child and *agogos* means guide or instructor. The term thus seems to suggest ‘guidance of young people’ i.e. boys *and* girls and not only women (Gore 1993, p.9). Although Women’s’ Studies holds a unique position for developing transformative feminist pedagogies, it is isolated in its own institutional settings and thus fails in its task (Ibid., p.82).

Radical feminisms, because of their insistence on separatism and on the exclusion of everything male, fall into the trap of adopting the very power structures they attempt to combat: they try to eradicate patriarchy but at the same time intend to create their own matriarchy. While liberal approaches to education are usually fairly uncritical of education, radical feminisms, by contrast, are hyper critical with the result that they cannot and do not use education as an instrument for change.

4.3.3 The Education Reform Act 1988

In 1988 the Education Reform Act which was developed by the Conservative Government, was introduced in England and Wales. It standardised the school curricular and made it compulsory. It set out a range of subjects that pupils should study between the age of five and sixteen. The Education Reform Act also laid down the standards pupils should

achieve (DfEE 2001). For this national tests (SATs) were created and GCSE and A-level results were/are published in so-called league tables. The publication of league tables increases the pressure on each school to improve the academic performance of its pupils and at the same time serves to attract pupils to the schools with the best results. As a consequence parents and pupils find themselves in the role of 'consumers' while schools compete for a good position in the 'market place of education.'

The Act also transformed the role of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) with the introduction of local management of schools. School budgets could now be devolved to boards of governors which are made up of local authority representatives, elected teachers and parents. Boards of governors could now decide if they want to opt out of local authority control and instead receive their funding directly from the central government (The British Council 1999e). The Conservative government presented these changes as "measures of decentralisation" but the Education Reform Act 1988 and the national curriculum in particular increase government control over schools and LEAs (Ibid., p.1).

Behind the Education Reform Act is no doubt an economic motivation. Margaret Thatcher who was Secretary of State for Education during the early 1970s and later became the Prime Minister, was deeply dissatisfied with the standards of education. She considered high standards in education as increasingly important if the British economy was to compete with the global economy (Arnot et al. 1999, p.84). Although the Education Reform Act 1988 was developed and introduced by the Conservative government at that time, the Labour government has left it in place and adopted similar if not the same aims for education. A DfEE paper from September 2001 defines the aims as follows:

to support economic growth and improve the nation's competitiveness and quality of life by raising standards of educational achievements and skills; to promote an efficient and flexible labour market by enhancing choice, diversity and excellence in education and training, and by encouraging lifelong learning (DfEE 2001)

With regard to sex-gender the Act has affected girls and boys in different ways. The majority of girls have managed to take advantage of the new measures and achieve better GCSE results. By contrast, boys, with some exceptions, have not been able to use the measures to their advantage; they continue to be outperformed by girls. As I demonstrated above, this is true for instance, of working class boys. Due to economic restructuring and the introduction of new technologies during the Conservative rule, the youth labour market collapsed and many working class boys had to find ways of “celebrating manhood without relying on work identity” (Arnot et al. 1999, p.142). One of the ways in which they express/ed their manhood was/is their resistance to school. Many working class boys also responded negatively to streaming when it was re-introduced; for them it only confirmed “their failure to succeed in what were perceived as other people's educational designs” (Ibid., p.143). Whereas girls' achievements have been largely ignored, the failure of most boys to respond positively to the Education Reform Act has been the focus of recent debates. What is problematic here is the imbalance of focus. Although boys underachievement obviously needs attention and solutions, girls' improved achievements in all subjects needs to be recognised and built upon.

There has been, as Arnot et al. (1999) put it, a change in educational values which has “contributed to a decline of the relative advantage of boys over girls.” This is what is referred to as the “closing of the gender gap” (p.155). Even though it has to be acknowledged that the gender gap has closed with regard to exam results, it remains open with regard to subject choice. Although the government is “firmly committed to equality of opportunity”, the Educa-

tion Reform Act 1988 does not concern itself with the multiple causes of sex-gender stereotyping and discrimination (DfEE 2001). For this reason problems like traditional subject choices and boys' underachievement remain unresolved. In addition, the new emphasis on academic achievement and competition has widened the gap between the social classes and the races (Arnot et al. 1999, p.155). Moreover, the hierarchical structure of schools and other sites of education have not been challenged. On the contrary, hierarchies appear to be the hallmark of education in Britain with adults at the top and students at the bottom end. It is thus not surprising that the Education Reform Act 1988 was developed by adults who see themselves and are seen by others as experts of education. At no stage during the process of developing the Act were students consulted and, moreover, educational philosophies or developmental theories were not taken into account. This is yet another reason why the government's top-down approach is highly problematic from a feminist point of view.

4.4 The different hierarchies in schools and their underlying values viewed through the lens of feminist poststructuralism

Liberal and radical feminisms have so far not been able to explain sufficiently the reasons for girls' and boys' suffering in education. For this reason I will employ feminist poststructuralism as a tool for revealing what is behind the problems education causes with its hierarchical structures. I will first give a brief introduction into feminist poststructuralism in education and then I will identify a number of hierarchies in education in general and in schools in particular and explain what impact they have on girls and boys.

4.4.1 Introduction: Feminist poststructuralism in education

Feminist poststructuralism is, as the term reveals, rooted in poststructuralism, a postmodern “theory of and for change” which draws on the works of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Poststructuralism is

a term applied to a very loosely connected set of ideas about meaning, the way in which meaning is struggled over and produced, the way it circulates amongst us, the impact it has on human subjects, and finally, the connection between meaning and power (Kenway et al. 1994, pp.189).

According to poststructuralism meaning is never fixed in symbols or language nor in power relationships. It changes continually, is influenced by and in turn influences “shifting patterns of power.” It inheres in “human subjectivity” which changes permanently, is contradictory and multi-faceted (Ibid., p.189). As Gaby Weiner (1994) points out, for poststructuralism truths and universals are considered to be problematic as they always have a specific historical context (p.98). Poststructuralism seeks to uncover why certain truths have become normalising and universal. It employs the principle of ‘discourse’ to demonstrate how subjectivity and power relationships are composed. Discourses are “structuring mechanisms for social institutions, modes of thought and individual subjectivities” (Ibid., 99).²⁹ According to poststructuralism a discourse is made up of power and knowledge which are inextricably linked and thus function like a “single configuration of ideas and practice.” Weiner elaborates: “Thus the knowledge that is produced as truth is the knowledge that is linked to the system of power which produces and sustains it” (Ibid., p.99).

²⁹ Weiner quotes Foucault himself who describes discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the process of doing so conceal their own invention” (Weiner 1994, p.98).

Poststructuralism becomes feminist when issues of sex-gender, domination and inequity are central to its analysis (Kenway et al. 1994, p.190).³⁰ In feminist poststructuralism power is viewed as “inherently fractured, operating in a capillary way”; it is not understood as totalising (Gore 1993, p.76). Patriarchy is therefore defined and looked upon in a different way; it is not considered to be a unified whole. Jennifer M. Gore refers to “regimes of truth”, i.e. the connection between knowledge and power “which is produced by, and produces, a specific act of *government*” (p.55). The definition of power which feminist poststructuralism adopts clearly sets it apart from its radical counterparts. While radical feminisms perceive of patriarchy as dominant, all-pervasive power, feminist poststructuralism defines power and hence patriarchy as being “inherently fractured”; it is not monolithic and cannot be possessed. Because of this definition dualisms such as powerful/powerless and oppressor/oppressed are avoided. Feminist poststructuralism takes its definition of power from the French philosopher Michel Foucault:

Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power (Gore 1992, p.58)

To reiterate, for feminist poststructuralism knowledge is not an entity; rather it is contextual and is always linked up with power. Jane Kenway and Helen Modsen (1992) argue that knowledge is negotiated, transformed and produced whenever students, teachers and knowledge interact. Consequently there is no guarantee that any material which is used is free

³⁰ Note that feminist poststructuralism does not use poststructuralism uncritically. It rejects a number of its central premises. Kenway et al. (1994) write: „[...] feminist poststructuralists reject the logic of binary oppositions, the principles of humanism and the unified subject, the Enlightenment theory, and meta-narratives predicated on unified groups of oppressors and oppressed and revolutionary agents. [...] Further they do not see power as centrally located and dispersed downwards” (p.190).

of sex-gender stereotypes/other will be effective, i.e. it will be understood as the author/teacher intended (p.143).

Feminist poststructuralism also draws attention to the issue of difference. Unlike its liberal and radical counterparts it does not perceive of women and girls as a unified whole. The same, of course, is true for men and boys. Lyn Yates (1994) elaborates:

that social control (or ‘resolution’) takes not one form, but many, that students are embodied and oppressed in discourses of gender, race, class; and that these discourses cut across each other, and cannot be neatly brought to harmony simply by a teacher’s good will or superior understanding (p.430).

By adopting this approach to difference, feminist poststructuralism bypasses the idealism which is so typical of feminist theories and provides a more realistic analysis of sex-gender/race/class relationships in education. Sex-gender identity is not considered to be static but is, according to Kenway et al. (1994) “the ongoing result of the discourses that have shaped her/his history and which shape her/his world and the moment; it is constituted and reconstituted daily” (p.192). In other words, human beings actively read, rewrite, change and perpetuate discourses of sex-gender/class/race/sexuality which they embody and which oppress them (Yates, 1994, p.430).

To summarise, according to feminist poststructuralism universals and truths are problematic in so far as they are presented/present themselves as objective and as universally applicable when, in fact, they always have a specific historic context. The notion of discourses is used to demonstrate how power relationships and subjectivities are constituted. Power, according to feminist poststructuralism, is not an object that can be possessed. Rather, it may be simultaneously exercised and undergone and in this way it is always in motion. Dualisms like powerful/powerless which are inherent in traditional definitions of power are therefore rejected. Knowledge is not an ‘entity’ that exists by itself; it is always connected to power. In

the classroom it is negotiated, produced and transformed. Finally, sex-gender identity is never fixed but always in flux so that women and men cannot be perceived of as 'unified whole.'

4.4.2 The hierarchies of state school education

4.4.2.1 The hierarchy of knowledge

From a feminist poststructuralist angle the whole top-down approach of the government in matters of education is fraught with problems. The Department for Education and Science dictates school policies and structures 'from above.' Two aspects about the increased centralisation of curriculum reforms are especially problematic: 1) the epistemology behind increased centralisation, i.e., that only one 'body' or department, in this case the DfES, 'possesses' all the knowledge and expertise in the realm of education and is therefore authorised to make decisions about educational policies and literally pass them 'down' to schools and other educational institutions; and 2) the DfES draws up educational policies which are expected to 'work' for all schools regardless of their different micro-cultures and needs. The authority and power of decisions and policies pertaining to education is in the hands of a few who decide when, how and what the majority should learn. A good example of the 'top down approach' is the case of the national curriculum. Here consultation was sought from a few experts in education but at no stage were students consulted (The British Council 1999b). Implicit here are two assumptions: firstly, that students have nothing whatsoever to contribute to the development of a national curriculum and, secondly, that if they did, it was/is not considered to be important or relevant enough to be included. The epistemology behind the government's decision to exclude students' expertise from the development of the national curriculum is highly problematic. It implies that only adults 'possess' knowledge which they can 'impart' to students and not vice versa. Moreover, by not referring to developmental theories or educational philosophies that would ulti-

mately serve to undergird the national curriculum and especially the four key stages, the government clearly undermined the rights of children.

The hierarchical structure of schools serves as a good illustration of this adult/students dualism. At the top of the hierarchy is the head teacher who is usually a man, followed by the deputy head teacher and the heads of department the majority of whom are also men. Then follow the allowance and non-allowance staff, auxiliary staff and, finally, the pupils. Inherent in this hierarchical structure are a number of other dualisms or micro-hierarchies such as male/female, experienced/inexperienced, white/coloured and heterosexual/homosexual. For example, a black female head of department may enjoy her privileged position in the school hierarchy but at the same time may find herself in situations where she is at the bottom end of micro-hierarchies like white/coloured or male/female. Students may experience micro-hierarchies in a similar way except that they are already at the bottom end of the hierarchy.

In a DfEE paper on “Structure of Education and Training in Britain” (2001) the government states that it wants

to promote an efficient and flexible labour market by enhancing choice, diversity and excellence in education and training, and by encouraging lifelong learning.

The power-knowledge discourse that emerges here according to which old/er human beings ‘posses’ knowledge and young/er human beings do not, stands in sharp contrast to the government’s intention to promote lifelong learning. The epistemology behind the national curriculum and behind the hierarchical school structure implies that knowledge is perceived as an immutable static and value-free object that can be acquired and imparted. The fact that knowledge is inextricably linked to power is either completely ignored or not considered to be problematic. Students who have the lowest status in the school hierarchy suffer the most from this power-

knowledge discourse. Since they know nothing or only little they are also relatively powerless in comparison to adults.

To conclude, from a feminist point of view the top-down approach of the DfES in educational matters is problematic because it is grounded in dualisms like powerful/powerless, and authority/submission. The fact that students were not consulted about the national curriculum also reflects the dualism/micro-hierarchy of old over young. The difficulty here is that in the realm of education – as in many others - students are at the bottom end of the hierarchy where they have no or only few rights and certainly no say.

4.4.2.2 The hierarchy of school subjects

As I mentioned above, the national curriculum lays down what subjects students should study at which key stage. All students in key stages one to three (ages five to fourteen) must study English, mathematics, science, history, technology, geography, music, art and physical education. In addition, in key stage three students must also study a modern foreign language. Pupils in key stage four (ages fourteen to sixteen) must study the core subjects which are English, mathematics and science, a modern foreign language, technology and physical education as well as geography or history or, alternatively, short courses in both subjects (The British Council 1999e). Religious education must be studied till the age of eighteen. When one takes a closer look at the subjects students are expected to study from the age of five onwards, it is striking to note that the knowledge and skills the subjects ‘convey’ reflect the needs of the economy. For example, while English and modern foreign languages equip students with linguistic skills, science and technology ensure that they are up-to-date with the latest developments and inventions of an economy which is based on science. Granted, music and art as well as physical education also feature in the national curriculum

but their status is considerably lower than the status of science and technology. The distinction between core subjects and foundation subjects makes the hierarchy clearly visible: science is a core subject, art and music, by contrast, are only foundation subjects.

The message behind the hierarchy of subjects is that academic skills are more important and more valuable than practical skills. What emerges here is the theory/praxis dualism which is closely connected to the head-male/body-female dualism and which is thus highly problematic from a feminist perspective. Moreover, students experience and know the hierarchy of subjects from day to day; alternatives are not offered. Therefore it becomes the status quo in the same way the hierarchical structure of the school and the hierarchy of knowledge do. The hierarchies of subjects thus continue unchallenged as do the injustices that are inherent in them. What is so critical about this is that students and women are usually at the bottom end of these hierarchies and therefore their suffering is perpetuated and also legitimised.

One last point must be made. Religious education is neither a core subject nor a foundation subject; in fact, it does not feature in the national curriculum. Nevertheless the national curriculum recommended that the new syllabus for Religious Education “must reflect the fact that religious traditions in this country are mainly Christian” (DES 1989a cited Weiner 1994, p.116). When considering that six per cent of the population in England practice other religions, the motive behind this statement is dubious (National Statistics 2003c, p.3). After all, religious education is one of the few subjects that has the potential to offer time and space for a good understanding between nations via their respective religion. To afford Christianity a higher status than the religions of Britain’s ethnic minority communities is to imply that Christianity is more important if not better than, for instance, Islam or Hinduism.

To sum up, the economic motive behind the hierarchy of subjects is highly problematic as it presents academic/scientific subjects like English and science as more important and more valuable than practical subjects like music and art. Religious education which facilitates an understanding among nations is not included in the compulsory subject list. Since alternatives are not offered, the hierarchy of subjects and the hierarchy of knowledge and school structure are experienced and regarded as the status quo with the result that students and women who are normally at the receiving end of these hierarchies continue to suffer. Moreover, their suffering is legitimised by the status quo of hierarchies. From a feminist point of view all the issues raised above are very problematic.

4.4.3 The school hierarchies of competition

4.4.3.1 The hierarchy of league tables

One of the government's aims for education is, as I have shown above, "to support economic growth" (DfEE 2001). For economic growth to be successful competition is needed. Within education competition takes place at various levels: between pupils as they try to achieve good results; between teachers under the pressure of performance-related pay; and, lastly, between schools as league tables list each school's exam results in hierarchical order from best to worst. The focus here is on academic achievement; other achievements such as the development of schools as local community centres, their success in the fields of art, music and sports or in developing effective programmes for students with special educational needs do not feature in the league tables. In fact, due to the pressure league tables put on schools to 'produce' good exam results, students with special educational needs could be disadvantaged as schools worry about their impact on exam results. The league tables also fail to

include the 'value added' approach that takes into account students' experience and development from nursery school to the end of their school career (The British Council 1999b).

The hidden messages behind the hierarchy of league tables are: firstly, that what is most desirable in education is academic achievement; secondly, that non-academic subjects and social skills are not important; and, thirdly, that a good person is one who is academically successful. What emerges is an extremely one-dimensional image of human beings who are valued and measured according to their academic ability. Students who are 'late developers' or those with special educational needs cannot live up to the criterion of academic achievement. As I pointed out above, the same is true of many white working class students and students from ethnic minority groups. For example, a study of 100 schools in England which had the highest percentage of free school meals – that are an indicator of poverty – revealed that only twenty-nine per cent of the students gained five Cs or better in their GCSEs in 2002. Interestingly, these schools had 31.9 per cent of students with special educational needs. The same study was done with 100 schools that had the smallest percentage of free meals. Here ninety-three per cent of students achieved five A*-Cs and, not surprisingly, only 5.4 per cent of their pupils have special educational needs (Woodward 2003, p.1). Lower exam results clearly correlate with poverty and high unemployment and therefore inner-city schools are disadvantaged by the hierarchy of league tables.

However, there are signs of hope. On 1 September 2002 the Special Educational Needs Disability Act came into effect. It makes discrimination against disabled students unlawful and places new responsibilities on local authorities, nurseries, schools, colleges and universities to ensure that disabled students are not disadvantaged (Byrne 2001, p.1). From September 2002 institutions were required to change their policies and practices to accommo-

date for students with special educational needs and from September 2003 they had to provide auxiliary aids and services “to prevent substantial disadvantage” for them (Ibid., pp.1-2). Although the Act no doubt benefits students with special educational needs, it will take time to take effect in every single school. Moreover, unless league tables are abandoned or, alternatively, changed to include non-academic achievements, they will only be a stumbling block for the effective implementation of the Act.

Further divisions that the league tables reinforce are, as I demonstrated above, academic achiever/non-achiever and mental skills/practical skills which is another form of the theory/praxis divide. What is problematic here from a feminist poststructuralist point of view are not only the dualisms themselves but their origin. Who determines that mental achievement has a higher status than practical achievement? And why? Originally, mental work was the exclusive realm of men. In the Dark Ages, for instance, they worked as monks, priests and doctors. Women, by contrast, tended the fields, did housework and reared their children; they were denied the right to education. Although in the 21st century education ‘of the mind’ is no longer an exclusive male domain, it is still to a large extent dominated and influenced by men. Women continue to be associated with practical skills and work such as housework and child-rearing even though more and more women also have academic degrees. The connection between the micro-hierarchies/dualisms mind-male over body-female becomes yet again apparent. So in effect league tables exacerbate the already existing divisions between male/female and mind/body.

To summarise, the hierarchy of league tables reinforces and exacerbates existing dualisms such as academic versus non-academic and theory versus praxis which are both connected to the mind-male/body-female dualism.

4.4.3.2 The hierarchy of streaming

On another level competition takes place through the hierarchy of streaming according to abilities. Although streaming may provide a better frame for effective teaching according to ability groups, it also causes inequalities between the different sets. Based on my own observations in state schools I claim that top sets are more likely to receive better quality lessons, more teacher attention and material than bottom sets. What is also problematic is that streaming ‘dooms’ pupils to a certain level of achievement, i.e. it categorises them and thereby denies them the chance to change from one such category to another. For example, a boy who is in the bottom set in German is unlikely to be promoted to the top set simply because he will not be pushed enough in the first place to achieve better results than those expected of a bottom set. However, a girl from the top set in German who cannot keep up with the high expectations that are placed on her may be demoted to a lower set. In everyday school life both promotion and demotion are, of course, possible but I suggest that the latter is more common.

Another negative aspect of streaming is that it encourages competition while at the same time discouraging co-operation. Yet co-operation is not only a vital social skill but it also plays an important part in the economy. Without co-operation an effective economy would be unthinkable. While the government encourages competition within education to “promote an efficient and flexible labour market” it fails to realise the importance of co-operation (DfEE 2001).

To sum up, streaming encourages competition but fails to promote co-operation which is an essential social skill and plays an important part in an efficient economy. In addition, streaming causes inequalities between the different ability sets and makes it difficult for pupils to move between them.

4.4.4 Beyond the hierarchies in schools and their underlying values: Implications for an holistic inclusive pedagogy

Using feminist poststructuralism as a tool, I have uncovered the various hierarchical structures and underlying values in education in general and in schools in particular. A number of dualisms that have repeatedly emerged can be discerned: theory/praxis, mind/body, academic/social and mental skills/practical skills whereby the last three are variations of the first one. The theory/praxis dualism is traditionally connected to the male/female dualism. Within the school structure students are, as I have shown, already at the bottom end of the many hierarchies. The inequalities that are caused by the hierarchical structure of education and by dualisms affect girls in two ways: as students and as part of womankind. Human beings whose sexual orientation, ethnic origin or class deviates in any way from the norm, experience similar forms of discrimination and suffering. The prescribed national curriculum, the status quo of the school hierarchy and school uniforms all have ‘normalizing features,’ i.e. they prescribe the norm (Weiner 1994, p.100).

Behaviour is also ‘normalised’ through school discipline and rules. The ‘normalising’ process is so subtle that appropriate behaviour in students (and indeed in adults) may appear to be normal when it is in fact produced and “infused with power-notations” (Ibid., p.101). The notion of power that is used here is not concerned with physical threat or the intention to dominate but with the production of ‘the willing subject’- in this case the willing subject that serves/will serve the British economy. Power engenders social identity (Ibid., p.101). If social identity is characterised by competition, by exaggerating the importance of academic ‘male’ work at the cost of non-academic ‘female’ work and by legitimising the low status of young and women and of all others who do not correlate with the norm, then it is a extremely one-

dimensional identity which discriminates and causes injustices; it must therefore be rejected from a feminist poststructuralist point of view.

The definition of power that feminist poststructuralists employs plays an essential part in the creation of a holistic inclusive pedagogy. Individuals simultaneously exercise and undergo power. This obviously has important implications for the teacher/student relationship and hence for pedagogy: teachers are thus not all-powerful at all times in the same way as pupils are not always powerless. So power provides in fact a common ground between teachers and pupils: relative power/powerlessness.

Feminist poststructuralism also offers an alternative approach to sex-gender/other identity. All healthy human beings actively read their culture. This is true for students as well as teachers. Both are shaped by their respective sex-gender/race/class discourses which they read, rewrite, change or perpetuate and for this reason their identities are constantly in flux (Orner 1992, p.74). With the aid of feminist poststructuralism I have shown that the discourses of sex-gender, sexuality, race and class cut across each other. For example, in a learning situation in the micro-culture of the classroom which is mixed race and co-educational, a white working class boy may struggle to assert himself academically but at break time may slip into his role as the leader of his group and in so doing assert himself, for example, vis-à-vis his white middle class peers who are higher achievers and, of course, also vis-à-vis all female peers. Sex-gender/other identity therefore constantly changes, making any efforts to address the injustices caused by sex-gender/other stereotyping easier.

Two issues emerges here: one is the possibility for change. The very nature of human beings, i.e. that their identities are not fixed clearly shows that *change* is part of being human. This is an excellent starting point for developing a new pedagogy. Change as a feature of human na-

ture renders null and void the dualism that impedes the education of the young the most: the old/er versus young/er dualism. Both old and young have change as a common ground.

Another issue that poststructuralist feminism brought to light is that government school policies do not acknowledge difference, indeed, they seem to perceive it as a threat. However, like change *difference* is yet another feature human beings have in common. Difference joins together sex-gender, race and class. To counteract the emphasis on the norm which is so typical of the government's educational policies, it is imperative that an holistic inclusive pedagogy is based on difference. It must therefore be its goal to 1) demonstrate that differences exist; 2) that they are a positive characteristic of human beings; and, 3) that it encourages pupils (and teachers) to accept them and live with them.

Perhaps the most important issue feminist poststructuralism draws attention to concerns the notion of knowledge. Feminist poststructuralism defines knowledge as subjective, changeable, connected to power and problematic; it thus presents the complete opposite of the traditional definition of knowledge. Pedagogy is about teaching and teaching, in turn, is concerned with knowledge. The effectiveness of a pedagogy is dependent upon the type of epistemology in which it is grounded. The epistemology behind the government's legislation is, as I presented above, characterised by a number of dualisms and therefore it is highly dubious. Feminist poststructuralism on the other hand offers an epistemology that defines knowledge for what it is, thereby revealing its political motive. To reiterate:

power-knowledge is used as a single configuration of ideas and practice that constitute a discourse. Thus the knowledge that is produced as truth is the knowledge that is linked to the system of power which produces and sustains it (Weiner 1994, p.99).

Concretely this means that an holistic inclusive pedagogy must teach students what knowledge really is and what in fact lies behind a discourse, i.e. what the motive/s is/are be-

hind it. It must also demythologise knowledge and convey to students that they too ‘have’ valuable knowledge that they shape and may want to share.

4.5 Conclusion

I have demonstrated that students suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping at school. Here they are taught what the status quo is in terms of achievement, school structure, sex-gender, sexuality, race and class. No alternatives are offered. Instead education in general and schools in particular are themselves continually involved in perpetuating sex-gender stereotypes. My examination of education also uncovered that sex-gender stereotypes are always linked to other stereotypes, i.e. race, class and sexuality. At this juncture the fourth research question that guided this examination:

What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?

can therefore be answered with the first part of **Hypothesis 4**:

That education too perpetuates sex-gender stereotypes and other stereotypes.

At the same time, however, education can serve as a powerful tool for change as my enquiry into government legislation has shown. For instance, the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 introduced equal opportunities at schools, i.e. it made discrimination against girls unlawful and introduced a wide range of subjects for all students. Since then girls’ achievements have steadily increased. The second part of **Hypothesis 3** can thus be verified, namely:

[and] that it also has the potential to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.

*

The question that arises here is: *How* can education ameliorate these injustices? My analysis of some aspects of the Education Reform Act 1988 has shown that education currently lacks an educational philosophy and/or an developmental theory that would provide a solid foundation. I therefore propose that a pedagogy is needed that provides such a foundation and at the same time addresses girls' and boys' sexed-gendered needs. It is to the development of such a pedagogy that I will turn in the subsequent chapter.

5. Towards an holistic inclusive pedagogy: Critical and interactive learning-teaching and teaching-learning

5.1 Introduction

In the foregoing chapter I delineated the educational context out of which I am going to develop an holistic inclusive pedagogy. This pedagogy is the focus of the present chapter.

The development of this pedagogy is guided by the fifth research question:

What kind of pedagogy is needed to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

In an attempt to answer it I posit **Hypothesis 5:**

That an holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to educate the whole human being and addresses the needs of girls *and* boys regardless of their background, can ameliorate the injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.

I begin by scrutinising Steiner's Waldorf education³¹ and Vygotsky's social constructivism with the intention of garnering useful concepts for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. In accordance with feminisms, both approaches will first of all be contextualised. I then deal with the issues that emerged from my examination of education in Britain in the previous chapter, e.g. girls' lack of self-esteem and boys' underachievement. Special attention will be given to the role of teachers, the relationship between them and students and to fostering critical thinking.

The above explorations into the current situation and underlying values of state school education have uncovered that students are not offered alternatives to hierarchical structures

³¹ The correct translation of the German 'Waldorf Pädagogik' is Waldorf pedagogy but since the word pedagogy is not so common in Britain I will refer to it as Waldorf education.

and dualisms. Instead, these are presented as the status quo. As a result students experience sex-gender/other discrimination as normal and, with some exceptions, perpetuate it. The aim of my holistic inclusive pedagogy is therefore to teach them to think critically, challenge the status quo and to disrupt it if they wish to do so. It thereby leads them out of the vicious circle of discrimination.

Viewed from the angle of feminist poststructuralism pedagogy is never a static objective concept. Instead it is a theory of teaching designed by one or more experts and therefore it is always subjective. It grows out of the daily praxis of teaching and, in turn, feeds back into the theory which again shapes the praxis that follows, and so forth. A pedagogy is thus changeable and flexible. Teacher and pedagogy do not operate in a vacuum. They always have a specific context which is the micro-culture of the classroom. Each class presents yet another micro-culture and a pedagogy is not only shaped and re-shaped by the teacher, it is also influenced by the class it is aimed at. A pedagogy must be seen as a guideline, a recommendation and as only *one* possibility of many and consequently cannot have universal application. These are the premises on which I will develop my holistic inclusive pedagogy.

5.2 Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf education and its contributions to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy

My enquiry into education in Britain has brought to light, among other issues, that the national curriculum lacks an educational philosophy. For this reason I first turn to Waldorf education. It is rooted in an educational philosophy which has its own developmental theory. In addition, it provides an holistic approach to education and is therefore ideal for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. Moreover, I have experienced the theory and praxis of Waldorf education

for five years. As I pointed out at the beginning of this section, it is essential from an holistic inclusive perspective that theory and praxis go hand in hand.

The holistic approach of Waldorf education includes the tasks of education, the role of the teacher-learner, the subjects and the philosophy underlying it. The philosophy behind Waldorf education is anthroposophy which roughly means ‘the teaching or knowledge about human beings.’ It combines various elements of Platonism, Gnosticism, Mysticism, philosophical idealism, different Indian teachings (Microsoft Encarta Enzyklopädie 2001, article “Steiner, Rudolf”) and Christianity. It is a contentious ideology and therefore Waldorf education is often criticised for being sectarian and based in the occult. Nevertheless it points to the fact that a pedagogy needs an underlying philosophy.

5.2.1 Rudolf Steiner: A brief biographical sketch

Rudolf Steiner was born on 25 (or 27) February 1861 in Kraljevic (now Croatia) and died on 30 March 1925 in Dornach, Switzerland. He was an Austrian philosopher, teacher and scientist. In 1913 he founded the Anthroposophical Society and six years later became the director of the first Waldorf school. Steiner published a great number of works, the German edition of his collected works comprising a total of 350 volumes (Wilkinson 1993, p.2). He was deeply concerned about the religious and political situation of his time which, according to him, was characterised by blindness, selfishness and emptiness (Parsons & Whittaker in: Steiner 1997, p.xvii). In his understanding the effects of the scientific age would cause the downfall of humankind and therefore he wanted to create a counterbalance to the materialistic and intellectual outlook of his time (Wilkinson 1993, p.6).

Steiner advocated that education was part of the spiritual sphere and thus needed to be free of state and economic control. In his view state education did not develop complete hu-

man beings, particularly for the working class (Steiner 1997, p.187). It was his intention to create a school for open minds with more emphasis on culture, less unrest and frustration, where teachers too could be free and help pupils in developing their capacities. The first Waldorf school was opened on 7th September 1919 (Wilkinson 1993, pp.10-12). Initially the school was intended for the students of the Waldorf-Astoria factory workers - hence the name Waldorf school. Today there are six-hundred Waldorf schools world wide, 20 of which are in the United Kingdom.³²

Steiner lived in an age where the women's suffrage movement was already underway. Although he was by no means a feminist, he was open-minded by the standards of his time and dealt with the women's question, albeit only in spiritual terms.

5.2.2 Setting out the context: What is Waldorf education?

According to anthroposophy, in which Waldorf education is rooted, all being has its origin in the spiritual and returns there after it has undergone seven stages of development. Particularly relevant for Waldorf education is the anthroposophical view of the fourfold human being who possesses a physical and etheric body, an astral body and an ego. The etheric body refers to a force within human beings "which is beyond the reach of ordinary sense perception" and which they share with the plant and animal world, whereas the astral body describes "a vehicle of sensation" such as passion, aversions, impulses and pleasure which human beings have in common with the animal world (Wilkinson 1993, p.26). The ego "works downward into the three other parts of the human being" (Steiner 1985, p.18). There are vari-

³² In addition, there are also 10 'sponsor schools' that are not fully accredited Steiner Waldorf schools.

ous rhythms in the human biography one of which is the seven year rhythm which continues throughout life. For education the following rhythms are decisive: ages 0-7, 7-14, and 14 to 21.³³ At birth the physical comes into being, at the age of seven the etheric is freed, at fourteen the astral, and at the age of twenty-one, the ego (Wilkinson 1993, p.27). Each child is the continuation of that which happens in the supernatural sphere and has her/his own karma.

The aim of Waldorf education is, to put it in Rudolf Steiner's words (cited Wilkinson 1993), "to foster the development of the individual's inherent capacities and to allow full expansion of the prepositions of destiny" (p.39). To aid students in their development in each stage, Waldorf education tries to provide them with role models. For this reason class teachers usually stay with their class for eight years, i.e. from class one to class eight. From class nine to eleven two class guardians, the one female, the other male, replace the class teacher. Waldorf education also seeks to offer students a balanced choice of artistic, practical and academic subjects so that the whole human being, i.e. body, mind and soul, is educated. An appreciation of nature and creativity are also fostered and therefore much time is dedicated to crafts like woodwork and pottery. According to Waldorf educators, the curriculum is comprehensive and interdisciplinary.

In contrast to common practice in state schools, Waldorf schools teach writing first, using stories, rhymes, movement and rhythmic exercises; only then follows reading. Typical of Waldorf education is also that two foreign languages are taught-learned from class one by means of poems, songs, games and visual aids. Writing in the foreign language is introduced much later, usually in class three or four.

³³ As an ex colleague of mine pointed out, there are many rhythms according to an-

In Waldorf education social skills are emphasised and fostered. In the classroom, paintings and texts on the chalk board serve as resources rather than textbooks, especially in the lower school and middle school³⁴ but photocopies of hand written materials also supplement the lessons. Modern technology such as overhead projectors or tape recorders are rejected. The emphasis is on natural and personal resources and on creativity.

In Waldorf education all students, regardless of their sex-gender, are instructed in all subjects. However, as a number of scholars have pointed out (e.g. Grandt & Grandt 2001), and this is supported by my own experience, Waldorf education is sectarian in nature and its advocates are often reluctant to take new ideas on board. For this reason sexism still prevails in some British Waldorf schools although, admittedly, its severity depends very much on the outlook of the teachers who run the school. This brings me to my final point: that there is no hierarchical school structure in Waldorf education. The school is not directed by a head but by all teachers who are divided into committees, each of which has a distinct task. The absence of an hierarchical school structure is the first contribution of Waldorf education to an holistic inclusive pedagogy. For if such a pedagogy is to counteract hierarchies, it must itself be free of these.

5.2.3 Waldorf education: Educating the whole human being

5.2.3.1 The tasks of education

Steiner (cited Wilkinson 1993) recognised that “what is right for one age is wrong for another” and therefore education must always meet the needs of its time and *teach students*

throposophy and some anthroposophists are even reluctant to agree on these stages.

³⁴ lower school = classes one to four; middle school = classes five to eight

about life today (p.36). He wanted to meet these needs from a mere spiritual side but I suggest they must be met from an holistic inclusive perspective. In a postmodern time British students are more than ever confronted with the ambiguities of life. They may, for example, occasionally see or hear about homosexuality but at the same time observe that most couples around them are heterosexuals. Therefore, the task of an holistic inclusive pedagogy must ultimately be to enable learner *to develop a positive attitude to diversity and ambiguity* that is characterised by open-mindedness, empathy, understanding and acceptance.

On the issue of discrimination, Steiner (cited Wilkinson 1993) writes that educational principles have to be “free from all distinctions of class, sex or creed and be free from outside influence”, i.e. that they have to be politically and financially independent (p.20). Steiner’s concern for an independent education is to be welcomed, especially in view of the political and economic motivation behind the national curriculum. But even though Waldorf schools are financially independent, they are at the same time dependent upon anthroposophy in which their pedagogy is rooted. To reiterate, anthroposophy is a very contentious ideology whose motive may be positive but to many critics (e.g. Grandt and Grandt 2001 and www.waldorfcritics.com) it is nevertheless racist, out-dated, too religious and closed to new educational ideas. The question that arises is: What is the criterion that determines when and if the motive behind a pedagogy is positive?

Pedagogy in its original meaning is about guiding students; it is *for students*. The motive behind a pedagogy must above all be that it is *good for them*. It is not enough to facilitate the development of the mind. A child’s body also needs to be aided in its development as does the soul which is “the seat of human personality, intellect, will and emotions” (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.1467). And since the three parts of the human being can not be sepa-

rated, they must all be catered for. An *holistic* inclusive pedagogy must therefore have the well-being of students' body, mind and soul as its prime concern and must be aimed at the needs students have today.

Further on the tasks of education Steiner (cited Wilkinson 1993) writes:

We need an education which makes us not only clever and intelligent but also sensible, and one which also creates enthusiasm and inner mobility and provides nourishment for the soul (p.15).

By insisting that education should make students also sensible, he brings the aspect of morality into play. In line with an holistic inclusive pedagogy it does not mean that they are told what is right and wrong but rather, that they are taught the skills to make such judgments. These are *analysing, reasoning, questioning* and *evaluating*. Perhaps it is too much to expect that education also enthuses students all the time since enthusiasm depends on specific subjects which they find particularly interesting, but it is certainly desirable that an holistic inclusive pedagogy aims to enthuse learners as often as possible. For concomitant with enthusiasm are usually open-mindedness, a growth in self-confidence and a positive attitude to learning, making the latter an enjoyable experience.

Finally, according to Steiner, education must also *create inner mobility*. I find this last task especially pertinent for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. As I mentioned before, it refers to an open-minded, inquisitive and searching attitude. Such an attitude does not only refer to willingness to take aboard new ideas, but, I suggest, also implies a broader perspective that moves beyond dualisms. For Steiner, education is thus more than teaching reading and writing; it must "enable students to cope with life and to stand on their own two feet" (cited Wilkinson 1993, p.39). I suggest that an holistic inclusive pedagogy embraces the same task.

5.2.3.2 School subjects

Waldorf schools teach academic subjects *and* practical subjects like arts and crafts to educate the whole human being. The following subjects are in the Waldorf curriculum in British schools: English, literature, two foreign languages, mathematics, music, art, handwork, woodwork, gardening, science and nature study, religious education, geography, history, eurhythmy, games and gymnastics (Childs 1998, pp.164-193). When looking at the subject list Waldorf education prescribes, it is striking to note that of the eighteen subjects five, i.e. music, art, handwork, woodwork and gardening are practical and creative in nature, seven are more academic in outlook and content, three involve physical exercises, i.e. eurhythmy, games and gymnastics, and one, religious education, is concerned with the spiritual. This appears to be a *well balanced curriculum* of subjects that appeal both to the intellect and to the creativity of learners and I propose that an holistic inclusive pedagogy follows its example.

In Waldorf schools most subject lessons for the lower school also contain *practical and creative elements* like rhythmic exercises such as chanting, clapping hands, stamping feet, drawing or doing drama. I propose that one of the effects of these elements in most lessons is that students experience continuity which creates a safer space for learning. In this sense learning is a continuous experience of various familiar creative activities in different contexts. Moreover, students remember information better when they have processed or digested it in different ways. Activities like drama or drawing facilitate development by taking it to a different level other than the cognitive one, i.e. they deepen what students experience and learn. The activities that an holistic inclusive pedagogy utilises must also be diverse and aimed at developing academic, artistic and social skills. Finally, the content of the lessons is often *in-*

terdisciplinary thereby providing an insight into the inter-connectedness of nature, people, places, events and objects.

5.2.3.3 Inter-connectedness and responsibility

As I stated above, Waldorf education emphasises different types of manual work to ensure that students are given the chance to comprehend and appreciate processes, diversity and manual work itself. In a society that accords academic work a higher status than manual work, the manual activities provide the necessary counterbalance by challenging and counter-acting the prevailing mind/body or academic/manual dualisms. For this reason an holistic inclusive pedagogy must inevitably employ *different manual activities*.

Waldorf education stresses the importance of working with natural materials and with nature. Subjects like woodwork and gardening provide all students with the opportunity to develop a close relationship with nature and thereby help them to understand and respect it. Today environmental problems caused by the industrialised nations are on the increase: air pollution, water pollution and climate change, to name but a few. Our long-term survival as a species ultimately depends on how we treat the environment. For this reason it is absolutely paramount that an holistic inclusive pedagogy fosters in learners an *understanding of* and *appreciation for nature* as well as *responsibility* toward it.

For Steiner (cited Wilkinson 1993) education is not only a personal matter but it first and foremost concerns the community since human beings are social beings. He writes:

One cannot be a social human being without understanding other people's work, technical processes, or without knowing the great productions of human genius in the arts, literature, science and man's development on earth generally. The child must be brought to feel himself at home on the earth and belonging to it and at the same time appreciate the existence and the rights of others (pp.39-40).

In order to understand others and the world young students at Waldorf schools visit local farms or forges while young people from the age of sixteen are introduced to other professions. The idea behind these visits is not that they start thinking about their future profession but rather that they get an impression of the variety of work in their society, of *processes, diversity, inter-connectedness* and the *value of other's contributions*. At the same time young people are given the opportunity to broaden their horizon which is particularly important at a stage when they are preoccupied with themselves.

5.2.3.4 The role of teachers

For Steiner the quality of education is inseparably linked to the quality of teachers. He considered education to be a force for social change and therefore teachers are of utmost importance as their “work affects not only the physical and mental health of the students in their charge but, by implication, the world at large” (Wilkinson 1993, p.78). Furthermore, he suggests that teachers approach students with reverence:

A feeling of reverence towards pupils, even thankfulness that they have been given the opportunity of educating them is the right attitude for teachers in which to approach their tasks. It is a religious one and it requires devotion, love, enthusiasm, even when the students are difficult. It is through this that the students, in turn, will develop similar forces (Ibid., p.79).

The Collins English Dictionary (1998) defines reverence as “a feeling or attitude of profound respect, usually reserved for the sacred or divine” (p. 136). Leaving the religious connotation aside, such *‘profound respect’* could provide a strong feature for the relationship between teachers and students in an holistic inclusive pedagogy. As I explained in the previous chapter, today students find themselves at the bottom end of hierarchies. What seems to count is their academic achievement. Very rarely do they feel appreciated and respected for who they are as individuals. But students who feel respected and appreciated are more likely

to become strong, self-confident human beings who, in turn, respect and appreciate others. I suggest then, that teachers who implement an holistic inclusive pedagogy, must create an atmosphere which is characterised by warmth, humanity, respect and appreciation. The ideal teacher must be, to put it in Steiner's words: "A happy, conscientious person, with a sense of balance and humour, and one who naturally evokes respect and reverence" (Wilkinson 1993, p.84).

Another essential feature of good teachers is, in Steiner's view, that they are open to new knowledge and willing to change their view in light of what they learn so that they do not become "dry and rigid." In addition, they need to have "extensive knowledge" and must be open for the concerns of others (Ibid., p.80). For Steiner adults too are therefore in a continuous process of development. What emerges here is the notion that teachers are also learners which, once again, provides a common ground for teachers and students. I will return to this in section 5.3.2.1.

5.2.4 Summary

Waldorf education makes a number of significant contributions to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy. Underlying Waldorf education is a philosophy which, in turn, is buttressed by a developmental theory. The tasks of education are: firstly, to educate body, mind and soul and teach students the skills to differentiate between right and wrong; secondly, to enthuse them; thirdly, to foster in them an inquisitive, open-minded and searching attitude; fourthly, to help learners cope with life; and, fifthly, to teach them to live with its ambiguities. The overarching aim of education is thus to foster human development.

Different creative activities allow for the continuity between and within the various subjects and facilitate the development of different skills. At the same time, the activities en-

sure that students are engaged and involved in their learning and remember information better. Different types of manual work lead students to appreciate diversity, processes and manual work itself and thereby challenge and disrupt the mind/body and academic/manual dualisms, while gardening and working with natural materials aids them in learning to appreciate and respect nature and hence to develop a sense of responsibility toward it.

Teachers should be open to learn new ideas and aim to meet students with profound respect. Finally, the context of education is the community. To help students understand others, processes, continuity and inter-connectedness in society, they must be given the opportunity to see and experience different occupations. Education must also be for all, regardless of sex-gender, race, class, sexual orientation, etc., have students' well being as its main concern and meet their diverse needs. It would be desirable if schools are politically and financially independent.

5.3 Vygotsky's social constructivism and its contribution to the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy

I have chosen to use Vygotsky's social constructivism because its definition of knowledge, i.e. that each human being is engaged in knowledge construction correlates well with the notion of power-knowledge discourses I introduced earlier. In addition, he proposes that learning is a social activity which, as I will demonstrate, fits in well with an holistic inclusive pedagogy.

Like Steiner's works, Vygotsky's are also not contemporary and do have to be considered within their specific historic context. They are, nevertheless, quite progressive for their time and pertinent for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. However, the danger of interpreting a theory of a scholar who has been dead for a long time is, of course, that there is no corrective

feedback so that different, often contradictory interpretations ensue. But I believe that this diversity merely reflects human nature. Vygotsky's work in the field of child development is rather complex but I do hope that my interpretation is fair to his intentions and contributes to that diversity.

5.3.1 Lev Semyonovitch Vygotsky: A brief biographical sketch

Lev Semenovich Vygotsky was born in Orsha, Belorussia in 1896 as one of eight children of a Jewish family. He studied law, philosophy, psychology and literature. He taught literature, history of art and science at schools and conservatories and worked as junior staff scientist at the Psychological Institute of Moscow University. He conducted experiments and empirical research in the field of child development and, like Rudolf Steiner, had a special interest in students with disabilities. He died of tuberculosis in 1934, leaving behind a total of 180 works (Wertsch 1985, pp.1-9). Although the breadth and depth of his works is no doubt remarkable, his main contribution is perhaps his comprehensive approach to developmental psychology. He severely criticised "single-criterion theories" such as "biological reductionism and mechanic behaviorism" (Ibid., p.20) and instead proposed that "to understand the individual, one must first understand the social relations in which the individual exists" (Ibid., p.58). For him, cognition is a social process.

Although Vygotsky's social constructivism is by no means feminist it is, as I am about to demonstrate, by implication concerned with dualisms and hierarchies and thus highly relevant for the construction of an holistic inclusive pedagogy. However, it needs to be borne in mind that it is not a pedagogy.

5.3.2 Setting out the context: What is social constructivism?

The current definition of constructivism is fairly broad and refers to epistemologies that focus on the active role of the knower in the process of cognition (Microsoft Encarta Enzyklopädie 2001, article “Konstruktivismus (Philosophie)”). Whereas traditional epistemologies hold that knowledge is objective, constructivism suggests that all knowledge is constructed and hence subjective. Human beings are therefore “knowing subjects” whose “behavior is mainly purposive and who have a highly developed capacity for organizing knowledge” (Magoon 1977 cited Noddings 1990, p.7). Constructivism is not a homogeneous theory. There are many different types of constructivism with divergent foci. For the purpose of this chapter one focus of constructivism is especially relevant: that the individual constructs meaning within her/his socio-cultural context. Vygotsky is the proponent of this approach which is known as social constructivism (Richardson 1997, p.4). It is to an examination of this type of constructivism that I will now turn.

5.3.2.1 Developing a new concept: Teachers-learners and learners-teachers

For Vygotsky learning is always a social process – hence the term *social* constructivism. He writes:

all higher mental functions are internalized social relationships [...] Their composition, genetic structure, and means of action [forms of mediation] - in a word, their whole nature - is social. Even when we turn to mental (internal) processes, their nature remains quasi-social. In their own private sphere, human beings retain the functions of social interaction (cited Wertsch 1985, p.66).

Internalisation does not imply, however, that external reality is simply copied onto an already existing internal plane. Rather, external reality is mastered by way of external sign forms like words and phrases (Ibid., p.66). Through the process of reconstructing external signs and tools human beings learn to master their behaviour and are therefore able to affect

and change their environment (Vygotsky 1978, p.56). By signs and tools Vygotsky (cited Daniels 2001) means:

language, various systems of counting; mnemonic techniques; algebraic symbol systems; works of art; writing; schemes; diagrams; maps and mechanical drawings; all sorts of conventional signs (p.15).

Two issues which have already been raised, re-emerge here: change as inherent in human nature and the notion of subjective knowledge. For the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, which aims to ameliorate some of the problems students face in state education, change is the necessary prerequisite. If change, which is in effect a result of learning, is part of being human, then adults too continue to learn throughout their life which is also what Steiner suggested. For education this means that the traditional hierarchy of knowledge is turned on its head. Both are teachers and learners although they may teach more or learn more depending on the specific context in which they are.

Students are, however, not aware that they are also teachers. When they teach it usually happens unconsciously. Likewise, teachers may often not be aware that they are learning from students or others. For this reason I propose a new concept to redefine the teachers/learners relationship and thereby do away with the dualisms that are connected to it. The concept is: *teachers-learners* and *learners-teachers*. Since both students and teachers are engaged in learning and teaching, the two subjects are used for both. However, to reflect the fact that teachers are engaged in relatively more teaching and learners in relatively more learning in the school context, the respective subjects are put in the first place. For an holistic inclusive pedagogy it is essential that this new concept is put into practice which can only happen if learners-teachers are first of all made aware of its implications. If they can be made conscious of the fact that they too 'have' valuable knowledge at their disposal, they will no longer feel

so powerless. By the same token, if they regularly experience that their teachers-learners are also learning from them, they may realise that power-knowledge is relative, can be challenged and disrupted. For an effective holistic inclusive pedagogy this is decisive since it would enable them to challenge and hence disrupt power-knowledge discourses. This another component for the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.

5.3.2.2 The Zone of Proximal Development

5.3.2.2.1 Collaboration between peers

Vygotsky's probably best known concept, the zone of proximal development (ZPD) is especially relevant for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. He defines it as follows:

It is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky 1978, p.86).

To put it more concretely, the ZPD is a cognitive developmental theory that is concerned with students' ability to learn culturally relevant tools such as the use of signs like spoken and written language by means of interactions with other learners-teachers and adults (Doolittle [no date], p.4). The ZPD denotes those functions that are still in an embryonic state but that are about to mature. Learning-teaching then takes place in the ZPD, or rather, it creates it as learners-teachers *interact* with capable peers or teachers-learners. Two issues emerge here. Firstly, Vygotsky suggests that "more capable peers" have both the 'knowledge' and ability to aid less capable peers in solving tasks and thereby recognises that students are active 'knowers' of their environment. The recurring motif of Vygotsky's theory is in fact that students' knowledge is valued and built upon. For an holistic inclusive pedagogy that seeks to ameliorate the injustices caused by sex-gender/other stereotypes, it is imperative that it fol-

lows his example. From my own experience and observations as a teacher-learner I know that students respond better to a new topic when they are first of all asked questions that they can answer and when they are involved in tasks with which they can cope. This gives them security and hence self-confidence and at the same time keeps their minds open for new topics. Conversely, lack of self-confidence often closes their minds to new topics as they fear that they will not understand them. So an holistic inclusive pedagogy must always *build on learner's-teacher's knowledge and experience*.

Secondly, *collaboration* is a prominent feature in the ZPD. It is closely related to co-operation; in fact, without co-operation collaboration is not possible. When collaborating with one another, students use those social skills which they have already developed and at the same time develop new ones as they continuously adjust to different peers and problem solving tasks. These skills include: empathy, consideration, articulation, open-mindedness, analysing, reflecting, speaking and listening. Social skills are, as I have demonstrated, essential for a healthy development. Moreover, Vygotsky's notion of collaboration and hence co-operation serves as a counter balance to the present emphasis on competition which is so typical of the government's educational policies. Granted, many teachers-learners already promote collaborative learning-teaching in the classroom but what I am suggesting is that it plays a prominent part in an holistic inclusive pedagogy. As collaboration takes place, the message must be conveyed that social skills are as valued as academic skills and opportunities for their continued practice must be provided.

Both collaboration and co-operation demand active involvement on the part of the students. They constantly relate to each other, compare findings and evoke other's responses. In this sense collaboration engenders *interactive learning-teaching*. In addition, and as is well

known, students (and adults) both learn and remember better when they are actively involved. Collaboration thus makes learning-teaching on the whole more effective.

However, when looked at more closely, collaboration brings with it a number of problems. In practice collaboration between peers of different ability is often difficult if not impossible, especially in big classes and/or in classes with discipline problems. For example, Jonathan Tudge (1990) who conducted two studies about collaboration in physics observed that not all students benefit from collaboration:

Students who were led to think at a higher level though being paired with a more competent peer achieved that higher level in the course of collaborations and general retained it in subsequent independent performance. The same, unfortunately, was true of students who reversed in their thinking (p.163).

He also found that feedback is crucial for learning-teaching “because only in the feedback condition did the target students receive information relating to rules one or two above their current level of thinking” (Ibid., 166). Self-confidence too plays an important role in collaboration. If one child is more competent than her/his partner but not confident enough to share higher level predictions, then she/he is not likely to help her/his partner with the predictions (Ibid., p.165). Other requirements for effective collaboration include a relationship of trust between peers and between the teacher-learner and the class, self-discipline on the part of the students, motivation and, of course, the knowledge on part of the students that what they are doing is important and will be assessed.

Despite its problems, collaboration is pivotal for an holistic inclusive pedagogy as it fosters interactive learning-teaching and, moreover, emphasises the social aspect of learning-teaching that values other’s support, input and knowledge constructions. The underlying motif is fundamental: Accepting and giving help in the learning-teaching process is useful and desirable as it fosters social skills and provides a counterbalance to the current stress on individ-

ual learning-teaching which is predominant in British education. However, this does not mean to say that all learning-teaching must be done in groups/pairs but rather that group/pair work are an integral part of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.

5.3.2.2.2 The role of teachers-learners

The ZPD refers to the role of *teachers-learners as guides*. Two definitions of the verb ‘to guide’ are relevant for my purposes: “to lead the way for (a person)” and “to supervise or instruct (a person)” (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.685). These definitions correlate well with the actual meaning of ‘pedagogue.’ Teachers-learners guide students through themes and tasks so that their potential developmental level is fostered and reached.

Teachers-learners are also *instructors* and as such their task must be, according to Vygotsky, to lead students’ development so that “a whole series of functions” are awakened “that are in a state of maturation lying in the zone of proximal development” (1987, cited in Lunt 1993, p.156). As I have pointed out above, the implications for an holistic inclusive pedagogy are that teachers-learners must build on students’ experiences and knowledge, but by the same token they must constantly challenge them with demanding concepts and tasks. The aim is not only to *move them ahead of development* but also to provide opportunities for them to work together in raising questions and finding answers and solutions.

Although Vygotsky himself was not prescriptive of the nature of this guidance, my own experience leads me to believe that teachers-learners play a crucial role in school instruction by instructing and *assisting* students. Assisting is different from teaching as it involves more regular interaction between teachers-learners and individual students, pairs, and groups on a relatively equal level as they give advice, clarify tasks and ask and answer questions. Assisting is a skill that should be part of teaching-learning, but, as Gallimore & Tharp (1990)

point out, it is not usually taught at teacher-training institutions and, as a consequence, many teachers work in isolation, are not assisted themselves and hence do not know what being assisted is like (pp.187-190).

To assist means: “to help or support (a person, cause, etc.)” (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.91). In order to be in the position to support students in their learning, teachers-learners must first of all be assisted by colleagues and in turn assist them. Only then will they be able to learn-teach and appreciate it. Assistance among teachers-learners also leads the individual out of the isolation of the classroom, broadens their repertoire of methods and activities and, in addition, breaks hierarchical school structures as everyone’s expertise and experience is valued, regardless of their position.

5.3.2.2.3 Scaffolding: Facilitating critical thinking

Vygotsky himself did not prescribe how teachers-learners are to assist and guide learners-teachers in the ZPD. So the post-Vygotskian term ‘scaffolding’ was developed by Wood, Bruner and Ross to describe the type and nature of assistance and guidance (Wood & Wood 1996, p.5). It refers to assistance in different classroom situations: group/pair work and classroom discussions (Doolittle [no date], p.21). Ronald Gallimore and Roland Tharp (1990) identify six means of assisting students in their learning-teaching which need to be considered together. They are: 1) modelling: teachers-learners offer behaviour that learners-teachers imitate; 2) contingency management: teachers-learners praise and encourage students; 3) providing feedback: through feedback teachers-learners correct and reinforce thinking processes and their outcomes; 4) instructing; teachers-learners instruct learners-teachers in a given task with the intention that “the instructing voice of the teacher becomes the self-instructing voice of the learner in the transition from apprentice to self-regulated performer”; 5) questioning:

through specific questions teachers-learners elicit from the students an “active linguistic and cognitive response” which “provokes creations”; and, 6) cognitive structuring: teachers-learners provide a structure “for thinking and acting” that “organizes, evaluates, and groups and sequences perception, memory and action” (pp.178-182).

This kind of ‘*general scaffolding*’ which is part of good classroom management, should be provided by teachers-learners and/or peers in every lesson so that the learners’-teachers’ role is simplified but not the role of the task (Daniels 2001, p.107). Only in this way are they able to lead students’ development as Vygotsky proposed (Lunt 1993, p.156). General scaffold questions seek to evoke students’ creative responses while at the same time providing them with a structure for developing their thoughts and ideas. In chapter 6.3 I illustrate how they may be applied in German as a foreign language.

For an holistic inclusive pedagogy this kind of general scaffolding does not suffice as one of its aims is to foster the developments of tools like analysing, questioning, reasoning and evaluating that enable students to uncover and challenge sex-gender/other stereotypes. In other words, it seeks to enable learners-teachers to think critically of sex-gender/other stereotypes. I therefore suggest three stages of ‘specific scaffolding’ which are similar to those proposed by Michael Grimmitt (2000, pp.207-227).³⁵ These are: *preparation*, *confrontation* and *interpretation*. They are specific in so far as they are to be employed whenever teachers-learners want to draw attention to sex-gender/other stereotyping and/or generally facilitate

³⁵ Our three stages differ with regard to their names, aims and the pedagogy in which they are embedded. Grimmitt’s stages are: 1) Preparatory Pedagogical Constructivism; 2) Direct Pedagogical Constructivism; and, 3) Supplementary Pedagogical Constructivism and are part of a constructivist pedagogy. With the help of specific questions that the teacher-

critical thinking as two German teaching-learning models illustrate. To a certain extent their division is artificial as they often overlap. But the three stages provide a clear structure and each forms the basis of the next. At each stage a set of questions may be asked that prepares and confronts students and facilitates their own interpretation of the theme/object of study. Since one of the aims of an holistic inclusive pedagogy is to enable students to uncover and challenge all kinds of stereotypes, the questions must be directed at these. The questions provided below are aimed at uncovering sex-gender stereotypes. If, for instance, teachers-learners want to draw students' attention to ageism, they will have to change the questions accordingly.

As with all aspects of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, it must be borne in mind that scaffolding is not a static inflexible construction; instead it is constantly adapted and changed as teachers-learners and learners-teachers interact and encounter new topics/ideas/concepts. The three scaffold stages and their respective questions therefore merely serve as guidelines and will have to be changed according to the theme/object of study, the focus and the students they are aimed at. How they may be implemented will be illustrated in chapter six. The three stages are:

Preparation: By asking general and personal questions pertaining to the new topic/object of study, teachers-learners draw on students' own knowledge constructions and experience and thereby prepare them for the confrontation stage. In this way students' contributions are valued and their self-confidence boosted.

Questions may include:

learner raises, she/he intends to encourage students to “explore ideas and issues for them-

1. Do you think women and men are equal? Why? Why not?
2. Should they be treated in the same way? Why? Why not?
3. What do you know about this topic?
4. What do you think about this topic? Do you like it? Why? If you do not like it, why is that?

Confrontation: The teachers-learners confront students with the new topic/object of study which they discuss among themselves and/or with their help in light of what they said in the preparation stage. The aim here is to enable students to understand the topic/object of study, its prominent features and historical context.

Questions may include:

1. What is this topic/object of study about?
2. Where does it belong in history (i.e. the time)?
3. In which country could it have its roots?
4. What kind of people shape/d it?
5. What is its message?
6. What makes it unique?
7. What is its attitude to women and men?

Interpretation: By means of specific questions and/or visual aids or other stimuli teachers-learners aid the learners-teachers in constructing their own interpretations of the topic/object of study and, in so doing, enable them to distinguish between the topic/object of study, their interpretation of and subjective feeling about it.

Questions may include:

1. What do you think are the strong points of this topic/object of study? Why?
2. What are its weak points? Why?
3. Why in your opinion is it the way it is?
4. How should it treat women and men?
5. What can you learn from it?

selves and arrive at their own conclusions” (Grimmitt 2000, p. 223).

For all three stages the class may be addressed as a whole or divided up into pairs or small groups, depending on the nature of the class, the type of topic/object of study, the time available, etc. Specific scaffolding is initially and primarily provided by teachers-learners but once learners-teachers have internalised its pattern and are ready to think of critical questions on their own, they too should provide it in agreement with teachers-learners. In this way their learning-teaching becomes increasingly independent and critical. It may be primarily verbal but other cues such as visual aids, or aids that appeal to other senses should also be utilised.

5.3.2.2.4 School subjects

School instruction, according to Vygotsky involves writing, reading, grammar, arithmetic, natural science and social science (Vygotsky 1962, p.97). It is significant that he includes social science in the subjects students should study. Social science is concerned with “the study of society and the relationship of individual members within society, including economics, history, political science, psychology, anthropology and sociology” (Collins English Dictionary 1998, p.1457) and is thus particularly interesting for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. It is an interdisciplinary subject that emphasises the inter-connectedness and diversity of individuals, groups, institutions, objects and concepts. It thereby avoids a view of the world that categorises and hence has a propensity to define everything at the cost of all else. In other words, this type of world view tends to create dualisms and hierarchies. Social science as a school subject, when taught-learned with the help of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, can serve to counteract dualisms and hierarchies.

5.3.2.2.5 Assessment in the ZPD

The zone of proximal development does not emphasise what students can achieve on their own but rather what they are capable of when they work either with an adult or a peer. Traditional assessment is only concerned with “the products of learning” and not with the actual learning process. The way in which students respond to instruction is also not addressed, nor does traditional assessment provide “prescriptive information” about effective social skills which are used in interaction (Lunt 1993, p.150). In an holistic inclusive pedagogy assessment must be concerned also with the actual process of learning and not exclusively with its outcome. It must logically also include the progress of social skills which are developed parallel to academic skills.

5.3.3 Summary

According to Vygotsky’s social constructivism, human beings have the ability to change their environment. Change which is in effect the outcome of learning-teaching, is thus an inherent human feature. In an holistic inclusive pedagogy this is reflected in the concept of *teachers-learners* and *learners-teachers*. This concept challenges and disrupts power-knowledge discourses and takes place in the ZPD, i.e. whenever teachers-learners and learners-teachers interact and they or more capable peers *lead* students in their development.

A prominent feature of the ZPD is *collaboration* between peers. It engenders *interactive learning-teaching*. It can have a positive and negative effect on learner-teachers, depending on their own ability and that of their partner, their motivation, age, self-discipline, self-confidence and feedback. In the ZPD teachers-learners both guide and assist them in their activities and serve as a role models especially with regard to challenging different stereotypes. *General scaffolding* in the form of modelling, contingency management, feedback, in-

struction, questions, and cognitive structures is the means by which teachers-learners assist and guide students. I proposed three stages of *specific scaffolding* to aid teachers-learners when they wish to draw attention to stereotypes: 1) *preparation*; 2) *confrontation*; and, 3) *interpretation*. At each stage questions are asked that facilitate the development of skills such as analysing, questioning, reasoning and evaluating which foster critical thinking. Critical here means critical of sex-gender/other stereotypes. Finally, in concordance with an holistic inclusive pedagogy, assessment in the ZPD is concerned with the process of learning-teaching, its outcome and the development of social skills.

5.4 The features of an holistic inclusive pedagogy

Having garnered useful concepts for the creation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, I now focus on some aspects which need further attention. These are: schools, the relationship between teachers-learners and students, the initial lesson, pairing and grouping and, finally, how an holistic inclusive pedagogy can ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a consequence of sex-gender/other discrimination. To conclude this chapter, I will then summarise all features of an holistic inclusive pedagogy.

5.4.1 A pedagogy for all schools

It is not my intention to create a pedagogy that would necessitate yet another independent school which would reach only a fraction of British students and would soon become sectarian in nature. I therefore propose that my holistic inclusive pedagogy could be implemented in British state schools if some minor but significant changes are made. For instance, the hierarchical staff structure could be replaced by a team approach. Staff member of the different departments would then work as teams, share responsibilities and take turns in chair-

ing departmental meetings. They would also assist each other in teaching-learning from time to time so that they expand their knowledge of classroom discipline and activities, etc. and keep the experience of being assisted alive for their own classroom practice. Instead of a head teacher there could be a team of two, ideally a woman and a man, who share the tasks of running the school.³⁶ After two years two other staff members would take over from them while the 'management team' returns to their classrooms. In this way they would not lose sight of what happens in the school at grass root level while the other teachers-learners would be reminded of what running a school involves.

Another prerequisite for an holistic inclusive pedagogy would be to rid the national curriculum of the economic motive that is underlying it. In addition, schools should not be divided into houses and class teachers-learners should replace tutors. These should teach their class at least one lesson every day and stay with them for three years (year seven to nine) and two years (year ten to eleven), respectively so that their relationship can grow. Still more changes would have to be made, most of which are spelled out in the holistic inclusive pedagogy below. Others will be necessitated as it is implemented.

5.4.2 The relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers

From the perspective of an holistic inclusive pedagogy it is essential that teachers-learners develop a good working relationship with the class and are approachable. Approachability implies transparency which means that they make themselves vulnerable by openly

³⁶ After working for a few years as part of a leadership in a local environment group, I have come to the conclusion that the more people are in a leadership, the more difficult communication and hence leading become. For this reason I propose a 'leadership' of two although a larger group would be desirable.

admitting mistakes and shortcomings. Transparency also involves that teachers-learners are open about the relevance and aims of topics to be studied and involve learners-teachers in decision making processes. By openly sharing and showing their continuous need for learning-teaching, teachers-learners serve as role models for challenging power-knowledge discourses and prepare the ground for challenging other types of discrimination. They do so by swapping roles with students as often as possible. For instance, while teachers-learners join in with the rest of the class, students could lead the class in discussions. During group or pair work each student could be responsible for a particular task, e.g. for keeping to the time limit, ensuring that their discussions do not disturb the other groups, making notes and presenting their findings to the class. In this way both would be continually turning the power-knowledge discourse on its head. This is what is meant by implementing the concept of teachers-learners and learners-teachers. How exactly such swapping of roles can be put into practice will be illustrated in chapter 6.

Finally, by meeting teachers-learners on the same level, namely as *learners*, while at the same time meeting other teachers-learners who do not treat them as equals, students gradually dismantle the stereotype of the all-knowing teacher. Although the relationship between teachers-learners and students seeks to be egalitarian, it is in reality itself continually involved in the process of challenging this particular stereotype. Their relationship therefore is the key to challenging stereotyping.

5.4.3 The initial lesson: Laying the foundations for the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers

As with all relationships, the relationship between students and teachers-learners has a starting point. In the case of an holistic inclusive pedagogy this starting point is an initial les-

son in which its foundations are laid. Here they meet for the first time and whereas teachers-learners are already aware of the egalitarian ethos of the pedagogy they are about to implement, students, by contrast, are not. It is therefore crucial that teachers-learners make them feel comfortable from the start and treat them with profound respect so that they feel valued and accepted, regardless of their sex-gender, skin colour, class, religious affiliation, sexual orientation and academic achievement. Teachers-learners have to find their own way of going about it but the message they convey should be: “You are unique and valued because you are you.” If they convey this message consistently to students, it is hoped that these emulate their role models and in turn treat one another and other with the same respect.

The initial lesson should be the first lesson at the beginning of term or, alternatively, whenever teachers-learners start implementing an holistic inclusive pedagogy. Three aims guide the lesson: firstly, that teachers-learners and students get to know each other; secondly, that the ‘does and don’ts’ of that relationship are clearly demarcated; and, thirdly, that the threefold scaffold structure is introduced.

In order to get to know each other, teachers-learners and learners-teachers could, for instance, play a warm-up game. The type of game is not important as long as it offers both an opportunity to say something about themselves, e.g. their name and favourite pastime. For pedagogical reasons it would be desirable if such a game also involved an aspect that symbolises that they are all working together. In my first teaching model³⁷ I use a ball of wool that is passed around as everyone says their name, where they live and one hobby. Since all hold on to it throughout the game, a web is created which is the symbol of their joint effort.

³⁷ see section 6.2.1

To demarcate the relationship between teachers-learners and students, both think of guidelines for one another and for themselves which are then discussed, negotiated and agreed on. Novel about this approach is that students' rules or, rather, guidelines for teachers-learners are not only desired but deemed as important as teachers'-learners' rules for them. The sharing and negotiation of these guidelines are particularly significant on the backdrop of the hierarchical education system of which they are part. It is an attempt to counteract the hierarchies that surround them. The initial lesson is the prerequisite for an holistic inclusive pedagogy and therefore of the greatest importance for its successful implementation

In addition to laying the foundations for the relationship between teachers-learners and students, the initial lesson also introduces the threefold scaffold structure. This is first introduced and then immediately put into practice. For instance, when individual groups discuss possible guidelines for teachers-learners, they do so with a set of scaffold questions after teachers-learners have explained what these are for. The first teaching model in the next chapter illustrates how this can be done.

5.4.4 Grouping and pairing

The initial lesson that launches an holistic inclusive pedagogy is already guided by three aims and therefore cannot deal with other issues. Yet as the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers grows, other issues are bound to arise and need to be addressed. One issue is that of pairing/grouping which is an essential feature of this pedagogy. I am tempted to propose that students form their own pairs and groups but bearing in mind that most classes are co-educational, mixed race, mixed class, and mixed ability, it is important that pairs and groups are put together wisely. I therefore suggest that this is done in a separate lesson, preferably directly after the initial lesson. Learners-teachers could start by reflecting

on their experience of the groups in the initial lesson after teachers-learners have explained to them the importance of grouping for their learning-teaching. I suggest that the reflection is done individually and with a set of scaffold questions which could be as follows:

1. Did you feel comfortable in your group? Why? Why not?
2. Did you feel supported by the others?
3. Did your group work well together? If it did, what are the reasons for it? If it did not, why not?
4. What did you and/or can you contribute to group work?
5. Are there any areas in which you can improve with regard to group work?
6. If you did not enjoy working with some or all of your group, who would you rather work with?

If everyone in the class is willing to share their answers, an open discussion could follow the reflection. But if one or more learners-teachers are against it, the teacher-learner could collect the answers, read through them and make suggestions regarding the grouping in the subsequent lesson. Ideally, groups should reflect the micro-culture of the classroom, i.e. be mixed sex-gender/race/class. But such a constellation could be counter-productive not only in terms of achievement but also with regard to overcoming prejudices and stereotypes. In accordance with an holistic inclusive pedagogy it is crucial that teachers-learners do not impose their opinion on students but try to reach a consensus through discussions, further explanations and negotiation, if necessary with individual learners-teachers. The issue of pairing should be dealt with in the same or similar way.

For boys collaboration and hence group/pair work can be rather difficult. For instance, Harry Daniels (2001) argues that boys are “encultured into a view that they should learn alone or under the guidance of a teacher” and if they do not succeed in learning on their own, they find other ways for attracting teachers’-learners’ attention (p.151). W. Bradford confirms that boys’ performance deteriorates when they work in small groups (Arnold 1997, p.17). But the inference here is not that they should not engage in group/pair work but, rather, that they con-

tinue to work in groups so that their social skills improve. Collaboration could therefore serve to counteract boys' propensity for learning on their own and hence their display of disruptive behaviour if they fail to do so.

Student's religious background can also have an influence on collaboration and hence group work. In my second teaching model in religious education³⁸, for instance, a Muslim girl may find looking at photographs of nude women immersing in the mikvah³⁹ difficult, even though they are not offensive by Western standards, i.e. they do not show genitals. Likewise, she may find it hard to discuss her impression of these with her group. This brings me back to the issue of profound respect with which teachers-learners should meet students.⁴⁰ To reiterate, they should convey the message that learners-teachers are valued as individuals, regardless of their background and achievements. Related to profound respect is an attitude that acknowledges and accepts diversity. When a new topic or related activity is to be presented that may be problematic for some students, teachers-learners should therefore introduce it with special care, i.e. by acknowledging that some may find it difficult and encouraging those who do to withdraw if they wish to. At the same time they should promote open-mindedness in general. In so doing they show respect for both open-mindedness and traditional approaches and hence foster diversity.

³⁸ see 6.2.2

³⁹ The Mikvah is a small pool used for ritual immersion in Jewish Orthodox traditions.

⁴⁰ see 5.2.3.4

5.5 Ameliorating the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping

5.5.1 Lifting girls' low self-esteem

In the previous chapter I explained how girls' low self-esteem is directly related to their relationship to teachers-learners and boys and how both treat them and others inside and outside of the classroom. Research into single sex-gender schooling (Kruse 1992) and classroom discipline (Merrett & Wheldall 1992) brought to light that overall boys get more attention from their teachers-learners. The hidden message behind it that girls are not as interesting as boys and hence do not deserve the same amount of attention.

To tackle the problem from an holistic inclusive perspective I suggest that single sex-gender awareness lessons are made an integral part of teaching-learning, e.g. once a week. These lessons could centre on issues like bullying, self-image, the related theme of beauty culture and social difficulties. They should ideally be taken by female teachers-learners. Methods employed may include role-play, games, drawing or collages. The aims of these lessons are: firstly, to raise the issue of sex-gender stereotyping and what it does to girls (and boys); secondly, to make them aware of their own power and 'empower' them by providing them with some of the tools they need for detecting and counteracting it: knowledge about stereotyping, analysing, reasoning, etc.; and, thirdly, to give them self-confidence and thus improve their low self-esteem. It is desirable that special educational needs departments are involved in such lessons and monitors girls' self-esteem closely since their low self-esteem clearly is an educational need.

In order to counteract girls' propensity for not choosing science and thereby closing the sex-gender gap pertaining to subject choice, it may be necessary to offer single sex-gender

science lessons where girls' interests and wishes are taken into account and teachers'-learners' attention is wholly theirs'. Female role models in scientific subjects, including mathematics, would no doubt also be advantageous for girls. That single sex-gender classes in science benefit girls is supported, for instance, by the study Lore Hoffmann et al. (1995) conducted about equal opportunities for boys and girls in science education in six grammar schools in Germany. For this study a new curriculum was written which took into account girls' interests in physics. It was taught in single sex-gender classes as well as in co-educational classes for a year. One of the results was that girls who were taught in single sex-gender classes retained their acquired knowledge better than those who were taught in co-educational classes (Ibid., p.10).

Related to the issue of girls' reluctance to opt for science is their tendency to choose occupations that are traditionally associated with women. For this reason girls should be provided with opportunities to see women in traditionally male jobs, such as engineers, IT specialists or pilots. This is by no means a new idea. The concept of 'girls' day' was first developed in the USA and refers to one day in a year on which girls in years five to ten visit their parents', a relative's or a friend's work place at technical institutions, universities and colleges. Its purpose is to broaden girls' career options by giving them an insight into a variety of technical oriented jobs which are traditionally men's. In Germany it was introduced in 2000 and already seems to have an effect as more girls have enrolled in technological studies since then (campus-germany.de 2003). I propose that such a girls' day takes place at least twice a year so that girls see a wide range of occupations and professions which, it is hoped, will also inform their subject choice at school so that they opt more for science and technology.

All of the above changes cannot be made without the co-operation of staff, the girls themselves and, just as importantly, their parents. I take it for granted that teachers-learners who implement an holistic inclusive pedagogy are trained accordingly. But if girls are to be sensitised to the issue of sex-gender stereotyping, their parents must be also be sensitised. I propose that teachers-learners make the following suggestions to parents at a parents' awareness evening: 1) to talk with their daughters about sex-gender issues as they arise in and outside of the family; 2) to provide literature and films that portray strong women, read/watch them together and discuss them; 3) to acknowledge their daughters as individuals without permanently referring to their looks; 4) to encourage them to be more competitive; 5) to encourage them to work on the computer and understand how the individual programmes work and are related to each other; 6) to make reading material about technology available, e.g. from the library; and, 7) to involve them in DIY work in the house, particularly in fixing electric appliances.

5.5.2 Raising boys' achievement

In contrast to girls, boys often feel disaffected with school, find it hard to organise their work and are often reluctant to do their homework. To address this problem, boys could be sent on a special type of work experience once or twice a month for a period of one or two terms. As part of a programme to tackle boys' underachievement, Matthew Moss School in Rochdale, for instance, gave twenty boys from year nine the opportunity to work with people outside of school two days per month for one year. The idea was to let them see at first hand what kind of demands a job makes on a person and how these are met. Boys thus realised the importance of skills that would also improve their school work: "organising themselves and

their work schedule, preparing tasks carefully, working hard, and getting things done” (Arnold 1997, p.22).

Although this kind of work experience could be a step in the right direction, it is not likely to counteract boys’ underachievement on its own. Other measure will have to be taken. Boys’ tendency to opt for scientific subjects at school and choose occupations in the areas of technology and science hampers the development of their social skills and has far reaching consequences also in other areas. Jeannie Mackenzie (1997) who undertook a study of work experience at school draws attention to the fact that boys’ avoidance of caring has also consequences for women’s employment and “in the field of domestic responsibility” (p.1). I therefore suggest that boys go on work experience as described above but that this also includes jobs which are untypical for men, e.g. nursery teacher, male nurse, male secretary, etc. so that they experience both typical and atypical male jobs and, by the same token, become aware of the importance of social skills. It is hoped that this kind of work experience also persuades boys to opt for subjects which are traditionally associated with girls.

To improve boys’ underachievement in subjects such as English and modern foreign languages, I suggest that the latter are introduced in primary school where children learn foreign languages in the same way they learn their mother tongue, i.e. through imitation, games and songs. With regard to reading, boys should also be monitored closely from the beginning of their school career and given extra support in English. Parents too need to support these measures (see below).

In order to get boys more interested in foreign languages, I propose that an awareness lesson is offered where boys’ wishes are articulated and noted down. Its central focus should be the importance of languages as powerful tools that enable learners-teachers to express

wishes, anger, happiness and sadness and to take control of different types of situations. For instance, role play could be utilised where some boys have to instruct others in the group without using speech so that they become aware of the importance of language. The emphasis on languages as tools of empowerment addresses boys' propensity for controlling situations and their propensity for solving conflicts by means of violence. If they can be made to realise that situations can be controlled and conflicts be solved with eloquence and wit, they will, it is hoped, not only appreciate foreign languages more but also be better equipped for coping with day-to-day life. Lastly, boys need more male primary teachers-learners as role models so that they associate school and its values also with maleness and hence do not become (so) disaffected with it.

From an holistic inclusive pedagogical perspective boys' underachievement can only be overcome if boys, their parents and staff are made aware of the problems and find solutions together. Like girls, boys too need to first of all be conscientised about sex-gender stereotyping in general and their underachievement in particular. They could think about these issues in single sex-gender awareness lessons a few times a term, preferably under the guidance of a male teacher-learner and/or an older male student by means of role play, discussions and other methods that are conducive to sensitising them to these problems. That boys need to be made aware of sex-gender issues and empowered to deal with them, is confirmed by Kruse (1992, p.90) who undertook research in single sex-gender classes in Denmark.

My research has shown me the necessity of teachers concerned with sexism in dealing directly with boys, with their gender identity, with their concepts of masculinity and with their attitudes and behaviour. Focusing only on girls will result in imposing upon them the whole responsibility for change, and it will underpin the assumption that 'boys are boys' and therefore cannot change.

Parents too need advice as to how to support their sons in tackling their underachievement and lack of care. The principal of Beacon Community College in East Sussex, for example, made the following suggestions to parents: 1) to talk to their sons more often and consciously share emotions with them; 2) to let them look after their school equipment themselves (and not do that for them); 3) to monitor record books, reports, etc. and discuss school work with their sons; 4) to play down fighting and winning and instead encourage collaborative games; and, 5) to encourage them to get involved in school activities (Arnold 1997, p.18). To this list I would like to add: 6) to encourage them to care and give them tasks in the family that involve care, e.g. looking after siblings; 7) to make literature and films available that portray strong caring men and discuss these with them; and, 8) to give them domestic responsibilities which are both typical and untypical male jobs, e.g. taking out the bins and cooking.

5.5.3 Overcoming homosexual stereotypes

Homophobia is, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, closely linked to hegemonic masculinities which again are related to sex-gender stereotyping. For this reason homophobia should be discussed in conjunction with it. To counteract homophobia, students, parents and staff need to first of all be sensitised to the problems surrounding it through training and discussions. A school policy on homophobic bullying should be in force. At least one awareness lesson per year should be dedicated to the issue where students are made aware of it, possible causes are discussed, feelings shared and solutions sought. Learners-teachers could, for example, try to detect homophobia in textbooks, flashcards or in their own and teachers'-learners' statements, and read personal accounts of homosexuals including those from celebrities. Methods used may include role play, watching films about the issue, group/pair work and personal reflection by way of different media such as drawing and poetry. The emphasis here

is on diversity and alternatives to the status quo. For instance, in my two German teaching-learning models I use a worksheet that depicts a mixture of family types that include a lesbian couple and their children.

I am aware that there will be resistance among some students, teachers-learners and parents with regard to dealing with homophobic stereotypes. Therefore a great deal of sensitivity, deliberation and diplomacy are needed. But given the evidence of widespread homophobic bullying in schools, it is paramount that it is tackled.

5.5.4 Overcoming race stereotypes

Racism is an issue that must be dealt with separately from sex-gender although both are undoubtedly interconnected. From an holistic inclusive pedagogical perspective I argue that it is dealt with in awareness lessons in co-educational settings but that black and white students are separated for the first lesson and, should the need arise, also for consecutive lessons. In their first lesson white learners-teachers are made aware of the issue of racism, its causes, their own feelings about and measures against it, whereas black students share their experiences about racism in and outside of school and think of ways of coping with it and confronting it. Ideally the first lesson should be supervised by black and white teachers-learners, respectively. In another lesson both come together to share their experiences and feelings about it and to think of guidelines or mottoes that help them fight racism which are then displayed in the classroom. Activities such as detecting racism in textbooks should also be part of this lesson. Other measures include awareness training for staff and parents, an anti-racism school policy and good mixture of black and white teachers-learners that corresponds to the school population so that there are role models also for black students. Within the

framework of an holistic inclusive pedagogy which fosters care, responsibility, consideration and acceptance, these measures are, I suggest, a step in the right direction.

5.5.5 Overcoming social class stereotypes

Research revealed that children from working class backgrounds “tend to be more passive, less engaged in the world around them and have a more limited vocabulary” (Ahmed 2002). The reasons from this range from lack of reading material, equipment, quiet space, sleep and interaction with parents to poor diet, related health factors and lack of travel opportunities (Sulatycki 2003).

In order to improve the chances of working class students, the government has to develop strategies that combat poverty, thereby breaking its vicious circle. Measures that schools can take involve girls’ days that improve working class girls’ career prospects and boys’ work experience that also provides working class boys with vital skills that improve their academic achievements and, in turn, better their prospects for a job. In addition, books, equipment such as computers, paper, pens, etc. and quiet rooms to which especially students from deprived background can retire, must be made available and times of exclusive use for them agreed. To finance these items, funds have to be provided either from the schools’ budget or through fundraising. Awareness lessons that deal with the issue of discrimination on the ground of social class may also be necessary. In conjunction with an ethos of care, consideration, etc. which is part of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, these measures may at least address some of the needs working class students have.

5.6 Conclusion

I will now list the features of an holistic inclusive pedagogy in detail.

The premises of an holistic inclusive pedagogy: Like all pedagogies, my holistic inclusive pedagogy is subjective. It was my own decision to draw on the works of Vygotsky and Steiner and to employ feminist poststructuralism and not to choose other approaches. Like any pedagogy it is not a static objective concept and cannot have universal application. When implemented, it will have to be adjusted to each class and subject. The pedagogy is thus flexible. The teachers-learners who employ it read it in their own specific way, use it accordingly and change it where necessary. In other words, an holistic inclusive pedagogy grows out of every-day practice which, in turn, informs it. In this way the theory/praxis dualism is obviated.

The motive behind an holistic inclusive pedagogy is: the well-being of the whole child - body, mind and soul. The development of all three must be facilitated: the body through exercises and movements; the soul, for example, by way of role plays, discussions, etc. that aid the process of judging what is right and wrong; and, finally, the mind through tasks that built on the students' knowledge and at the same time pushes them ahead of development. In other words, an holistic inclusive pedagogy promotes human development.

The underlying philosophical and epistemological assumptions of an holistic inclusive pedagogy are: 1) that change and thus learning are an inherent human feature; 2) that difference and diversity are part and parcel of human nature; 3) that sex-gender/other stereotypes are therefore inconsistent with human nature and must all be challenged; 4) that power and knowledge are always linked together and are not objective entities that can be 'possessed' and mediated; that adults and children alike exercise and submit to power-knowledge; and, 5) that human beings construct and reconstruct power-knowledge discourses.

The aims and objectives of an holistic inclusive pedagogy are: 1) to help students develop the skill of critical thinking, specifically with regard to sex-gender stereotyping but also with regard to other forms of stereotyping so that they will be able to detect it whenever it takes place; 2) to equip students with the tools they need to challenge and disrupt stereotyping if they choose to do so, i.e. analysing, questioning, reasoning, arguing, evaluating but also communication, politeness and good conduct; 3) to teach students about the ambiguities of life today by using examples that are relevant to them; 4) to teach them that difference and diversity are part of life and are positive values and features of the human condition; 5) to facilitate in students the development of an attitude of respect and responsibility to others and nature; and, 6) to meet their diverse needs, including their special needs in so far as it is feasible.

There are two prerequisites of an holistic inclusive pedagogy: Firstly, an initial lesson where the foundations of the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers are laid. And, secondly, awareness lessons in both co-educational and single sex-gender settings that focus on sensitising girls and boys to the issues surrounding sex-gender stereotyping.

The context of an holistic inclusive pedagogy is: 1) postmodernism which is characterised by disorientation, doubt and the loss of faith in meta-narratives on the one hand and increasing acceptance of other's faith, life-styles, etc. and openness on the other; put differently, it is a time of ambiguities; 2) the society of which it is part and which is referred to as macro-culture; 3) the sub-culture of the school where it is implemented; and, 4) the micro-cultures of the classes where the pedagogy is applied.

The agents of an holistic, inclusive pedagogy are: on the one hand teachers-learners who apply it and on the other hand learners-teachers who work with it; both shape and change

it. Parents too have to be supportive of its aims and may need advice on how to support their daughters and sons. They along with teachers-learners and students must be aware that they are involved in a life-long process of learning and teaching. For this reason it is essential that teachers-learners and learners-teachers swap roles whenever possible to consciously work against the prevailing power-knowledge discourse.

The age group at which an holistic inclusive pedagogy is aimed: spans ages seven to sixteen but my own focus is ages twelve to sixteen. This pedagogical approach is directed at students in comprehensive schools but because of its creative emphasis some of its aspects may also work for students in special needs schools.

The subjects that an holistic inclusive pedagogy teaches are: social science (involving history, sociology, anthropology, political science, psychology and economics), home economics, religious education (where all major religions are studied), ethics, sex education, music, art, handwork, woodwork, metalwork, gardening, physical education (including all types of games and gymnastics, athletics, swimming, etc.), English (i.e. the mother tongue), literature, foreign languages, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, geography, history and, from age twelve onwards, parenting.

The tasks of teachers-learners are: 1) to be open to new ideas and willing to change their views; 2) to be approachable and openly admit shortcomings and their own need for learning-teaching; 3) to serve as role models especially by valuing each individual regardless of their sex-gender, ethnic origin, etc.; 4) to treat students with warmth and profound respect so that they in turn learn to respect others; 5) to assist and instruct learners-teachers, i.e. build on their knowledge constructions and lead them ahead of development; 6) to provide general

and specific scaffolding to facilitate the development of students' critical thinking; 7) to encourage them to uncover and challenge sex-gender/other stereotypes.

The methods of an holistic inclusive pedagogy are: 1) collaboration and mutual assistance between teachers-learners in preparation of their tasks; 2) collaboration between peers and between teachers-learners and learners-teacher; 3) pair work, group work and whole class settings; 4) general scaffolding which involves modelling, contingency management, feedback, instruction, questioning and cognitive structuring; and, finally, 5) specific scaffolding that is utilised when learners-teachers are to be made aware of a particular stereotype and/or critical thinking is fostered. These are: preparation where general and personal questions pertaining to the new topic are asked and students' knowledge is used as a vantage point; confrontation where they are confronted with the new topic in view of the insight their gained in the preparation stage; and, lastly, interpretation where learners-teachers interpret the new topic in light of the previous stages and learn to distinguish between the topic, their interpretation and subjective feeling about it. In addition, they come to a conclusion about the topic's view of a given stereotype.

The activities that an holistic inclusive pedagogy employs are: 1) creative activities like drawing, painting, singing, playing instruments, dancing, doing drama, writing poetry or stories, making surveys, conducting interviews, shooting films, taking photographs, cooking and sharing meals together; 2) other activities such as reading, writing, listening, discussing, clapping hands and chanting; 3) manual work like basket making or sewing; 4) excursions to local factories, forges, bakeries, nurseries and farms; 5) work experience for boys that facilitate the development of their organisational skills and give them an insight into caring professions; 6) girls' days once a year to that introduce them to professions in science and technol-

ogy; 7) class trips to historic sites that correspond with the subjects studied; 8) excursions to recycling plants, rubbish tips, forests etc; and, 9) school exchanges with schools from other areas of Britain and from abroad.

The assessment of an holistic inclusive pedagogy focuses on: academic achievement and its process with and without the assistance of others, and on the progress of social skills. Creativity, personal conduct and development are also be included.

The structures which are necessary for an effective holistic inclusive pedagogy are: 1) the resources (buildings, grounds, funds and materials) which this approach necessitates; 2) schools that are politically independent and that have a non-hierarchical staff structure; 3) a fairly even number of well trained female and male teachers-learners preferably with main methods that break traditional stereotypes, for instance, female physics teachers-learners and male linguists; 4) classes with no more than twenty-five students; 5) time-tables that are arranged according to the human rhythm, i.e. where academic subjects are taught in the morning and practical subjects after lunch and that allow for plenty of breaks; 6) no division of classes into houses as this engenders competition; and, 7) the support of parents concerning the pedagogy and its aims and objectives, fund-raising and class trips.

*

The explorations of the current chapter were guided by the fifth research question:

What kind of pedagogy is needed to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

In search of such a pedagogy I drew on the works of Rudolf Steiner and Lev Vygotsky and developed an holistic inclusive pedagogy that is concerned with the education of the

whole human being, body, mind and soul, and is therefore truly *holistic*. At the same time it addresses girls' and boys' sexed-gendered needs as well as some of their other needs, e.g. those based on their social class and is thus *inclusive*. I therefore argue that **Hypothesis 5**, i.e.

That an holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to educate the whole human being and addresses the needs girls *and* boys regardless of their background, can serve to ameliorate the injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping

has been corroborated.

*

In my next chapter I will demonstrate how an holistic inclusive pedagogy which uncovers and challenges sex-gender/other stereotyping in schools may be put into practice. For this reason I have written four teaching-learning models as exemplars of the pedagogy I have developed in this thesis.

6. An holistic inclusive pedagogy in practice: Implementing four teaching-learning models: two in Religious Education and two in German as a foreign language

6.1 Overall introduction

In chapter five I developed an holistic inclusive pedagogy based on some aspects taken from feminist poststructuralism, Vygotsky's social constructivism and Waldorf pedagogy. Whereas the previous chapter dealt with the theoretical foundations of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, it is the intention of the present chapter to illustrate how such a pedagogy can be implemented. For this reason I have chosen two subjects and designed two teaching-learning models for each: German as a modern foreign language and religious education (RE). My decision to opt for these two subjects was governed by the fact that they are so dissimilar. While RE is taught-learned in the learner's-teacher's mother tongue and is, I suggest, concerned with their personal development, German, by contrast, is primarily concerned with their linguistic development. However, as the teaching-learning models demonstrate, when an holistic inclusive pedagogy is applied, both subjects can be utilised to promote human development in learners-teachers and teachers-learners.

The four lessons developed out of my own teaching-learning practice in two state schools and in a Waldorf school in the West Midlands where I worked for two years and five years, respectively. However, for a number of reasons, including my permanent move to live in Germany, they have not been trialled and are, in a sense, theoretical models derived from the reading and research described in this thesis.

One of the aims of an holistic inclusive pedagogy is to further students' ability to think critically, especially with regard to sex-gender/other stereotypes. While the second RE lesson approaches this issue by way of its topic, the two German lessons deal directly with sex-

gender stereotypes. In both cases the subjects' content is deliberately employed to achieve this aim.

The present chapter is guided by the sixth research question:

How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

In an attempt to answer it I pose **Hypothesis 6:**

That it raises learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping through the fairly egalitarian relationship between them and teachers-learners which is pivotal for its success.

The following four teaching-learning models are described in detail as if they are taking place *now* so that readers can follow them better. Occasionally comments are interspersed to highlight specific aspects. The majority of comments are however footnoted so that the lesson plans can be more easily followed. Each subject is preceded by an introduction and supported by illustrations and/or material which can be found in the appendices.

6.2 Two teaching-learning models in religious education: 1. Paving the way: becoming acquainted; and, 2. The meaning of the mikvah for Jewish Orthodox women

The first teaching-learning model is an initial RE lesson in year seven at secondary school or in other years, i.e. whenever an holistic inclusive teacher-learner takes over a new class and wants to implement this pedagogy.⁴¹ It is through the relationship between teacher-learner and students that the power-knowledge discourse is constantly challenged and hence

⁴¹ If this lesson is to be taught-learned in other years, some activities such as 'Focusing on the content' (see 6.2.1.6.3) should be adapted accordingly.

disrupted. The success of an holistic inclusive pedagogy therefore hinges on it and for this reason this preparatory lesson is the crucial prerequisite for all following lessons.

The second lesson is written for key stage four and deals with the ancient purifying ritual of the mikvah that plays an important role in Jewish Orthodox traditions. Here sex-gender discrimination is dealt with explicitly. On one level it is dealt with through the topic itself which is primarily concerned with women as its title clearly indicates. On another level it raises sex-gender questions about this exclusive concern. The notion of religious diversity is also treated. For the three main parts of the lesson, i.e. preparation, confrontation and interpretation, scaffold questions that facilitate students' constructions of the mikvah are provided. Unlike the first RE lesson, the second teaching-learning model is more descriptive and uses no direct speech for the simple reason that by this stage learners-teachers would be familiar with the routines of an holistic inclusive pedagogy and hence would not need as many instructions. At this stage it is assumed that the students are also familiar with the threefold lesson of preparation, confrontation and interpretation and other aspects of the lesson such as evaluation and feedback. In accordance with an holistic inclusive pedagogy they should also know that religious topics are to be met with respect.

The teaching-learning models are based on a one hour single period and double period, respectively. The times I suggest for each part of the lesson are only estimates that allow for change-over time between activities and for instructions, etc. I suggest that the lessons are taught-learned at a fast pace which keeps the students alert and on target. At the same time written exercises should always be allocated plenty of time so that students with special educational needs are able to complete them. Written exercises are differentiated according to the tasks involved. For instance, individual written tasks that focus on personal reflection may

involve writing or drawing or a combination of both. In contrast, written tasks in groups are not differentiated as the focus is on sharing and gathering information. Ideally, the groups should be mixed ability so that students can support one another.

6.2.1 Lesson one: Paving the way: becoming acquainted

6.2.1.1 The theme and its context

This teaching-learning model is to be taught-learned as the initial RE lesson in year seven so that the foundations for all subsequent lessons are laid.

6.2.1.2 The age group at which the teaching model is aimed

The lesson is aimed at students in their first year at secondary school, i.e. at the beginning of key stage three.

6.2.1.3 The aims of the lesson

The aims are: 1) to prepare students and teacher-learner for all subsequent RE lessons by providing the prerequisites for working together; 2) to introduce students to the notion of scaffolding and scaffolding questions; 3) to undermine the power-knowledge discourse through the relationship between students and teacher-learner; 4) to make students feel comfortable, respected and accepted and to make them aware that they are valued as individuals regardless of their academic achievements; and 5) to prepare students for the next RE lesson which will focus on religious perspectives.⁴²

⁴² In the second lesson students are introduced to the notion of religious diversity by way of an exercise that involves contemplating a candle. This candle is decorated with, for instance, seven geometrical symbols and placed on a table in the middle of a circle of chairs.

6.2.1.4 The approach

For this lesson I gleaned a number of different elements from methods commonly used at workshops and training weekends for improving the structure of social groups and adapted them to suit my purposes. These elements include negotiating guidelines for conduct, getting-to-know-games, the idea of feedback, group work and whole group sharing.

6.2.1.5 Classroom material

Materials needed include: self-adhesive labels that are used as name tags⁴³, a ball of wool, photocopies of the scaffold questions for the discussion about guidelines, about 20 A3 sheets of paper, two pieces of A4 coloured card or paper for each student, copies of the scaffold questions for the pair work, felt tips with a broad nib, a reusable adhesive, a chalk board or white board and appropriate writing utensils for both, coloured crayons in case students do not bring their own; laptops or desktop computers should be available if possible to aid students with writing difficulties.

6.2.1.6 Lesson plan

6.2.1.6.1 Beginning of the lesson: Getting to know each other (18 min)⁴⁴

For this lesson the seats should therefore be arranged in a circle with the tables standing along the walls.⁴⁵ The teacher-learner asks the class to sit down, greets them, introduces

Each student then looks at it from her/his specific angle for a few moments and shares this with the rest of the class. Then follows a discussion on religious perspectives in groups.

⁴³ alternatively, small pieces of card in the size of credit cards which can then be attached to a blazer etc. with a peg

⁴⁴ 18 min = 3 min for instructions and 15 min for the getting-to-know game

her/himself and then gives instructions for the use of the name tags. When everyone has finished writing their name down, he/she continues: “We are now going to play a game that’ll help us get to know each other a bit better.”⁴⁶ Here is a ball of wool which I am going to pass on to my left. But before I do so I have to hold on to one end. You can probably guess what’s going to happen at the end of the game. Any ideas?” The students may suggest that it may look like part of a web. The teacher-learner continues: “Whoever has got the ball of wool will say her/his name, where they live and, if they like, their favourite hobby. Lets all be quick so that we don’t get cramps in our arms and hands from holding on to the wool. Has everyone got that? Okay, then I’ll start. My name is X Y⁴⁷, I live in Z and my favourite hobby is ...” The introduction game continues until everyone has had a go. The teacher-learner then asks: “What is going to happen when one of us lets go of her/his thread?” The learners-teachers possibly answer: “It’s going to fall down” or the like.” He/she responds: “Yes, everyone has a task in holding on to it, so we are all working together and need each other’s help. We are now going to wind the thread up on the ball of wool. Where do we have to start? Okay, we start with T. What do we have to do so that it goes smoothly?” To this the students are likely to respond with : “We have to keep holding on to our thread and keep it tight until the ball of

⁴⁵ It is best to have the room ready before the students come in as it saves time and signals to the students that this is going to be a special lesson.

⁴⁶ Note that the direct speech I am using throughout these lessons is not to be taken literally but is meant as guidance for what should be said.

⁴⁷ It would be conducive to their egalitarian relationship if students called their teacher-learner by their first name. But students, other staff and parents may object to this.

wool comes back to us.” This exercise is bound to take some time which the teacher-learner should take into account.⁴⁸

6.2.1.6.2 Setting the frame: Negotiating guidelines for working together (32 min)⁴⁹

This part is the heart of the lesson since it lays the foundations for the relationship between teacher-learner and learner-teachers which is, as I pointed out above, fundamental for an holistic inclusive pedagogy to be effective.

Since the students are in a totally new environment, it is important to make them feel comfortable. The teacher-learner should therefore explain the structure of the lesson to them i.e. give them a brief overview of what is going to happen. Her/his statement should include the following points: 1) that this lesson is different in style and structure from subsequent ones as it prepares the way for them; 2) that it is crucial for all subsequent lessons; their quality depends on their and her/his own contributions in this lesson; 3) that they are going to work together for the next year or so and for this reason are going to negotiate guidelines; and, 4) that they will talk about their tasks and responsibilities.

6.2.1.6.2.1 Guidelines for the learners-teachers

After giving a brief overview of the lesson and answering any questions that arise, the teacher-learner could say to the students: “Well, we have just got to know each other a little bit. This is a good start. But we have never worked together before. And we are going to work

⁴⁸ If the game has already taken up too much time, the learners-teachers may simply let go of the woollen thread and two or three volunteers unravel it during break time.

⁴⁹ 32 min = 4 min for instructions and change of activities, 8 min for the teacher-learner’s guidelines, 8 min for the students’, and again 5 min each for the evaluation of these guidelines.

together during the next year or longer. So you and I need to think about what we have to do to work together really well in these lessons. You've been students for seven years now and therefore you are experts on being students. So you know what a student should be like. In a moment I am asking you to write down guidelines for yourselves to which you should keep in these lessons and I'll do the same." The teacher-learner may have to check whether the students know what is meant by guidelines and ask for definitions and examples. Once the meaning is clear, she/he asks the class to quickly split into groups of six and find a place in the classroom. At this juncture it does not matter whether they do this in an orderly or disorderly manner. Important here is that students do it without her/his help so that they can use this experience for the guidelines they are going to write. She/he then briefly explains what scaffold questions are, for example, by starting with the definition of scaffolding which again the learners-teachers may provide and then explaining its role in the lessons. Finally, after ascertaining that everyone has understood what scaffolding is, the teacher-learner hands out the scaffold questions. They are:

1. How can you efficiently and quickly form groups/pairs? If your group already did that, how exactly did you do it?
2. How can your group/you and your partner ensure that you keep to the time limit, that you conduct discussion in such a way so as not to disturb others and that you make a note of the findings?
3. How are you going to handle talking and listening in these lessons?
4. How should you be treating one another and me?
5. How do you think your homework and any work you produce should be?

The aim of the exercise is for learners-teachers to think about their conduct and their responsibility in these lessons, both individually and as a group. It is hoped that their recent experience of forming a group and the discussion that followed make them realise that they need to shoulder the responsibility, for instance, by filling three posts in each group: 1) a

scribe who writes down what the group says; 2) two students who keep an eye on the time⁵⁰; and 3) another two who make sure that the discussion is conducted in a quiet manner. The teacher-learner reminds the class that they have eight minutes and that the lists should be written with broad felt tips on A3 sheets of paper so that they can then be displayed for everyone to see.

While the groups are busy, he/she writes her/his own list which should comprise the following guidelines: 1) I would like you to treat one another and me with respect; 2) I would like you to be open and honest with me and tell me anything you like or dislike about me and my lessons; 3) I would like you to take your share of responsibility, i.e. to keep to the time limits and conduct discussions quietly and orderly; 4) I expect you to listen when others are speaking; 5) I expect you to do your homework and to keep your books in good condition; 6) I would like you to be flexible enough to change activities so that we can discuss anything that comes up; 7) I would like you to feel free to approach me about problems and questions; and, 8) I would like you to be on time.

When the time is over, the guidelines are read together and are arranged in order of priority by one or two volunteers and with the help of the class; unreasonable guidelines are crossed off and all are checked for repetitions. I suggest limiting the number of guidelines to a maximum of eight to avoid losing track. Finally, the teacher-learner asks everyone, if they agree with the guidelines and changes or deletes those to which they cannot relate.

⁵⁰To make time-management easier, there should be a clock in the room which everyone can see.

6.2.1.6.2.2 Guidelines for the teacher-learner

To initiate the second part of the exercise the teacher-learner says, for instance: “We have talked about and agreed on guidelines for you. Now it’s time to think about guidelines for me. What should *I* as your RE teacher-learner do and not do in these lessons?” He/she instructs them to do the same as before but this time to write guidelines for her/him. While the groups are busy writing their lists, the teacher-learner also sits down to compile her/his own list but if this is not possible, a prepared one should be at hand. I suggest that it contains the following and is directly addressed to the class: 1) I will treat you with respect; 2) I will be honest and open with you and tell you what I like or dislike about you and your input in the RE lessons 3) I will do *my* homework, i.e. I will prepare the lessons well and keep my books and records and material up-to date; 4) I will try to make the lesson as interesting and informative as possible, 5) I will try to be flexible so that we can discuss important issues when they arise; 6) I will try to answer any questions you have and help you with any problems outside the lessons; and, 7) I will do my best to be punctual and manage the times for the individual activities well. The class’s guidelines for the teacher-learner may include being fair and polite, rewarding good behaviour, writing legibly on the board, providing interesting lessons which are fun, using good visual aids, giving fair amounts of homework, letting students help one another and having the lessons in other places (e.g. outside on the lawn when the sun is shining or in a place of worship, etc.).⁵¹

Once the task has been completed, the guidelines are displayed and two volunteers go through them to put them in order of priority, check repetitions etc. Once they have all agreed

⁵¹ This list comprises my own expectations of a teacher-learner as well as those of my then 14 year old niece and two other children whom I consulted on this.

on them, two or more volunteers are asked to write both sets of guidelines out neatly again on an A3 sheet of paper or, alternatively, to type them on the computer and print them out so that they can be displayed in the classroom in the next lesson.

Finally, the teacher-learner promises to do her/his best to keep to these guidelines but also points out that he/she is only human and hopes that the class will be understanding in case she/he fails to abide by them. To conclude this part, the teacher-learner thanks the class for their guidelines and conduct or, if necessary, tells them what did not go well, thereby putting into practice what she/he promised a few moments ago.

6.2.1.6.3 Focusing on the content: What is religion? (6 min)

The final activity of this first lesson centres around the students' understanding of religion. They are going to discuss religion in pairs so that their knowledge constructions continues to be a social endeavour. At the same time they are asked personal questions to ensure that there continues to be a connection between their personal experience and the object of study.

To introduce the activity, the teacher-learner could say, for instance: "We have got to know each other and agreed on guidelines. Now it's time to think about religion. I am convinced that each of you already knows a lot about religion and what you know is important. In a little while you are going to think in pairs about what religion is. As before I have prepared a number of scaffold questions that will help you in your discussions." She/he hands these out and allows time for the class to look through them in case they do not understand them. The scaffold questions are:

1. What things come to your mind when you hear the word "religion"? Do a quick brain storming.

2. Are you a member of a religion? If so, which one? If not, do you know anyone who is? To what religion do they belong?
3. What do you think about your own religion, if you have one? What do you/don't you like about it? What do you think of the religion of someone else you know? What do you like/don't like about it?
4. Is religion special? If so, why? If not, why not?

Their task is to discuss the questions and write keywords on one or two A4 pieces of card which will be displayed in the next lesson.⁵² The class then splits into groups and start their discussion; they have six minutes for the task. As before, they should keep an eye on the time themselves. While the students are busy writing, the teacher-learner either assists those with writing difficulties and answers questions where necessary or, ideally, draws up his/her own list. The students' answers are likely to be quite varied, ranging from statements like "it's about Jesus", "helping the poor", "Muslims", "love", and "it's all about rule and no fun", depending on their background and experience.

6.2.1.6.4 The end of the lesson: Rounding things up (4 min)

When the time is up, the teacher-learner asks two volunteers to collect the lists and invites everyone to help put the tables and chairs back. She/he then concludes the lesson by thanking them for their contributions and conduct or, if necessary, by pointing out anything that can be improved. She/he in turn asks them what they liked or disliked about the lesson, encourages their responses and makes a note of them. Finally, she/he reminds the students to bring with them their name-tags to the next lesson. The lesson finishes with an exchange of good-byes.

⁵² Those who struggle with writing may instead draw a picture or a number of pictures or combine writing and drawing if they prefer.

6.2.2 Lesson two: The meaning of the mikvah for Jewish Orthodox women

6.2.2.1 The theme and its context

The theme of this lesson is part of the study of Judaism in general and of Orthodox Judaism in particular. It presupposes a unit of study on Judaism in key stage three that covers various aspects of Judaism, including, for instance, the Orthodox and Progressive traditions, the meaning of Torah and the Jewish home.⁵³ The subsequent lesson is concerned with the theme of marriage in Jewish Orthodox traditions in which the mikvah plays a crucial role. The theme is then also viewed from the angle of Jewish Progressive traditions to highlight once more alternative perspectives.

6.2.2.2 The age group

The lesson is aimed at girls and boys of mixed ability in year ten, i.e. at key stage four.

6.2.2.3 The aims of the lesson

I have deliberately chosen the theme of the mikvah because its exclusiveness lends itself to sex-gender issues. Three aims guide this teaching model: firstly, to enable learners-teachers to understand and appreciate the meaning of the ancient ritual of immersion in the mikvah for married women as a distinct feature of Jewish Orthodox traditions; secondly, to prepare them for alternative approaches to the mikvah in the Progressive traditions and hence draw attention to the notion of religious diversity; this will take place in the subsequent lesson/s; thirdly, to undermine the power-knowledge discourse between students and teacher-

⁵³ For instance, such a unit is proposed in the Model Syllabuses for RE by SCAA 1994.

learner; and, fourthly, to make them aware of approaches that consider the mikvah to be inherently sexist and hence raise the issue of sex-gender discrimination.

6.2.2.4 Approaches and activities

The teaching model employs the threefold scaffold structure which I described above: preparation, confrontation and interpretation as well as the respective scaffold questions for each. Activities involve discussions and four working stations that address different senses and abilities: hearing, feeling and seeing and reading so that the students' learning-teaching experience is both social and holistic. Moreover, the activities that appeal to the three senses benefit especially those students that struggle with reading and writing.

6.2.2.5 Classroom material and setting

The following materials are needed for the lesson: chalkboard or whiteboard and appropriate writing utensils for each, felt tips with a broad nib, about twenty sheets of paper in A3, a reusable adhesive, two tape recorders, eight headphones (borrowed from the modern language department),⁵⁴ two tapes with the personal account of an immersion,⁵⁵ photocopies of the transcript of the tape, a flannel, bath towel, soap, a bottle of shampoo, nail varnish, cotton buds, tooth picks, tooth brush and tooth paste, paper slippers, a container for contact lenses, a comb, a mirror, instructions for the preparatory cleansing,⁵⁶ photographs showing a mikvah, photographs of women immersing in a mikvah, photocopies or excerpts of books

⁵⁴ or more depending on the size of the class

⁵⁵ see appendix A.1

⁵⁶ Not all of these items need to be provided. Important is that some of them would not be part of an ordinary bath.

containing development about the mikvah, scaffold questions for each station and, finally, the nine questions for the interpretation part of the lessons written out on an A2 piece of paper.

6.2.2.6 Lesson plan

6.2.2.6.1 Preparation: Sharing personal experiences and knowledge of rituals (8 min)

The teacher-learner starts the lesson by telling the students that they are going to encounter a new topic in groups and that they are going to prepare for it next. For this they split into groups of five, quickly organise seating for themselves somewhere in the classroom and are given the scaffold questions. If possible, the teacher-learner should join one of the groups and assume the role of a student, provided the group agrees. When the groups have seen the questions they agree on the amount of time they will need for discussing them with the rest of the class and the teacher-learner. Twelve to fifteen minutes should suffice for this exercise. Each group then chooses 1) a scribe, who takes down notes on A2 or A3 sheets of paper; 2) a time keeper; 3) a reporter, who reports the findings back to the class following the discussions; 4) a “discipliner” one who makes sure that the discussion will not disturb the other groups; and, 5) one who is in charge of tidying each station up so that it is ready for the next group. Before the groups start their discussions, the teacher-learner asks the class if anyone could explain what a ritual is and give an example to ensure that everyone understands it. The scaffold questions are handed out. They are:

1. Are there any rituals in your life? If so, what are they? What do they mean to you?
2. More specifically (unless you just mentioned it), are there any cleansing rituals in your life? What do they mean to you?
3. Do women and men have different cleansing rituals? If so, what are they? Should it be like this? Why/why not?
4. Can you think of any rituals in any of the religions we studied that discriminate against women or men? What do you think about it?

6.2.2.6.2 Sharing of students' personal experiences of (cleansing) rituals (10 min)

The purpose of this activity is for students to share their experiences and knowledge constructions. When the allocated time is over, the reporters of each group share the findings with the rest of the class by putting their poster/s up on the board and quickly going through it. As the reporting progresses, only those findings are recounted that have not yet been mentioned. In the order of the above questions the findings may include, for example: 1) eating with the whole family on Sundays; enjoying this as a special time; 2) having a long hot bath once a week without anyone disturbing me; feeling really clean and relaxed afterwards; 3) men have to shave regularly; it's okay because their bodies are different; and, 4) Orthodox Jew only practise bar mizva and not bat mizva which is not fair.

6.2.2.6.3 Confrontation: Encountering the Mikvah by way of different senses (46 min)⁵⁷

This part of the lesson is crucial for learner's-teacher's understanding of the new topic. Its aim is to introduce them to the purifying ritual of the mikvah by way of four activities that address different senses and skills. It is hoped that this more 'sensual' approach brings the mikvah closer to learners-teachers than a mere cognitive reading exercise would so that they develop a deeper understanding of it and remember it better.

The teacher-learner prepares the four stations beforehand in the four corners of the classroom for the following activities: listening, feeling, seeing and reading. He/she also displays a list of scaffold questions for each. The questions are mainly factual to guide the students through the four activities and keep them focused on the different exercises. The per-

⁵⁷ 46 = eight minutes for each activity plus four to allow change over time, the setting up of the chairs and tables and 10 minutes break time

sonal questions that are interspersed ensure that the confrontation with the topic continues on a personal plane.

The first station is a listening station with two large recorders with four headphones each and tables and chairs for eight learners-teachers.⁵⁸ Two tapes containing a personal account of a woman's experience in the mikvah are played here.⁵⁹ The purpose of this exercise is for students to hear this account without other cues and external noises – hence the headphones. The scaffold questions are:

1. What is the person talking about?
2. How does she feel about it?
3. What religion does she belong to?
4. Could you imagine going to a mikvah? If so, why? If not, why not?

In another part of the classroom the teacher-learner has prepared a photo station displaying photographs of mikvahs and women immersing in them.⁶⁰ The intention here is for students to look at these photographs which portray very personal moments and try to understand what they see. The scaffold questions are:

1. What do you see?
2. Can you tell what the women are feeling?
3. Do you know how old this ritual could be?
4. Have you ever done this or something similar yourself?

⁵⁸ For this to happen the group who starts with this station should quickly arrange chairs and tables. The same applies to the reading station.

⁵⁹ see appendix A.1

⁶⁰ See appendix A.2. Although they show nude women they deliberately avoid revealing genitalia or the women's faces. I suggest that the photos are displayed in such a way that they cannot be seen beforehand as this would spoil the exercise. If the classroom has a chalk board that opens up, they could be stuck on one of the board's wings facing towards the wall and on the wall next to it and revealed for the activity. Alternatively, a presentation panel may be used, with the side displaying the photos facing towards the wall.

The third station represents the preparation for the mikvah and consists of a collection of bathroom utensils such as soap, shampoo, tooth picks, nail varnish, bath towel etc., as well as a sign with a list of instructions about the proper preparation for the ritual bath of the mikvah.⁶¹ The learners-teachers may touch each item if they wish to and study it in order to understand what function it has for the preparation of immersion in the mikvah. The scaffold questions that guide students through this station are:

1. What are these items used for?
2. Is there anything special about them? Why? Why not?
3. Can you guess to which religious tradition women who observe the mikvah belong?
4. Have you ever cleaned yourself so thoroughly and consciously as women do in preparation for the mikvah? How did you feel? How would you feel if you did?

At the final station eight chairs are arranged around four tables and background reading on the mikvah is provided by way of a photocopy.⁶² The aim of this activity is to complement the information provided by the other stations. Here the scaffold questions are:

1. What is meant by mikvah?
2. Where does this mitzvah⁶³ of the mikvah come from?
3. Who observes the mikvah and who does not?
4. What is its purpose?
5. What do you like and do not like about it?

All activities should be done in silence. If speaking is necessary during this part of the lesson, it should be done quietly.

⁶¹ see appendix A.3

⁶² see appendix A.4

⁶³ mitzvah = law; this is a word they should know from the unit on Judaism in key stage three

The teacher-learner explains what is about to happen, i.e. that the class will encounter a new topic and that this is done at four stations. The students then get everything they need and split into four groups of seven or eight and each group goes to one of the stations.⁶⁴ When everyone is ready the teacher-learner suggests that eight minutes should be spent at each station. After that time the groups move clockwise to the next station. As before everyone in the group shoulders part of the responsibility for this activity and the groups choose two each for the following posts: 1) 'time keepers'; 2) 'discipliners' and, 3) 'cleaners' who see that the stations are left in order (e.g. by winding back the tapes). If one of the groups agrees, the teacher-learner may want to join in the activities or, alternatively, walk around to be available for any problems or questions.

At the end of the activities class and teacher-learner put the tables and chairs back. He/she asks if there are any questions students might have before the next part of the lesson begins and writes these on the board. Unless these are pressing questions, they should not be answered at this stage so that students are encouraged to find the answers themselves, perhaps during the discussion that is to follow. Finally, the teacher-learner suggests a break of ten minutes so that they have an opportunity to let their impressions sink in.

6.2.2.6.4 Interpretation: Understanding the meaning of the mikvah, finding answers and raising questions (20 min)

When the break is over the teacher-learner announces that their experiences with the mikvah will now be discussed in pairs at which point learners-teachers should find a partner; the scaffold questions are then handed out. Their purpose is to facilitate further construction

⁶⁴ or less, depending on the size of the class

of learner's-teacher's own understanding of the mikvah. At this juncture pair work is essential so that the mikvah constructions every individual is engaged in continues to be a social exercise. Throughout this activity, the four stations are available for students to refer to if they need to.⁶⁵ However, instead of the listening exercise there should be transcripts available to save time.

The scaffold questions are a mixture of factual and interpretative questions. While the factual questions ensure a correct understanding of the topic, the interpretative questions serve to maintain the connection between the individual and the topic so that it is not merely something 'out there.' Since the scaffolding should be flexible, the teacher-learner reminds students that they may leave those questions out they cannot relate to and replace them with others; they do not have to follow the order either. The questions are:

1. What does the word 'mikvah' mean?
2. What is a mikvah?
3. What is it used for and by whom?
4. What, in your opinion, makes the mikvah so special?
5. What do you think about the mikvah's main use? Does it discriminate against anyone? Give reasons.
6. What would you say are the mikvah's strong points and weak points?
7. What arguments would Jews who are opposed to the mikvah come up with?
8. What attitude are progressive Jewish traditions likely to have toward the mikvah?
9. Do you have any questions about the mikvah? Please note them down.

As before the students quickly read through the questions and then agree with the teacher-learner on a time for discussing them. Taking into account the number of questions and the fact that the students also make notes, twenty-five minutes should suffice. Again the

⁶⁵ The readings and the transcript of the tape should be photocopied for the whole class so that students have it in front of them while they are discussing the questions.

learners-teachers are responsible for keeping to the time limit and conducting their discussion in a quiet manner. Those who struggle with writing may use a lap top or let her/his partner do the writing. The teacher-learner listens to some of the discussions and is available for questions.

6.2.2.6.5 Feedback (20 min)

When the allocated time is over, those students who swapped places for the discussion return to their seats while the teacher-learner displays the prepared scaffold questions at the front on an A3 piece of paper. The purpose of the feedback is twofold: It gives the teacher-learner an opportunity to check students' understanding of the mikvah while at the same time giving them a chance to exchange constructions and ideas, thereby facilitating the continuous progress of their own constructions still further. He/she asks if everyone was able to finish all of the nine questions from the previous part of the lesson and, if they did, if there were any they were not able to answer. She/he then marks any of those that the students have found difficult and adds them to the list of questions which they contributed. As the students read out their answers, the teacher-learner or a volunteer writes the answers on the board using only key words while the class makes a note of them in their exercise books. The reason for providing only key words is that it is important for their process of constructions to formulate their own answers so that they are truly theirs. Anyone who has not finished writing their answers at the end of the lesson will have to complete them at home.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Learners-teachers with writing problems may use a laptop or, alternatively, are given the answers on a piece of paper which they try to follow during the feedback time. They may later type them at home on the computer or on one of the school's computers.

6.2.2.6.6 The end of the lesson (3 min)

To finish the lesson the teacher-learner gives her/his own feedback to the class by saying a few words of praise and, if necessary, admonishment for the work they have done, their conduct, etc. and then gives them an opportunity to voice their opinion and makes a note of it. Since an holistic inclusive pedagogy grows out of every day practice, the teacher-learner can use these answers to adjust and optimise it where necessary and hence improve future lessons.

6.3 Two teaching-learning models in German as a foreign language: 1. Teaching-learning a new topic; 2. Expanding on the theme of the family

In the following I present two consecutive German teaching-learning models to demonstrate how the threefold scaffolding can be implemented in foreign language teaching-learning and that it is flexible. In consonance with an holistic inclusive pedagogy the two German lesson are divided into three parts: firstly, preparation which corresponds to oral work; secondly, confrontation where new vocabulary and grammar are introduced; and, thirdly, interpretation which involves practice of what has been learned-taught. In the first lesson a new topic is introduced and therefore the usual order of preparation, confrontation and interpretation is applied. By contrast, in the second lesson which directly follows on, the order of confrontation and interpretation is interchanged after the initial preparation part. The scaffold questions used in the lessons are highlighted with italics in each section. They direct students through the different parts and tasks of the lessons. For both lessons to be successfully taught-learned, a preliminary first lesson similar to the one described under 5.4.3 is required.

The two lesson focus on the topic of ‘the family’ and seek to enable learners-teachers to introduce their families to others in German. As in the second RE teaching-learning model,

the topic has been deliberately chosen to challenge and disrupt sex-gender/other stereotypes. In order to raise the issue of sex-gender/other discrimination, different types of the family, i.e. a racially mixed family and a family headed by a lesbian couple are presented by way of a worksheet and a listening exercise.

The two German teaching-learning models are based on 60 minute periods but can be adapted to shorter or longer periods. As before I propose a fast pace for the lessons so that the learners-teachers remain interested.

6.3.1 Lesson one: Teaching-learning a new topic: introducing one's family

6.3.1.1 The theme and its context

The topic belongs to the area of 'personal and social life' and is about introducing one's family. It usually follows on from previous work on personal identity which includes questions and answers concerning name, age and place of residence, such as "Ich wohne in..." (I live in...) and "Ich heiße..." (My name is...).

6.3.1.2 The age group at which the teaching model is aimed

The topic of 'My family' is normally introduced for the first time in year seven or in year eight, depending on when the students start German in their particular school.

6.3.1.3 The aims of the lesson

One aim of the teaching model is to enable learners-teachers to introduce their family by way of new vocabulary and grammar. These include four names of female relatives which take the female form of the possessive adjectives and four names of male relatives with the respective possessive adjective. The theme is entitled: "Meine Familie" (My family) and its

main scaffold question⁶⁷, “*Wer ist das?*” (Who is this?) is connected to the new instruction “*Stell uns bitte deine Familie vor.*” (Please introduce us to your family.) Related grammar which is revised and used in the context of the new theme is the present tense of the verb ‘sein’ (to be). The following vocabulary and grammar is to be taught-learned:

deine	meine	die Großmutter	your	my	the grandmother
		die Mutter			the mother
		die Tante			the aunt
		die Schwester			the sister
dein	mein	der Großvater	your	my	the grandfather
		der Vater			the father
		der Onkel			the uncle
		der Bruder			the brother

In addition to theses linguistic aims, there are other aims derived from an holistic inclusive pedagogy; these are: firstly, to raise students’ awareness of sex-gender issues by presenting alternatives to sex-gender stereotypical roles of parenting through a worksheet that provides examples of heterosexual *and* homosexual parents and depicts different ethnic groups; and, secondly, to disrupt the power/knowledge discourse that pervades the relationship both between teacher-learner and students.

6.3.1.4 The approach

The approach combines some aspects of Waldorf language teaching and communicative language teaching. 1) The teacher-learner takes on a central role in language lessons by providing vocabulary and ensuring correct pronunciation. 2) The target language is the goal of and the means by which the foreign language is being taught-learned. Yet in the context of an

⁶⁷ In the terminology of language teachers-learners this question is referred to as target

holistic inclusive pedagogy it should not be used dogmatically. Instead, its use should be flexible and appropriate to the situation that arises. For example, the language teacher-learner may resort to English when the class's discipline is failing, a grammatical point needs to be explained or if questions or discussions arise.⁶⁸ Important is that all new vocabulary and grammar is displayed in the classroom for those who need visual clues, either when it is introduced or shortly after. A language policy will have been discussed and agreed with the learners-teachers at the beginning of the year. For the two German lessons I suggest the following pattern when instructions are given: The teacher-learner gives instructions in German whenever possible and supports these with mime and appropriate gestures. After that she/he asks the class in German if they have understood them, a volunteer then translates the instruction into English and, finally, she/he asks in English if everyone knows what was said.⁶⁹ 3) Different activities are an integral part of the lessons. I am drawing on Waldorf language teaching for rhythmic exercises, games, singing and drawing and take role play, pair work and group work from CLT.⁷⁰

4) Topics, in this case 'the family', are chosen which are generally of interest to the learner-teachers, i.e. which they in some way experience and hence can relate to. In this sense

question.

⁶⁸ Recent research confirms that switching between the target language and the mother tongue are common practice in foreign language lessons and that both learners-teachers and teacher-learner value it positively (Mitchell 2000, p.11).

⁶⁹ To avoid repetition, the term 'instruction' I use in the lesson refers to this pattern unless it is stated otherwise. To familiarise students with German instructions, it is best to dedicate a whole lesson to this topic.

⁷⁰ I am aware that CLT also employs singing and games but of the two Waldorf education was historically the first to make these elements an integral part of its foreign language lessons.

their experience and knowledge constructions is taken seriously and built upon.⁷¹ 5) Authentic audio, visual and written material, in this case photographs and a tape, is used whenever possible. 6) I have taken one particular element from Waldorf language teaching to mark clearly the beginning of a lesson and signal students' readiness: standing up. The class stands up while the teacher-learner greets them and during the rhythmic part of the lesson. This demands more effort on part of the students. However, it should not be used dogmatically. Instead, it must be meaningful to the learners-teachers concerned and omitted if they do not feel comfortable with it. I suggest that the teacher-learner explains its purpose to them after it has been introduced in the first lesson and that they decide together whether they want to do it.

7) Finally, the aspect of rhythmic exercises at the beginning of the lesson is taken from Waldorf language teaching and involves choral practice of tongue twisters for the sake of pronunciation and chanting of verb and noun tables for grammar practice. Although the chanting of such tables is, admittedly, rather traditional, and hence may feel awkward to class and teacher-learner who have not done this before, it is nevertheless very effective as I have experienced during my five years of teaching-learning at a Waldorf school. The notion behind the chanting, which is often accompanied by snipping with fingers clapping or stamping of feet, is that the rhythm aids the memory of what is chanted. Moreover, the regular repetition of verb tables in most lessons ensures that grammar is memorised on an unconscious level. When at a later stage the 'chanted grammar' becomes conscious as it is put into a meaningful

⁷¹ There are unfortunately other themes which are not relevant to all learners-teachers. The topic of 'holiday travel and transport', for example, may be alien to those from deprived backgrounds.

context, the learners-teachers are able to recall what they need from memory and can therefore master grammar exercises fairly well.⁷²

6.3.1.5 Classroom material

The material needed in this model lesson consists of eight photographs, i.e. flashcards⁷³ of the teacher's-learner's family depicting, if possible, mother, father, sister, brother, grandparents, aunt and uncle and a flashcard with a question mark on one side and a picture of the language teacher-learner on the other.⁷⁴ For the flashcards a family tree either prepared on the board or on a large piece of card with spaces for all the cards is needed. Other materials include a whiteboard or, alternatively, a chalkboard with appropriate writing utensils, a reusable adhesive, a worksheet and its transparency, an overhead projector and screen, paper strips with all the new vocabulary, the German folder and exercise books.

⁷² Note that the GCSE results Waldorf schools produce in languages are usually above the national average. For instance, at Elmfield Rudolf Steiner school where I taught from 1994-1999, nine candidates were entered in 2002 for A-C grades, i.e. 100% as opposed to 57% nationally, and of these seven received an A*, one an A and one a B (Elmfield 2002). Ex pupils who go on to college to take A-levels in languages report that they are 'miles ahead' of fellow students in terms of vocabulary and especially grammar. I suggest that the combination of starting foreign languages in class one with informal grammar teaching-learning and the chanting of tables, contributes to a solid foundation in German/French.

⁷³ To save costs, coloured photocopies can be made of original photos, blown up to A4, mounted on card and then laminated.

⁷⁴ The lesson presupposes that the teacher-learner is willing to share pictures of her/his family with the class. In case he/she does not have a family or only a small family, he/she can present an imaginary family instead and explain it to the students.

6.3.1.6 Lesson plan

6.3.1.6.1 Preparation

6.3.1.6.1.1 Rhythmic exercises (4 min)

I suggest that oral work is done in a circle which learners-teachers arrange as soon as they come into the classroom. The teacher-learner starts the lesson by greeting the class with a “Guten Morgen, Klasse 7x!” (Good morning, class 7x!) or “Guten Tag, Klasse 7x!” (Good afternoon, class 7x!), according to the time of day. If both have agreed to stand up at the beginning, they do so and start the rhythmic part with a speech exercise, e.g. a tongue twister whose purpose is to improve the pronunciation and add an element of fun. The teacher-learner asks, “*Welchen Zungenbrecher sollen wir jetzt üben?*” (Which tongue twister shall we practise now?)⁷⁵ The class may suggest, for instance: “Zehn zahme Ziegen zogen zehn Zentner Zucker zum Zoo.” (Ten tame goats pulled ten hundredweights of sugar to the zoo.) If they know it well, two volunteers may take the lead in this exercise, provided their pronunciation is accurate. After that the teacher-learner leads the chanting of the verb tables. Useful auxiliary verbs such as ‘haben’ (to have) and ‘sein’ (to be) as well as verbs that are relevant to the current topic, or those that are needed for the next topic are especially suitable. Depending on the year group and progress of the class concerned, verbs can then be chanted in the present and in other tenses. The German verb tables are chanted rhythmically, beginning with the

⁷⁵ For this exercise a different word of the tongue twister is emphasised every time, starting with the first which is followed by the second, and so on.

verb in its infinitive form and the English translation, for example, “*haben – to have*” which the teacher-learner says first.⁷⁶

	haben	to have		sein	to be
Singular	ich habe	I have		ich bin	I am
	du hast	you have		du bist	you are
	sie/er/es hat	she/he/it has		sie/er/es ist	she/he/it is
Plural	wir haben	we have		wir sind	we are
	ihr habt	you have		ihr seid	you are
	sie haben	they have		sie sind	they are

The teacher-learner signals the end of the rhythmic work with an indirect question: “Ich denke, das reicht für heute, okay?” (I think that’s enough for today, okay?) and, if the students do not object, asks them to sit down: “Bitte setzt euch!” (Please sit down!)

6.3.1.6.1.2 Oral work: Revision (4 min)

Following the rhythmic exercises the teacher-learner asks questions in German that the class answers individually. The questions vary according to the topics studied and for this teaching model they are taken from the area of personal and social life with which year seven normally start. These may include:

⁷⁶ I used to accompany the chanting with a clap on each verb as well as on the three personal pronouns in the third person. Each verb table finishes with two claps which enables the students to keep to the rhythm. Each teacher-learner will have to find his/her own way of doing this exercise. It is important, however, that the way in which the tables are chanted varies now and again so as to break the monotony of the chanting and make this exercise as enjoyable as possible. For instance, the teacher-learner could prompt the class with the personal pronouns and let them chant the respective verbs on their own. For the same reasons stated above, a written version of the tables should be displayed.

Wie heißt du?

Wie alt bist du?

Hast du Geschwister

Wie heißt dein Bruder/deine Schwester?

Wo wohnst du?

Hast du ein Haustier?

What is your name?

How old are you?

Do you have any sisters or brothers?

What is your brother's/sister's name?

Where do you live?

Do you have a pet?

The purpose of these questions is to give the learners-teachers an opportunity to practise and revise what they already know in German; it is not a test of their ability. As they answer the questions individually, their pronunciation can be checked and corrected if necessary.

6.3.1.6.2 Confrontation

6.3.1.6.2.1 Introducing eight members of the family (12 min)

At first the teacher-learner lets the class see how he/she puts the eight flashcards and the spare one into their places on the prepared family tree and asks the scaffold question: “*Was ist auf den Bildern?*” (What is on the pictures?) to which the students answer in English, that they are photographs of a family. Upon this the teacher-learner says, for instance, : “*Richtig, das ist eine Familie!*” (Correct, this is a family) and starts the introduction part by saying “*Das lernen wir heute.*” (Today we are going to learn this.)

I propose to start by introducing the first four female members of the family with their definite article as it counteracts the common practice of males being introduced first, e.g. on official occasions (Mr and Mrs X). The language teacher-learner points each photograph out to the class, says its respective names twice and prompts the class to chorus them a second or third time. Each flashcard is then pointed out again while she/he asks the ‘choice question’

which offers two phrases, one that is correct and one that is not. For example, when the flashcard ‘die Mutter’ is held up, the two choices given could be: “*Ist das die Mutter oder ist das die Tante?*” The ‘choice question’ gives learners-teachers the chance to apply what they have learned while at the same time helping them to make that choice as they hear both possibilities.

After the ‘choice question’ follows the ‘open question’. Here again one flashcard at a time is presented to the students and the teacher-learner asks the target question: “*Wer ist das?*” (Who is this?)⁷⁷ When the students know the first four words well, the remaining four are introduced in the same way. Finally, the flashcards are taken off the family tree and mixed up and the students have to answer the open question once more until they know the new vocabulary fairly well.

6.3.1.6.2.2 Reading (4 min)

The introduction part is followed by the reading exercise where the spoken words that have just been introduced are for the first time presented in writing.⁷⁸ For this exercise all eight words have been written on the chalk board in two columns prior to the lesson according to their sex and are now revealed by the teacher-learner. The eight words on the chalk board and their respective definite article serve as a model for parts of the worksheet which the learners-teachers will fill in later on in the lesson. It therefore should include the German date

⁷⁷ For the first time in the introduction part the answer has to be recalled from memory. For this reason it is important to introduce new words well and not to introduce too many at once.

⁷⁸ With the exception of visual clues for learners-teachers who need these in addition to audio clues.

and the title 'Die Familie'. The teacher-learner asks a volunteer to read the words of their choice aloud, find the matching flashcard and stick it next to them. The scaffold questions here are: "*Wer liest ein Wort und sucht das passende Bild?*" (Who is going to read one of the words and find the matching picture?); "*Zu welchem Wort gehört welches Bild?*" (Which word belongs to which picture?), or a variation of the same question: "*Wo gehört das hin?*" (Where does it go?)

6.3.1.6.2.3 Revision of old and introduction of new grammar (10 min)

Before introducing the new grammar, old grammar, in this case the feminine definite article 'die' and the masculine definite article 'der', are revised. The teacher-learner points at the words on the board and asks the students what they notice: "*Was fällt euch auf?*" They have done this recently and should notice that four of the words take 'die' and four take 'der'. He/she asks them to explain in English the rule for which words take 'die' and which take 'der'.

The teacher-learner then takes the flashcard with the question mark off the family tree and reveals the picture on the other side, thereby pointing at him/herself and asking: "*Wer ist das?*" (Who is this?), to which the learners-teachers are likely to answer that it is her/him. He/she confirms this in German: "Ja, das bin ich" and continues by pointing at the other flashcards: "Und wer ist das?" (And who is this?) When the students will suggest that this is his/her family, she/he confirms this in German: "Ja, das ist meine Familie." (Yes, this is my family.) Hört zu (Listen)! Das ist *meine* Mutter, *meine* Schwester, *meine* Oma und *meine* Tante, *aber: mein* Vater, *mein* Bruder, *mein* Opa und *mein* Onkel." (This is my mother, my sister, my grandmother *but* my father, my brother and my uncle.) Again the teacher-learner quizzes the students: "*Was fällt euch auf?*" (What do you notice?) If they do not yet see a pattern, i.e.

that ‘die’ - words take ‘meine’ and ‘der’ words take ‘mein’, he/she points at the written words again, reads two from each column and adds ‘mein/meine’ until the pattern becomes clear to the class and they explain it in English. He/she then encourages them to repeat some of the words after him/her, e. g.: ‘meine Mutter, meine Schwester, mein Vater, mein Bruder’, and so on, writes the two possessive adjectives next to the two columns on the board and adds the prepared strip of paper with the table to the vocabulary strips on the walls so that the learners-teachers can visualise them:

meine	die Großmutter	my	the grandmother
	die Mutter		the mother
	die Tante		the aunt
	die Schwester		the sister
mein	der Großvater	my	the grandfather
	der Vater		the father
	der Onkel		the uncle
	der Bruder		the brother

To introduce ‘deine’ and ‘dein’ (your), the teacher-learner picks up one of the flashcards saying, for instance: “*Das ist meine Tante*” (This is my aunt) and then hands it to a learner-teacher, this time saying: “*Okay, jetzt ist es **deine** Tante!*” (Okay, now it is **your** aunt!) She/he hands out all the flashcards with the female family members in the same way and then does the same with those depicting male family members. When all flashcards have been given out, she/he turns to the class asking again: “*Was bedeutet dein oder deine?*” A volunteer answers the question and the teacher-learner encourages the class to chorus ‘deine

Mutter’ and ‘dein Vater’ etc. a number of times and, to conclude this part, adds ‘deine’ and ‘dein’ to the two columns on the board and to the vocabulary strips on the walls.

deine	meine	die Großmutter	your	my	the grandmother
		die Mutter			the mother
		die Tante			the aunt
		die Schwester			the sister
dein	mein	der Großvater	your	my	the grandfather
		der Vater			the father
		der Onkel			the uncle
		der Bruder			the brother

6.3.1.6.3 Interpretation

6.3.1.6.3.1 Writing (22 min)⁷⁹

For the writing exercise the class is given a worksheet with three different tasks.⁸⁰ While the worksheet is handed out, the class starts writing down title and date on the worksheets. In the first exercise they are asked to write ‘meine’ or ‘mein’ next to the eight family members which have been mixed up. Its differentiated pendant is on the other side of the worksheet and here small pictures of the family members are drawn next to them for visual support. The second task comprises a completion exercise with four sentences that describe a family which is depicted next to the text. Each member of the family has a number which corresponds to the number of the sentence that is to be completed. The words for the gaps are

⁷⁹ 20 minutes = seven minutes for the each task and four for marking each; this includes the differentiated versions

provided. The differentiated version of the second task is on the other side of the page. Here the first letters of the words that are to be written in the gaps are provided and the dots in each gap correspond to the number of letters in each word. The purpose of the exercises is firstly, to get the learners-teachers to read the new words and their respective pronouns again; secondly, to write them down for the first time; and, thirdly, to practise the grammar they have learned.

The instructions that are given follow the same pattern as described under 6.3.1.4. The language teacher-learner says, for example: “Das ist unser neues Arbeitsblatt. Bitte schaut euch Nummer eins an. Was müsst ihr dort tun?” (This is our new worksheet. Please look at number one. What do you have to do there?) I suggest that they decide for themselves whether they want to work in pairs. It is likely that fast writers will finish long before slower ones. Therefore, extra tasks like thinking of ways to memorise the words, should be provided. While the class is busy with the first task, she/he goes around to give advice and answer questions where necessary.

When everyone has completed the first task, he/she goes through it one by one using an overhead projector and the transparency of the worksheet while the students mark their own work or each other's.⁸⁰ Scaffold questions here are: “*Was ist a), b)?*”, etc. (What is a),b) etc.)?” “*Wie schreibt man das?*” (How do you spell it?) Each sentence on the worksheet is covered up and revealed as the teacher-learner goes through them. The use of the overhead projector here ensures that the class's spelling is correct and that the process of marking is

⁸⁰ see appendix B

⁸¹ If there is enough time, volunteers may instead write the answers on the transparency.

sped up. After the differentiated version has also been marked, both types of task two on the worksheet are completed in the same way and finish with learners-teachers marking their own work again. Finally, as part of their ‘writing routine’ they put the worksheet in their folders without being reminded by the teacher-learner to do so.

6.3.1.6.4 The end of the lesson (4 min)

When both tasks have been completed and marked, the teacher-learner gives the homework for next time which is to bring photographs of their own family or, if they prefer, pictures of an imaginary family which they are going to introduce as their own.⁸² Some students may feel uncomfortable about bringing family photographs to the lesson or do not have any. The teacher-learner should therefore stress that it is okay if they do not want to do so and encourage those who want to draw or bring pictures of an (imaginary) family. Before class and teacher-learner exchange good-byes, he/she asks them what they liked and disliked about the lesson, make a note of it and shares his/her own impressions.

6.3.2 Lesson two: Expanding on the theme of the family

6.3.2.1 The theme and its context

This teaching model directly follows on from the previous one. As in the preceding lesson its theme belongs to the area of ‘personal and social life’. From a linguistic point of view, it builds upon it by revising its vocabulary and grammar and by expanding on it. From

⁸² Alternatively, they may want to bring pictures of celebrities of different ages that they ‘make’ into their family. The teacher-learner may also provide spare sets of photos of unknown families which students can borrow. Whatever the options he/she gives, it is a matter of course that the teacher-learner here exercises a great amount of sensitiveness.

an interpersonal perspective, it continues the work on the relationship between teacher-learner and learners-teachers and confronts the latter with alternative forms of the family.

6.3.2.2 The age group at which the teaching model is aimed

Since the lesson follows on from the previous one, it too is aimed at year seven or eight, i.e. key stage three when German is introduced for the first time at secondary school.

6.3.2.3 The aims of the lesson

Three aims are underlying this teaching model: 1) to provide an opportunity for learners-teachers to revise and practise the words for the eight family members and the grammar they learned in the preceding lesson; 2) to introduce them to feminine and masculine possessive adjectives which are 'ihr' (her) and 'sein' (his) as well as to alternative terms for some of the eight names which are:

die Oma/Omi	the grandma/granny
die Mama/Mutti	the mum/mummy
der Opa/Opi	the grandpa/granddad
der Papa/Vati	the dad/daddy

3) to further the relationship between teacher-learner and learners-teachers through sharing family photographs; and, 4) to challenge stereotypical views of the family by presenting the students with alternative forms such as a family headed by two lesbian mothers.

6.3.2.4 The approach

The approach is the same as described under 6.3.1.4 and therefore combines some aspects of Waldorf language teaching and communicative language teaching and features use of the target language, rhythmic work and group work

6.3.2.5 Classroom material

The following material is required for the lesson: 1) flashcards of the eight members of the family that were previously introduced or the family tree and a set of standard size photographs of the teacher's-learner's family; 2) the worksheet and its transparency used in the foregoing lesson; 3) a flashcard showing a girl, one showing a boy and two depicting their families⁸³; 4) a tape recorder; 5) a tape on which two German students introduce their families; 6) a listening sheet with pictures of the families described on the tape and transparencies of the two sides of the sheet⁸⁴; 7) an OHP and a screen; 8) strips of card or paper of the eight family names and their alternative terms that are going to be introduced and a vocabulary sheet for the homework; 9) the students' own photos of the family and their German folders; 10) a chalk board a white board and suitable writing utensils for both; and, finally, 11) a reusable adhesive.

⁸³ These flashcards are used briefly for introducing the female and male possessive adjectives and therefore do not have to be real photographs.

⁸⁴ see B.3 and B.4

6.3.2.6 Lesson plan

6.3.2.6.1 Preparation

6.3.2.6.1.1 Rhythmic exercises (4 min)

As before, a group of four or five learners-teachers arrange the chairs in a circle at the beginning of the lesson. After the usual exchange of greetings between the language teacher-learner and the students, he/she introduces the rhythmic part with the question: “*Welchen Zungenbrecher sollen wir jetzt üben?*” (Which tongue twister shall we practise today?) and the students choose one. He/she or two volunteers lead the class in chanting it. The teacher-learner then leads the chanting of the verb tables ‘haben’ (to have) and ‘sein’ (to be), part of the vocabulary that was introduced in the preceding lesson and some of the new vocabulary. Again this is done rhythmically and the words are arranged in order of their sex. I suggest that the two categories of words, i.e. female and male names, are divided into two groups with two, three words respectively:

die Mutter	the mother	der Vater	the father
die Mutti	the mummy	der Vati	the daddy
die Schwester	the sister	der Bruder	the brother
die Tante	the aunt	der Onkel	the uncle
die Omi	the granny	der Opi	the granddad

She/he starts with “die Mutter, die Mutti” which is chorused by the class and then continues with the other words in the same way. As before, the teacher-learner ends this part of the lesson by asking the class if that is enough and either continues with this exercise by following their suggestions or concludes it by asking them to sit down. Finally, she/he asks two

volunteers to display the new synonyms which he/she prepared beforehand, i.e. ‘der Vati’ is put under ‘der Vater’, ‘die Mutti’ under ‘die Mutter’, and so on, while the teacher-learner ensures that the class knows their meaning. The scaffold questions here are: “*Wo kommt das hin?*” (Where does this go?) and “*Was bedeutet das?*” (What does it mean?)

6.3.2.6.1.2 Oral work: Revision of vocabulary (5 min)

In this part of the lesson vocabulary, phrases and questions that have been learned so far are revised. Since the vocabulary about the family is fairly new, it is best for the language teacher-learner to start by providing the cues in English and then to hand over to volunteers. For instance, she/he might ask the class to translate “the father” or “your sister”, and the learners-teachers then give cues such as: “*Übersetzt ‘my mother’ ins Deutsche!*” (Translate ‘my mother’ into German!) At this stage they are expected to recall the new vocabulary from memory but may if they wish to, also look at the vocabulary that is displayed on the walls. The emphasis here is on quality and not quantity, and therefore it is better to revise only a few words properly rather than doing many only scantily. The purpose of this part of the lesson is for learners-teachers to practise their pronunciation and verify that the meaning of the vocabulary is correct.

6.3.2.6.2 Interpretation

6.3.2.6.2.1 Revision of old grammar (4 min)

The teacher-learner begins this part with the revision of the grammar that was introduced in the previous lesson. She/he says, for instance: “*Welche neue Grammatik haben wir letzte Mal durchgenommen?*” (Which new grammar did we go through last time?), and asks a volunteer to translate that question. This should prompt the learners-teachers to say something

like: “We learned about the difference between *meine/deine* and *mein/dein*”, but in case it does not, he/she provides a cue such as pointing at the family tree or flashcards from the preceding lesson and encourages them to explain that difference in English and to give some examples which one or two volunteer/s write on the board in two columns according to their sex. The language teacher-learner then adds his/her own example: “*Die Familie – meine oder mein Familie?*” (The family – *my* or *my* family?), asks the class to which column it should be added.

6.3.2.7 Confrontation

6.3.2.7.1.1 Introduction of new grammar (6 min)

After concluding the revision part, he/she signals the introduction of something new, for instance by using a gesture or sign they have agreed on at the beginning of the year and says: “Wir lernen jetzt etwas Neues. Seid ihr soweit?” (We are going to learn something new. Are you ready?) He/she points at the flashcards from the previous lesson and says: “Also, das ist *meine* Familie” (This is *my* family), and then, holding up a new flashcard depicting a girl, says: “Das ist Janina.” The teacher-learner picks up another flashcard showing a family and adds: “Und das ist Janinas Familie. Das ist *ihre* Familie.” (This is Janina’s family. This is *her* family.) To enable the students to answer correctly, she/he asks: “*Wer ist das?*” (Who is this?) “Ja, richtig, das ist *ihre* Familie.” (Yes, that’s right. This is *her* family.) He/she then writes on the board: ‘Janinas Familie = *ihre* Familie’ so that the class can visualise it. The teacher-learner now encourages the class to chorus the answer a number of times and then introduces the male possessive adjective in the same way, using a flashcard depicting a boy and one showing his family. Once again she/he encourages the learners-teachers to repeat the male possessive adjective and writes it on the board: ‘Stefans Familie = *seine* Familie.’ Fi-

nally, he/she turns to the class and points at individual students, saying: “*Johns Familie ist...?*” (John’s family is...?), or: “*Sineads Familie ist...?*” (Sinead’s family is...?) to get them to use the correct possessive adjective. Before proceeding, she/he asks them if everyone has understood the new grammar and, if this is not the case, ask volunteers for more explanations and examples.

6.3.2.7.2 Interpretation

6.3.2.7.2.1 Speaking: Practising the new grammar (14 min)⁸⁵

To enable the learners-teachers to practise both old vocabulary and what they have just been introduced to, the language teacher-learner tells them to split into groups of five and find a space anywhere in the classroom where they can share their family photographs with one another. Their task is to introduce their families to the others in the group in German and to choose a volunteer from their group who is going to introduce one of the five families to the whole class. As with all group work, the tasks of time-keeping and disciplining are taken on by two volunteers. The students may look at the vocabulary that is displayed on the classroom walls and on the board if they need to. While the groups are sharing their photographs, the teacher-learner moves between them if they agree and listens to the conversations. The scaffold questions that guide their sharing are also displayed for those who need visual cues. They are: 1. *Wer ist das?* (Who is this?); 2. *Wie heißt sie/er?* (What is her/his name?); 3. *Wie alt ist sie/er?* (How old is she/he?)

When the six minutes have passed, the teacher-learner signals the end of the exercise by saying, for instance: “Okay, die Zeit ist abgelaufen! Wer kommt nach vorne und stellt eine

Familie vor?" (Okay, time's up! Who will come to the front and introduce a family?) As one volunteer after another comes to the front with their photographs, the teacher-learner helps them with specific questions if necessary, e.g., "*Wessen Familie ist das?*" (Whose family is this?) and "*Und wer ist auf dem Foto zu sehen?*" (And who is this on the photograph?) The students are expected to answer in full sentences that include the correct possessive adjective.⁸⁶

6.3.2.7.3 Confrontation and interpretation

6.3.2.7.3.1 Listening to an audio tape: German students introduce their families (10 min)⁸⁷

For this part of the lesson the teacher-learner plays a tape to the class on which two German students talk about their families.⁸⁸ The listening exercise is supported by a listening sheet which is differentiated on three levels: 1) a fairly easy one with pictures and transcripts where learners-teachers write the correct number of the two monologues next to the pictures; 2) a standard one with one cue, i.e. the names of the two students; and, 3) a more difficult one where students translate what they hear into English. The purpose behind this exercise is to provide an opportunity for learners-teachers to listen to German speakers other than their language teacher-learner and to develop the skill of listening out for specific information. On an

⁸⁵ 14 min = 6 minutes for the group work and 8 for the presentations

⁸⁶ To keep a fast pace, two students could be asked to come to the front at the beginning and the next one to comes up as soon as the first one has finished.

⁸⁷ 10 min = four minutes for the listening exercise played twice, and six minutes for going through it

⁸⁸ see appendix B.3 and B.4

interpersonal level, the intention is to present two alternative family types and thereby challenge sex-gender stereotypes.

The language teacher-learner introduces the exercise, following the usual pattern for instructions and plays the tape. After the tape has been played a second time, she/he asks the class if anyone would like to hear the two monologues again and either plays it once more or starts going through them by using the OHP transparencies for both sides of the listening sheet and asks, for instance: “*Wer ist Nummer eins auf der Kassette? Und wer gehört zu Claudias Familie?*” (Who is number one on the tape? And who belongs to Claudia’s family?) The teacher-learner or different volunteers then write the answers on the transparency while everyone in the class marks her/his own work.

6.3.2.7.4 Interpretation

6.3.2.7.4.1 Writing (12 min)⁸⁹

For the remainder of the lesson students do a comprehension task taken from the worksheet that was introduced in the previous lesson. The teacher-learner asks them to take out their worksheet folder and work with a partner: “Nehmt bitte eure Mappen heraus. Wir machen jetzt Partnerarbeit.” Their task is to read the German text under number III quietly at first and then to help each other by answering the questions. As the worksheet shows, the exercise combines old and new vocabulary about the family and introduces new words through footnotes. The purpose of the exercise is threefold: firstly, for the learners-teachers to practise reading, albeit quietly; secondly, to comprehend the text; and, thirdly, to practise their spelling. The answers are to be written in their exercise books. Once again the exercise is differen-

tiated on three levels⁹⁰ and the scaffold questions are provided on the worksheet. Other scaffolding is offered through the picture and the English translation of the questions. Since the text is fairly short, the students are given eight minutes to answer the questions before the language teacher-learner goes through it with them by means of the OHP transparency. They decide for themselves whether they want to mark their own or their partner's work. Finally, the teacher-learner asks two volunteers to collect the worksheets and exercise books and hand them to her/him so that she/he can check everyone's written work.

6.3.2.7.5 The end of the lesson (3 min)

The teacher-learner signals the end of the lesson and hands out part of the homework for the next lesson. The learners-teachers are given a vocabulary sheet which contains a list of all the German words of the topic 'Meine Familie' and their English meaning that have been introduced so far. Their homework is to stick their family photographs into their exercise books and label them in German with the help of the vocabulary sheet. If they cannot spare the ones they have or do not have any, they may, alternatively, draw their family.⁹¹ A differentiated version of the homework for those who struggle with writing is to type the new words, cut them out and use them for labelling the photographs/pictures. The instructions are given in the usual way and after that the teacher-learner asks the class if they are happy with

⁸⁹ 12 min = eight minutes for the exercise and four minutes for marking it

⁹⁰ See appendix B.4. On the back of the worksheet is a differentiated form of the exercise where the answers are listed in different order and the students have to match them to the questions. For those who still find this exercise difficult, an English translation of the questions to which the students can refer when they need to, is provided.

⁹¹ Boys (and girls) who do not enjoy drawing, could think of another way of portraying their family. For instance, they could create a family tree on the computer and use differ-

the lesson: “Ich hoffe, euch hat die Stunde gefallen? Was war gut? Was war nicht so gut?” (I hope you enjoyed the lesson? What was good? And what wasn’t?) She/he makes a note of it and adds what she/he liked and did not like. The lesson finishes after both have exchanged good-byes.

6.4 Conclusion: Theory and praxis: reflections on the teaching-learning models

As the four teaching-learning models have demonstrated, an holistic inclusive pedagogy can be successfully implemented if certain requirements are met. One of its main requirement is the threefold scaffold structure consisting of preparation, confrontation and interpretation and their respective scaffold questions. The second RE lesson and the two German lessons clearly show that the scaffolding is indeed flexible and adaptable. Its order of preparation, confrontation and interpretation is followed in lessons where new topics are introduced but changes when follow-up work is dealt with. The scaffolding facilitates learners’-teachers’ knowledge constructions and fosters their critical thinking. It is not limited to questions but also includes visual, sensual and audio cues, as the second RE teaching-learning model demonstrates. In this sense it is holistic.

The lessons also confirmed other aspects which are vital for the successful implementation of this pedagogy and which I elaborated in the previous chapter: 1) that the relationship between teacher-learner and learners-teachers is the pivot on which its success hinges and that it must therefore be fostered, for instance, through the teacher’s learner’s continued effort to provide opportunities for herself/himself and them to meet on the same level both in and out-

ent symbols for each family member. Alternatively, they could scan any photographs they have on the school’s scanner and use those for the homework.

side of the lessons; 2) that through it the power-knowledge discourse is challenged; 3) that the experience and knowledge constructions of learners-teachers are taken seriously and built upon; 4) that material is carefully selected to make sex-gender/other discrimination visible and offer alternatives; in this way students are challenged to think about these and related issues; 5) that creative elements like rhythmic exercises, games and drawing feature in the lessons; 6) that collaboration in group/pair work is an integral part of the lessons that fosters social skills and interactive learning-teaching, teaches students responsibility and ensures that learning teaching is a social activity; and, 7) that despite these aspects and requirements an holistic inclusive pedagogy cannot be utilised without an initial lesson that prepares the way for all subsequent lessons by way of guidelines for teacher-learner and students. It does so through defining their respective tasks and responsibilities and by introducing them to the notion of scaffolding, as the first RE lesson demonstrated

I do not suggest that it can on its own ameliorate the injustices students suffer since it competes with diverse forces at home and in other areas of life but, given the formative influence education has on them, an holistic inclusive pedagogy can make a valuable contribution to ameliorating such injustices. To reiterate, it aims to foster learners'-teachers' ability to think critically and independently of the status quo and, if they choose to do so, to counteract sex-gender/other stereotypes.

The holistic inclusive pedagogy I developed in the previous chapter and then illustrated by way of four teaching models, is a theory that grew out of *my* practice and in this sense is a *living* pedagogy. As such it will hopefully inspire other teachers-learners who will interpret and apply it in *their* way and continue to develop it as they do so with the effect that

many different holistic inclusive pedagogies are created and recreated, thereby reflecting the reality of diversity.

To conclude, my description of the four teaching-learning models which was directed by the sixth research question:

How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

has, I believe, been verified. In closing this part of the thesis I therefore restate **Hypothesis 6:**

That it raises learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping through the fairly egalitarian relationship between them and teachers-learners which is pivotal for its success.

*

This chapter concludes the second part of my thesis. I will now turn to its third and final part, that is concerned with the conclusions, contributions and limitations of my thesis.

7. Conclusions, discussions and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

I conducted my research from a feminist perspective to which the notion of contextualisation is central. According to this notion, all research presents a subjective and hence partial perspective. The final chapter of my thesis therefore deals with its contributions and limitations. I begin by reviewing the aims of my research in light of the research questions that guided my enquiry and discuss the findings. I will then deal with the contributions and limitations of this study, make recommendations and, lastly, consider future research in this area.

My aim was to raise awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping in education and examine what implications feminist ideologies have for curriculum and pedagogy in secondary education. In an attempt to meet this aim I developed an holistic inclusive pedagogy that seeks to meet students' needs regardless of their background and ameliorate the injustices they suffer due to sex-gender/other stereotyping. The research questions that guided my investigations were:

1. *What are the origins of sex-gender differences?*
2. *What is the structure of the patriarchal postmodern family and what functions does it have?*
3. *What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?*
4. *What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?*
5. *What kind of pedagogy is needed to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping?*
6. *How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?*

In the following I will discuss my findings in relation to these questions

7.2 Discussion

1. What are the origins of sex-gender differences?

I began my enquiry by examining sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology for the aetiology of sex-gender differences. My underlying aim was to establish whether these differences were final or changeable. The result of my enquiry was that sex-gender differences are caused by biology and the social environment and that both are malleable (Wilson 1978 & 1980). The example of two genetically normal boys who were re-assigned and raised as girls substantiated my findings. While the case of Brenda/John confirmed that biology and socialisation are only *to a certain extent malleable*, the second case confirmed that they are *very malleable* (Colapinto 1997; Bradley et al. 1998). From a psychological perspective biology and psychology, i.e. identification of the infant with the mother, are responsible for sex-gender differences. As a result connectedness and relationality become part of girls'/women's identity while individuality and separation become part of boys'/men's (Gilligan 1982, pp.7-8). As I have shown, human beings are malleable. If they are made aware of sex-gender typing and their role in it, they can consciously work against it. Sex-gender stereotyping takes place within patriarchy. To counteract it, girls and women, or, ideally mothers and daughters, must become close friends; the same applies to sons and mothers. In this way they break the stereotypes and, in so doing, undermine patriarchy, as Brown and Gilligan (1992, p.2) suggest.

Hypothesis 1 was thus confirmed:

That sex-gender differences have their origin in both biology and the social environment and that human beings are malleable. The injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping can therefore be ameliorated.

2. What is the structure of the postmodern patriarchal family and what functions does it have?

In order to answer this question I undertook research into the pre-industrial patriarchal family, the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family. I started my investigation by defining the family. It is part of a patriarchal society, is itself characterised by male supremacy and usually consists of a husband-breadwinner, his semi-dependent/dependent wife and their dependent children. To define it still further, I demythologised four popular myths surrounding the patriarchal family: 1) that it is universal; 2) that it is unchanging; 3) that it is the exclusive realm of love and security; and, 4) that it is an independent unit of society.

In pre-industrial times the patriarchal family was an economic unit to which every member contributed. Work and home were not separated, except when the husbands engaged in seasonal paid work (Gittins 1993, p.14). Through the industrial revolution wage labour increased while peasantry decreased. As a result husbands, wives and children had to work to secure the family income (Ibid., p.24). But with the emergence of the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family which demarcated the roles of husbands and wives, the structure of the patriarchal family changed. At the same time the worker's union demanded a family wage that would pay a man enough to feed his wife and children (Gittins 1993, pp.26-27). In addition women and children were no longer allowed, for instance, to work underground in the mines. In 1870 Forster's Education Act made primary schooling compulsory and the Poor Law Act of 1899 expected mothers to look after their children (Gittins 1993, pp.143 & 145). The result was a new division of labour with husbands as breadwinners and their dependent wives whose tasks were now confined to domestic chores and care of the children. This la-

bour division is also typical of the postmodern patriarchal family. I therefore concluded that

Hypothesis 2 was validated:

That the postmodern patriarchal family consists of a husband-breadwinner, his semi-dependent/dependent wife who is in charge of the children and domestic work, and their children; it is characterised by male supremacy. Its functions are: to provide human beings with a common identity, to meet its members daily needs, to care for them, love them, to teach them social skills and to serve as an ‘income’ pooling unit.’

3. What role do the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping?

Sex-gender stereotyping teaches human beings the behaviours, activities and roles, etc. which are commonly associated with males and females. It primarily but not exclusively takes place in the patriarchal family where sex-gender appropriate behaviours are learned, for example, through the type of housework mothers and fathers do. While mothers tend to do more cooking and cleaning which have to be done regularly and at certain times, fathers, on the other hand, do not carry out household chores on a regular basis (Kelly et. al 1982, pp. 291-293; Noonan 2001, p.1136). Modelling the same sex-gender parent but also other same sex-gender adults is a crucial factor in sex-gender development, as the social learning theory suggests (Bussey & Bandura 1992, pp.335-336). Parents then reinforce sex-gender appropriate behaviours through rewards and punishments, appropriate toys and clothes. But children are not passive recipients of sex-gender stereotypes. According to cognitive developmental theory they first learn that they are male or female, then begin to form their own sex-gender identity and adopt sex-gender appropriate behaviours (Stockard & Johnson 1991, p.168). But here too, these are reinforced by the patriarchal family. The patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure thus play a key role in sex-gender stereotyping and sex-gender development.

This was confirmed by Hite's examination of the patriarchal family. She found that both girls and boys are aware of the power imbalance between their parents. What is particularly problematic is that the father's condescending treatment of the mother is internalised by them. Consequently girls learn that all girls/women are inferior to men while boys learn that all boys/men are superior (Hite 1995, pp.106 & 258). For this reason girls often lack self-confidence and self-esteem. Boys, on the other hand, are under pressure to conform to male values such as being strong, disconnected and not showing their emotions (Ibid., pp.232 & 241). As a result they often cannot form close relationships with males and females. Highly problematic is also the power imbalance between the parents which is legitimised because it takes place in the context of love and care. The patriarchal structure of the family thus creates and perpetuates sex-gender differences and is itself created and perpetuated by them.

On the basis of these findings the third research question was answered and **Hypothesis 3** was confirmed:

That the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play a key role in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping by passing the power imbalance between mother and father on to girls and boys, thereby perpetuating both sex-gender stereotyping and patriarchy.

4. What role does education play in sex-gender stereotyping?

Since the patriarchal family is too deeply involved in sex-gender stereotyping, it cannot teach children the skill of critical analysis which would enable them to consciously work against it. Schools are organised by an overarching body, are one of the most influential loci of education and a place where children and teenagers spent a considerable amount of time. I therefore proposed that the skill of critical analysis be taught here. Research questions five

and six focused on this issue. My present concern was to delineate the context of education out of which I then developed an holistic inclusive pedagogy .

Sex-gender stereotypes are always connected to other stereotypes such as class, race, etc. Schools are also involved in stereotyping and hence fail students with regard to the following areas: 1) sex-gender specific subject choice; 2) GCSE results according to which girls outperform boys; 3) boys' underachievement; 4) girls' poor self-image; 5) homosexuality; 6) race; and, lastly, 7) class. Even though earlier government legislation brought equal opportunities for girls and boys in education, the Education Reform Act from 1988 created new injustices. Using feminist poststructuralism as a tool I discerned the following hierarchies in education: firstly, the hierarchy of knowledge which considers knowledge to be a static, value-free 'object' that can be acquired and imparted; here students know little or nothing while teachers know everything; secondly, the hierarchy of school subjects that accords academic subjects a higher status than practical subjects, thereby reinforcing the theory/praxis dualism; and, thirdly, the hierarchies of competition as expressed in the government's school league tables and streaming according to ability. The first half of **Hypothesis 4** was thus verified:

That education too perpetuates sex-gender/other stereotypes

From feminist poststructuralism I gleaned a definition of knowledge that makes a major contribution to the creation of a pedagogy which teaches students the skill of critical thinking, namely, that knowledge is subjective, changeable, problematic and connected to power. When equal opportunities were introduced in schools, girls' achievements improved notably. Education therefore has the potential to address issues pertaining to sex-gender/other stereotypes. The second part of **Hypothesis 4** was thus corroborated:

and that it also has the potential to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping.

5. What kind of pedagogy is needed to ameliorate the injustices students suffer as a result of sex-gender /other stereotyping?

In an attempt to answer this question I garnered useful concepts from Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf education and Lev Vygotsky's social constructivism and developed an holistic inclusive pedagogy with the following prominent features:

1. Its motive is the well-being of the whole child, body, mind and soul; it is therefore *holistic*.
2. It addresses the sexed-gendered needs of girls *and* boys and is therefore *inclusive*.
3. Its underlying philosophical assumptions are that *change* and *diversity* are part of human nature and must be acknowledged and that sex-gender/other stereotypes are incompatible with human nature and must be challenged.
4. Its epistemological assumptions are that power and knowledge are subjective, problematic and inextricably linked and that human beings construct and reconstruct *power-knowledge* discourses.
5. Its aims are: 1) to enable students to develop the skill of *critical thinking* so that they can detect sex-gender/other stereotypes; 2) to *equip them with the tools* to challenge and disrupt sex-gender/other stereotyping, e.g. analysing, questioning, reasoning, communication, etc.; 3) to teach students to cope with the ambiguities of life; 4) to teach them that diversity is part of life and positive; 5) to facilitate in them an attitude of *respect* and *responsibility toward others* and *nature*; and, 6) to meet their diverse needs where possible.
6. Its pre-requisites are an *initial lesson* that lays down the foundations of the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers and further lessons in co-educational and single sex-gender settings where girls and boys are sensitised to issues pertaining to sex-gender/other stereotyping.
7. Its pivot is the *relationship between teachers-learners and students*. It is characterised by mutual trust and respect.
8. Teachers'-learners' tasks are: 1) to be *open* and *willing to change*; 2) to be *approachable* and admit shortcomings; 3) to serve as role models; 4) to *treat students with profound respect*; 5) to *assist* and *instruct* them and *lead*

them *ahead of development*; 6) to provide general and specific scaffolding; and 7) to *encourage students to detect and challenge sex-gender/other stereotyping*.

9. Its methods are: 1) *mutual assistance* between teachers-learners; 2) *collaborations* between peers and between teachers-learners and students; 3) pair/group work and whole class teaching-learning; 4) *general scaffolding* such as instruction, and feedback; and, 5) specific scaffolding to raise awareness of sex-gender/other stereotypes. It consists of three stages: *preparation* which draws on students' knowledge constructions; *confrontation* where they are confronted with a new topic and *interpretation* where they learn to distinguish between the topic, their interpretation and feeling about it and draw conclusions.
10. It utilises a *wide range of activities* such as painting, dancing, sharing meals, excursions to local businesses, wood work, class trips in conjunction with topics that are studied, annual girls days, and, finally, regular work experience for boys
11. Its curriculum combines *academic and artistic subjects* and accords an *equal status* to both.
12. Its assessment involves academic achievement and its process with or without other's help, the progress of social skills, personal conduct and general development.

On the basis of these features **Hypothesis 5** was validated:

That an holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to educate the whole human being and addresses the needs of girls *and* boys regardless their background can serve to ameliorate the injustices they suffer as a result of sex-gender /other stereotyping.

6. How can an holistic inclusive pedagogy raise learners'-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping?

In order to answer this question I designed four teaching-learning models, two in RE and two in German as a modern foreign language. I wanted to demonstrate how an holistic inclusive pedagogy can be implemented and that it can be applied to subjects that are very distinct. The lessons confirmed a number of aspects which are vital for its success.

Firstly, the prerequisite for the successful implementation of this pedagogy is an initial lesson where teachers-learners and learners-teachers get to know each other, the foundation of the relationship between them are laid, their respective tasks and responsibilities are defined and specific scaffolding is introduced. The first RE teaching model served to illustrate this. Such responsibilities for group/pair work include, for example, keeping to the time limit, chairing and presenting results to the class. They ensure that students work effectively, independently and responsibly. Since group/pair work takes place in all lessons, these responsibilities contribute to their quality.

Secondly, specific scaffolding plays a key role in an holistic inclusive pedagogy as it facilitates students' knowledge constructions and critical thinking. It may be primarily verbal but can also include visual or audio clues or realia as the teaching model on the mikvah demonstrated.

The four teaching models confirmed that specific scaffolding is flexible. When a new topic is introduced the usual order of *preparation*, *confrontation* and *interpretation* is followed, as was the case with the second RE lesson and the first German lesson. On the other hand, when topics are mainly revised and practised and only few new items are introduced, *preparation* still comes first but *confrontation* and *interpretation* may change places a number of times, as the second German lesson demonstrated. But flexibility is not limited to specific scaffolding. Rather, it applies to an holistic inclusive pedagogy as a whole. For example, if a particular class is reluctant to do rhythmic exercises in German, then these must be dropped and/or replaced with something the class can relate to.

Thirdly, the lessons verified that the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers is the pivot on which the success of an holistic inclusive pedagogy hinges.

Teachers-learners must be approachable and meet students on the same level, for example, by assuming the role as learners-teachers while letting them carry out tasks such as leading discussions or evaluations. In so doing they continually challenge the power-knowledge discourse. Fourthly, the material is especially selected to make sex-gender/other stereotypes visible and offer alternatives so that learners-teachers are challenged to think about these. Fifthly, creative elements like drawing are part of every lesson so that learning-teaching is not only a cognitive exercise. Sixthly, and finally, collaboration in group/pair work is an integral part in every lesson which fosters social skills and interactive learning-teaching and offers opportunities to push learners-teachers ahead of development.

By way of four teaching-learning models I thus answered the sixth and final research question which corroborated **Hypothesis 6:**

That it raises learner's-teachers' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping though the fairly egalitarian relationship between them and teachers-learners which is pivotal for its success.

7.3 Contributions and limitations of my thesis

Five themes can be discerned in my thesis which correspond to the first six chapters:

1. The origins of sex-gender differences
2. The role of the patriarchal family in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping
3. The role of education in sex-gender/other stereotyping
4. An holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping
5. Raising students' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping though an holistic inclusive pedagogy

I will now review these themes in light of their contributions which will be followed by a presentation of their limitations.

7.3.1 The origins of sex-gender differences

7.3.1.1 Contributions

I began my research with an enquiry into the aetiology of sex-gender differences. For this I selected three disciplines. My choice of these disciplines was, I believe, well balanced as it included differential foci: sociobiology, psychoendocrinology and feminist psychology. Each focus provided two perspective from which I conducted my enquiry. Its outcome corroborated my hypothesis that sex-gender differences are caused by both biology and the social environment. It also revealed that sex and gender are inextricably linked since sex without a gender identity is void of any meaning, and vice versa. For this reason I proposed that one is always mentioned in conjunction with the other, i.e. as sex-gender. My contribution here was thus primarily terminological.

7.3.1.2 Limitations

The three disciplines I examined revealed a considerable sex-gender role diversity and shed light on the causes of sex-gender differences. However, due to lack of space I did not deal with anthropology and its perspective on the aetiology of sex-gender differences. What remains to be addressed is the contribution postmodern technological cultures make to understanding these differences. For instance, a comparative study of patriarchal working class and middle class families may reveal that the former display more traditional sex-gender roles and perceptions. An investigation of the reasons for these differences may reveal that economic and educational factors may be possible causes. These would no doubt supplement my findings and further the understanding of the origins of sex-gender differences.

A study of postmodern cultures may also disclose that human beings have now evolved in so many new ways that they can scarcely be recognised as belonging to the same

species which would be in contradiction, for example, to Margaret Mead's findings, who studied societies like the Chambri and Arapesh⁹² over seventy years ago. Granted, human beings in a postmodern technological age display a wider range of behaviours, sex-gender roles and family types, as I demonstrated in the first three chapters. Nevertheless social pressure is exerted on them to conform to the status quo. 'Normalising measures' prescribe certain types of behaviour and standards, for instance, through the national curriculum and government legislation. In this sense then people are very similar and obviously *do* belong to the same species. Yet a closer look at the life styles, values, traditions and sex-gender roles, etc. of differential social classes and ethnic groups may confirm that they each present a very distinct sub-culture. Once again this realisation would have supplemented my findings.

7.3.2 The role of the patriarchal family in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping

7.3.2.1 Contributions

Although my starting point was feminisms, I did not exclusively focus on girls/women but also included boys/men in my research for the simple reason that both are affected by and involved in sex-gender stereotyping. Moreover, my ultimate aim was to address their sexed-gendered needs and to meet this aim I had to first of all establish *in what way* each is affected by sex-gender stereotyping. Therefore I included Hite's study of the patriarchal family as it represents an inclusive perspective. So while, admittedly, my inclusive feminist approach is not new, it demonstrated that feminisms can in fact be utilised to overcome traditional dualisms like male/female and mind/body, etc.

⁹² who live in the north of New Guinea

7.3.2.2 Limitations

In this section I first of all explored how sex-gender identity is formed. I then dealt with the effect sex-gender stereotyping has on girls and boys. However, for lack of space I did not carry out an examination of the distinct masculinities and femininities that are adopted by different sub-cultures, for example, as those described by Máirtín Mac an Ghail (1998). Although it was not essential for my research, it may have illuminated the issue still further.

7.3.3 The role of education in sex-gender/other stereotyping

7.3.3.1 Contributions

My examination of the role of education in sex-gender stereotyping brought to light firstly, that education is also involved in creating and imposing sex-gender stereotypes and, secondly, that these are always connected to other stereotypes such as race and class – hence the term sex-gender/other stereotyping. This is not a novel idea but my contribution here is once again terminological in nature.

In the course of this examination I employed feminist poststructuralism to expose four hierarchies that are prevalent in education and to lay the foundations for an holistic inclusive pedagogy. I discerned three of its goals: 1) to demonstrate that differences exist; 2) that they are inherent in human beings and positive; and, 3) that it encourages students to accept them. More importantly, I gleaned the notion of power-knowledge from feminist poststructuralism and applied it to an holistic inclusive pedagogy. To reiterate, these two are inextricably linked, subjective and problematic; they can be simultaneously exercised and undergone. The implications for an holistic inclusive pedagogy are that it must demythologise power-knowledge, teach students what it really is and convey to them that they too ‘have’ valuable knowledge.

7.3.3.2 Limitations

The main criticism in this section concerns the issue of generalisation. When I described the seven areas in which education fails girls and boys, I referred to girls, boys, working class students, blacks, etc. as if there are no differences within these categories. For instance, although girls undoubtedly outperform boys in the GCSEs, it is not clear from the statistics whether this also applies to girls from working class backgrounds. The same is true for boys' underachievement and it must be assumed that boys from upper class backgrounds do not fit into the statistics I cited. So while, admittedly, such generalisations slightly distort the facts, I had to use them to make my point. Also, a detailed analysis of the seven areas would have been beyond the scope of my thesis.

7.3.4 An holistic inclusive pedagogy which aims to ameliorate the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender stereotyping

7.3.4.1 Contributions

My major contribution here was the development of an holistic inclusive pedagogy which is *holistic* as it aims to educate the whole human being, body mind and soul and thereby provides a counterbalance to the predominantly academic emphasises in schools. The range of subjects and activities it employs as well as its approach to assessment which includes academic achievements and its process, social skills and personal conduct, attest to this. At the same time it is *inclusive* in so far as it addresses the sexed-gendered needs of girls *and* boys regardless of their background. In order to do so it seeks to enable students to develop the skill of critical thinking and equip them with the necessary tools such as analysing and reasoning to uncover and challenge sex-gender/other stereotyping. More specifically, it aims to lift girls' low self-esteem by utilising different measures: firstly, regular single sex-

gender awareness lessons where they are sensitised to issues surrounding sex-gender stereotyping; secondly, girls-only science lessons if these are necessary; thirdly, an annual girls' day that introduces girls to technological professions; and, fifthly, co-operation between staff, students and parents to tackle girls' low self-esteem at school *and* at home, for instance, by advising parents to acknowledge their daughters without referring to their looks. To raise boys' underachievement, an holistic inclusive pedagogy employs the following measures: firstly, single sex-gender awareness lessons to sensitise them to issues pertaining to sex-gender stereotyping; secondly, a language lesson that makes them aware of language as a powerful tool; thirdly, regular work experience to teach boys organisational skill and give them an insight into caring professions; and, fourthly, joint support by staff and parents to address their underachievement, for instance, through parents' monitoring of their record books. My holistic inclusive pedagogy also attempts to overcome stereotypes based on sexuality, race and class, for example, through awareness lessons that deal with homosexuality and racism and by making equipment and quiet rooms available.

In every lesson learner's-teacher' skill of critical thinking is facilitated through specific scaffolding which, in turn, fosters the development of the tools they need to detect and challenge sex-gender/other stereotyping, e.g. reasoning and evaluating. It consists of three stages: *preparation*, *confrontation* and *interpretation* which aid students in their knowledge constructions. At each stage they are provided with questions that help them understand the object of study, its context and meaning and its definition of sex-gender or class, etc. It thus plays a key role in an holistic inclusive pedagogy and is, I propose, one of its major contributions.

My holistic inclusive pedagogy is based in an epistemology according to which power-knowledge is subjective and can be exercised and undergone. It thus undermines the hierarchies that are prevalent in education: teachers/learners, old/young, academic/practical, achievers/non-achievers and female/male, etc. Moreover, it also aims to make learners aware that they are also teachers and teachers that they too are learners. The new concept of *teachers-learners* and *learners-teachers* was thus created.

The underlying philosophical assumption of an holistic inclusive pedagogy, i.e. that change and diversity are part of human nature, poses a direct challenge to the government's attempt to regulate students' behaviour by prescribing what is 'normal' and hence desirable. Stereotypes are inconsistent with this philosophical assumption and are therefore challenged by this pedagogy. This is yet another of its contributions.

7.3.4.2 Limitations

Although epistemological and philosophical assumptions are underlying my holistic inclusive pedagogy, it is, unfortunately, devoid of a developmental theory which would inform any decisions on when learners-teachers should be introduced to which subjects. I will return to this point under section 7.6.

The measures I suggested to counteract sex-gender/other stereotypes such as an initial lesson, awareness lessons, girls' days and boys' work experience all need to be carefully prepared, organised and monitored within an already busy timetable and on top of the current heavy work load teachers-learners have to cope with. Assisting colleagues so that teachers-learners constantly improve their skills is not only time consuming but may in some cases be impossible to put into practice due to staff shortage. Moreover, the lack of black teachers-learners will preclude effective treatment of the issue of racism. In addition to these practical

problems staff, parents and learners-teachers may be reluctant to implement an holistic inclusive pedagogy because it is in many ways fairly radical. For example, as the debate about Section 28 illustrated, for many people homosexuality is still a contentious issue and it is likely that some teachers-learners may not wish to talk about it, let alone discuss it with their class. Conservative parents may also object to this issue being discussed in class. Likewise, raising sex-gender awareness may alienate staff, parents and students. So an holistic inclusive pedagogy can only be implemented if and when all three agree on these measures.

Teachers-learners and also parents will have to undergo initial training where they are introduced to this pedagogy. Ideally this should be followed by subsequent seminars where experiences are shared and the holistic inclusive pedagogy is built upon. Once again this takes up time and energy in a school system which already makes many demands on staff and parents. Finally, it must be taken into consideration that some learners-teachers may find it difficult to meet teachers-learners on equal terms for the simple reason that they are not used to it. Also, some students may abuse the freedom and relative power that they enjoy as a result of the egalitarian relationship with teachers-learners.⁹³ This newly-found equality is likely to have implications also for students' relationship with their parents and other adults in authority who may not react kindly to it. So while an holistic inclusive pedagogy would no doubt be beneficial for learners-teachers and for parents and staff alike, its implementation depends to a large extent on practicalities and attitudes.

⁹³ My own experience confirms that some students occasionally abused our relationship, for example, by calling me by my first name in a disrespectful manner in the school yard.

7.3.5 Raising students' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotyping through an holistic inclusive pedagogy

7.3.5.1 Contributions

My four teaching-learning models illustrated that an holistic inclusive pedagogy can be implemented in modern languages as well as in other subjects because it is very adaptable. Its egalitarian approach can be applied in primary schools and secondary schools and is not confined to state schools. It is, as I demonstrated, an effective tool for raising awareness of sex-gender/other stereotypes through a well balanced curriculum, a wide range of activities, carefully selected materials, its methods which include general and specific scaffolding, group/pair work and whole class teaching-learning, co-operation between teachers-learners and students and between students, collaboration with parents, its epistemological and philosophical assumptions, an initial lesson, awareness lessons dedicated to issues surrounding sex-gender/other stereotyping, work experience, and, crucially, the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers.

This relationship plays as key role in raising students' awareness of sex-gender/other stereotypes, as the four lessons confirmed. It constantly strives to be egalitarian and, in so doing, undermines the power-knowledge discourse that hampers its development and demonstrates that stereotypes can be overcome. The relationship between students and teachers-learners thus offers a positive alternative in a context where hierarchies prevail. At the same time it elevates learners-teachers from the bottom end of these hierarchies which empowers them and boosts their self-confidence. Responsibility and independence play an important part in this relationship when students, for example, oversee activities and evaluate discussions. In a society that does not deem children under twelve years of age responsible enough to be left alone, responsibility and independence give them self-confidence as they realise that

they are able to do their share both at school and at home – in so far as parents are supportive. This too elevates them from their usual position at the bottom end of hierarchies.

The foundations of the relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers are laid in an initial lesson which also introduces other aspects of an holistic inclusive pedagogy such as scaffolding and task allocation. Here both get to know each other and share their expectations of one another. The guidelines they agree on lead them through all subsequent lessons until they revise them and, if necessary, amend them. Novel about these guidelines is that they are meant for learners-teachers *and* teachers-learners which signifies that *both* are equally responsible for nurturing their relationship, for the atmosphere in the classroom and for the quality of learning-teaching and teaching-learning. The contribution of an holistic inclusive pedagogy to classroom organisation and pedagogy therefore is quite substantial.

7.3.5.2 Limitations

As the four teaching-learning models demonstrated, the successful implementation of an holistic inclusive pedagogy depends also on the quality of its teachers-learners who play a key role. In this sense they are its strongest link as all teachers-learners who are sympathetic to the cause of an holistic inclusive pedagogy can implement it. At the same time, however, they are its weakest link *because* so much depends on them. Moreover, even though they may be sympathetic, they may still resist change as this would entail a new approach, a change in classroom organisation and in their relationship with students. A willingness to take new ideas

aboard which, according to Steiner⁹⁴, should characterise teachers-learners, is undoubtedly a desirable ideal but it is also a matter of attitude and cannot be imposed.

The relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers is the pivot of an holistic inclusive pedagogy. Its success depends on it. But whenever human beings meet, personal dislikes and antipathies can impede the development of a good relationship from the start. So once again human factors are a variable on which the success of this pedagogy hinges.

Another essential aspect of an holistic inclusive pedagogy is specific scaffolding. It is utilised to draw attention to sex-gender/other stereotypes when students are introduced to a new topic and to generally facilitate critical thinking. It is, as the four teaching-learning models substantiated, flexible and can therefore be made an integral part in regular lessons. One of the underlying aims of an holistic inclusive pedagogy is to enable students to become more independent and responsible for their own learning-teaching. If specific scaffolding is applied regularly by teachers-learners and/or students, it can actually make the latter increasingly *dependent* upon it and thereby undermine one of the pedagogy's aims. However, I suggest that this kind of dependency is not strong as, for instance, the dependency on a teacher-learner in a traditional teacher-centred approach.

Finally, although several of the features of an holistic inclusive pedagogy grew out of my own classroom practice, it has, due to personal circumstances, so far not been put into practice. So while it was substantiated that it does address the sexed-gendered needs of girls

⁹⁴ see section 5.2.3.4

and boys and has the potential to ameliorate these, it still has to be substantiated if it can *ameliorate* them *in practice*.

7.4 Conclusion

The overarching aim of my research was to raise students' awareness of sex-gender stereotyping. I conducted my research from the perspective of altogether four feminists ideologies to establish what implications these have for curriculum and pedagogy in secondary education. I began my research with an enquiry into the aetiology of sex-gender differences. At the same time my intention was also to ascertain if the causes of these difference were malleable. If this was the case, I argued, that the injustices human beings suffer as a consequence of sex-gender stereotyping could be addressed, if not ameliorated. My claim was substantiated by the findings, i.e. that sex-gender differences are caused by biology and sociological factors and that both are to an extent malleable. I also found that the patriarchal family was involved in creating these differences and therefore focused my next investigation onto its structure and functions. A study of the pre-industrial patriarchal family, the industrial revolution and the patriarchal middle class ideology of the family confirmed my hypothesis that it consists of a husband-breadwinner, his semi-dependent/dependent wife who is in charge of the children and domestic work, and their children. It is patriarchal and functions to provide human beings with a common identity, to meet the needs of its member, to care for them and to serve as an income pooling unit.

After clarifying the structure and functions of the postmodern patriarchal family I turned to their role in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping. My study of two learning theories and psycho-social research brought to light that the patriarchal family and its patriarchal structure play a key role in sex-gender development and sex-gender stereotyping.

Significantly, the patriarchal family creates and perpetuates its hierarchical structure which girls and boys internalise through same sex-gender modelling. As a consequence girls learn that all girls/women are inferior to boys/men while the latter learn that they are superior. It became clear that the patriarchal family was itself too involved in creating sex-gender stereotypes. For this reason I began an investigation into the role of education in sex-gender stereotyping. Even though I found that it too creates and perpetuates these, I also discovered that it has the potential to bring about change as the example of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 demonstrated: It brought equal opportunities for girls and boys in education and, as a result, girls' achievements improved dramatically. My assertion that education has the potential to function as a tool for ameliorating the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex/gender stereotypes was thus substantiated. I also found that sex-gender stereotypes are always connected to other stereotypes such as race and class which, I argued, can also be addressed by education. Finally, my examination of education uncovered that girls often lack self-esteem while boys underachieve.

To address these injustices I developed an holistic inclusive pedagogy which is *holistic* as it aims to educate the whole human being and *inclusive* as it addresses the sexed-gendered needs of girls *and* boys. It seeks to enable them to develop the skill of critical thinking and to equip them with the required tools to do so such as analysing and reasoning so that they can detect and challenge sex-gender/other stereotyping. Specifically, it aims to lift girls low self-esteem and improve boys' underachievement through awareness lessons and specific work experiences in co-operation with staff and parents. Specific scaffolding is employed as a pedagogical tool which facilitates critical thinking particularly in respect of sex-gender/other stereotyping, fosters social skills and collaboration between students and offers opportunities

for them to move ahead of development. Even though it is devoid of an underlying developmental theory, it is anchored in a sound epistemological assumption according to which power and knowledge are always connected, highly problematic and can simultaneously be exercised and undergone. This definition of power-knowledge undermines the hierarchies inherent in the present education system. The new concept that emerged was that of *teachers-learners* and *learners-teachers*.

To demonstrate how an holistic inclusive pedagogy can be implemented I wrote four teaching-learning models, two in RE and two in German as a modern foreign language. They corroborated my assertion that the egalitarian relationship between teachers-learners and learners-teachers plays a key role in this pedagogy. It elevates students from the bottom end of hierarchies and undermines the power-knowledge discourse that prevails in education. This relationship is closely defined in an initial lessons where teachers-learners and students get to know each other, negotiate guidelines of conduct and scaffolding is introduced, as the first RE lesson illustrated. The nature of their relationship has a direct bearing on the quality of teaching-learning.

Although my holistic inclusive pedagogy grew to some extent out of my own teaching-learning practice, it has so far not been implemented. To reiterate, while it was substantiated that it addresses the injustices girls and boys suffer as a result of sex-gender/other stereotyping and has the potential to ameliorate these, it still needs to be ascertained if it can actually ameliorate them *in practice*.

7.5 Recommendations

It would be desirable if my holistic inclusive pedagogy could be implemented in schools. However, at this juncture it may be difficult to do so since it would entail changes in

the education system and, of course, costs. But even if it cannot be implemented in schools now, individual aspects may be adopted by the national curriculum. Three main areas can be discerned in my holistic inclusive pedagogy: curriculum development, pedagogy and classroom organisation. In the following I will make recommendations in each of these.

7.5.1 For curriculum development

My examination of the national curriculum exposed, among other hierarchies, a hierarchy of school subjects. It accords academic subjects a higher status than artistic subjects. To counteract this current trend I propose that a broader range of subjects be introduced in schools which should include: social science, home economics, religious education, ethics, music, art, woodwork and/or metalwork, handwork, gardening, physical education, English, literature, foreign languages, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, geography, history and parenting (from year seven). I suggest that social science is of particular importance here as it emphasises the inter-connectedness and diversity of individuals, institutions, objects and concepts. Crucial about this kind of curriculum is, moreover, that it considers all subjects to be of the same status and value.

An annual girls' day where girls get a glimpse of professions in science and technology should also be an integral part of a national curriculum. The same applies to the monthly work experiences for boys where they learn how to organise themselves. Even if an holistic inclusive pedagogy cannot be implemented, these measures may have a positive influence on girls' occupational choices and boys' achievement.

Finally, awareness lessons that raise issues pertaining to sex-gender/other stereotypes should take place regularly, for example, once a month so they are dealt with in depth and constantly. Only in this way can sex-gender/other stereotypes be challenged.

7.5.2 For pedagogy

My examination of the Education Reform Act 1988 exposed the government's economic motive behind the national curriculum. As I have shown, it leads to an increase in the competition between schools, teachers-learners and, above all, between learners-teachers and creates new injustices. To counteract this, I propose that the motive behind a national curriculum must be the well-being of the whole child – body, mind and soul. In other words, the development of all three must be facilitated.

I have shown that the national curriculum lacks an underlying philosophy. Despite its good intentions and at least some desirable aims, these amount to little since there is no all-encompassing goal. As Waldorf education demonstrated, a philosophy undergirds a pedagogy by keeping its individual features together, giving them meaning, direction and a joint aim. An underlying philosophy would also be important for teachers-learners as it clearly guides their teaching-learning. The philosophical assumptions of an holistic inclusive pedagogy reflect the reality of postmodernism and thus address the context in which learners-teachers live today. These are: that change/learning and difference/diversity are an inherent human feature and that sex-gender/other stereotypes are therefore inconsistent with human nature and must be challenged. A postmodern national curriculum should follow its example.

Lastly, the national curriculum is also devoid of an underlying epistemology. Its perception of knowledge is rather conventional, i.e. that knowledge is an objective 'entity' which can be acquired and passed on. In contrast, I propose a definition of knowledge as linked up to power, highly problematic and subjective. It can be concomitantly exercised and undergone. Such an epistemology would undermine the dualisms of teachers/learners, knowledgeable

adults/knowledgeless children and hence create a new concept, i.e. that of *learners-teachers* and *teachers-learners*.

7.5.3 For classroom organisation

The relationship between teachers-learners and students plays a key role not only in an holistic inclusive pedagogy but also whenever (formal) education takes place. The nature of their relationship ultimately determines the quality of teaching-learning. It is therefore crucial that they get to know each other and share their expectations of one another before formal teaching-learning begins. This should take place in an initial lesson where they negotiate guidelines for one another which are then displayed in the classroom throughout the year/s and amended, should the necessity arise.

As I noted above, the national curriculum increases the competition between learners-teachers. Academic achievement is emphasised and although it also stresses collaboration and independence, these cannot fully be realised in a context where competition prevails (DfEE & QCA 1999). I therefore propose that group work and pair work are made an integral part of every lesson, i.e. whenever it is feasible. Both must, however, be supported by specific scaffolding so that students' critical thinking is facilitated. Task allocation must also be in place and carried out consistently to ensure that students learn-teach independence and responsibility. Activities in pairs and groups also provide opportunities for learners-teachers to develop their social skills as they help one another in solving problems and carrying out tasks. Moreover, collaboration provides opportunities for them to move ahead of development and ensures that their learning-teaching is a social activity.

7.6 Suggestions for future research

After dealing with the contributions and limitations of my thesis, I now consider future research in areas that were beyond the scope of my thesis but which nevertheless have some bearing on it.

Firstly, my holistic inclusive pedagogy must be implemented to establish if the measures I proposed can be put into practice in the way I intended and to test if they are as effective as I suggested. Any changes regarding classroom organisation, specific scaffolding and awareness lessons can then be made. These will, in turn, inform the pedagogy's theoretical foundations which will then affect its practice, and so forth. In this way the theory/praxis dualism can be overcome. Learners-teachers who implement it should meet regularly, e.g. at special seminars to exchange ideas so that the holistic inclusive pedagogy will be constantly improved and up-dated.

Secondly, the holistic inclusive pedagogy lacks an underlying developmental theory which focuses not only on the different stages of development but also on the development of children's sex-gender identity. Although I included some research about sex-gender development in my thesis by examining two learning-teaching theories and a psycho-social perspective, more research is needed that builds on and substantiates my findings. Particular attention should be paid to how learners-teachers perceive of sex-gender/other stereotypes, how they feel about them and what coping strategies they have developed. The resulting theory about sex-gender development thus grows out of their practice and does not rely solely on adult's interpretation of children's/teenagers' behaviour.

Thirdly, more research into collaboration and, specifically, into the effectiveness of group work and pair work is needed. Effectiveness here does not only refer to levels of

achievement but also to social skills. Once again such research should include a sex-gender perspective, i.e. it should establish if students collaborate better in co-educational or single sex-gender groups/pairs, how comfortable they are in each setting and how it affects their achievement, social skills and self-confidence.

Fourthly and lastly, further investigations into single sex-gender classes are necessary, particularly in respect of science lessons for girls. As before, students' interests and wishes must be taken in to account and built upon. To prepare awareness lessons that deal with issues pertaining to race and homosexuality, more research is needed. Once again learners'-teachers' attitudes to these issues, possible solutions and coping strategies must be taken into account so that these can be incorporated into any teaching-learning materials to be used by them as well as in teacher-learner training courses.

Appendices

A Material for the RE lessons: Encountering the mikvah by way of different senses

A.1 Transcript of the personal account of the mikvah played on tape⁹⁵

What I am about to tell you is from a different time. The year is the same, the days are the same, but the months are different. The time in which I exist today is neither solar nor truly lunar. It is a time quite individual – created by G-d, especially for me.⁹⁶

Today is one cyclical month since my first immersion in the mikvah. This day, this time, is shared among only three: G-d, my husband and me. Today I am brought back to the very moment of recreations of self that took place for the first time on the day of my wedding. In the excitement and anticipation that preceded the wedding, I had counted the days, checking them against G-d's calendar and my own body's. The rebirth for which I was preparing would take place in a home of sorts, under the marriage canopy (the chuppah). My fiancé and I, often swamped with the details of wedding plans, finally began to focus more on the spiritual preparations we needed to make in order to escort the Divine Presence (the Shechinah) to our wedding and into our lives.

The most important part of this self-preparation was gaining the ability to slip ourselves into mikvah time. This step would prove monumental, for within the entire planning process, there was nothing so full of potential and meaning for me as mikvah. Somehow I felt that only after I had experienced this immersion would I be able to understand the oneness that defines the relationship between husband and wife.

I walked to the mikvah on a beautiful Thursday morning, on a sunny Rosh Chodesh (the first of month) on a sparkling mikvah day. I had spent the early part of the day preparing my body for immersion. Filing, trimming, scrubbing, soaking, combing, and inspecting, I realised that this was the first time I had ever spent such concentrated time focused on my body. Yet, inherent in this moment of complete physical adsorption was a palpably electric surge I felt run through me as I connected, for the first time, the spiritual and physical aspects of myself.

⁹⁵ Richter [no date]

⁹⁶ Note that Orthodox Jews do not speak or write the name of God as it is too holy.

As I walked up the hill to the mikvah, a song came into my head and I stopped short. The song was Shir Hamaalot, a song of ascents, originally sung by the Levites as they stood on the stairs that led to the holy Temple. The words of the psalm speak of the Jews returning to Jerusalem as if in a dream, filled with laughter and singing. And here I was, a modern Jewish woman, feeling the boundaries of time had blurred. I walked on smiling, simultaneously there at the moment a part of all time.

I approached the mikvah alone, and as I reached it, I saw the smiling face of a friend, who said: "You shouldn't have to go to the mikvah alone the first time." My joy and nervousness blended with the comfort I took in the familiarity of her presence and with a sense that I would never be alone at the Mikvah. I felt as we entered, that there exists a collective soul, the neshama, shared by all Jews throughout history. The mikvah is the link of all those years, the container of that soul. The waters of the mikvah today are the same waters that have filled mikvahs since the beginning of time. I imagined that by immersing myself in those waters, I could in that silence under water hear the voices of my ancestors.

Later, as the mikvah attendant held my shaking hands in hers, the power of this process filled me with tears. For when I was completely enveloped by those waters, I had realised that this birth was not of a new me alone. The still voice of the mikvah told me that this was the birth of 'we.' From now on, mikvah time would be counted by two. From now on, this merging with the collective Jewish soul would enable me to merge with the other half of my own soul, this man I love.

A.2 Mikvah photos⁹⁷

(The photos are not available in the online version of this thesis.)

⁹⁷ Picture 1: Braver 2000; all other pictures: Wiese 2001 (page “Photographs”)

(The photos are not available in the online version of this thesis.)

A.3 Instructions for cleansing in preparation of the mikvah⁹⁸

1. Remove all obvious barriers, such as clothing, jewellery and contact lenses.
2. Cut nails short and clean them.
3. Remove all make-up.
4. Wash your hair with warm water and shampoo. Comb your hair thoroughly with a comb. Other body hair must be separated with the fingers.
5. Wash your entire body with soap and warm water either in a bath tub or in a shower. In any case, make sure that you wash your entire body.
6. Clean hidden places, i.e. crevices like arm pits thoroughly.
7. Clean your mouth using a tooth brush and floss your teeth to remove any obstacles. Permanent crowns and fillings are not problematic but temporary dental work should be removed.
8. Inspection prior to immersion is required by Torah law. Therefore the mikvah attendant will inspect you when you are ready:
 - a. She will inspect all visible parts of your body to ensure they are free of foreign objects.
 - b. She will inspect the other parts of your body by touch.
 - c. She will check your hair for knots.

⁹⁸ see Nishmat [no date]

A.4 Texts for the reading station

Mikvah

The word *mikvah* literally means ‘collection’ and refers to a collection of water that comes from a running source.⁹⁹ The world’s natural bodies of water such as rivers and oceans are mikvahs in their most primal form. Their water is of divine origin and thus, tradition teaches, has the power to purify.

The Bible teaches that before the revelation at Sinai, all Jews were commanded to immerse themselves in preparation of coming face to face with God. In temple times, the priests as well as each Jew who wished entry into the House of God had first to immerse in a mikvah.

The most widely practised use of the mikvah are immersion by a groom on his wedding day and by every man before Yom Kippur.¹⁰⁰ But the most important usage of the mikvah is for purification by menstruant women. For them mikvah is part of a larger framework best known as Taharat Hamishpachah or Family Purity.¹⁰¹

When I immerse in the mikvah “it’s like I die – total stillness, darkness, and when I come up, I am different. In that moment of suspension I feel uncomplicated and whole.”¹⁰²

Origin and Purpose

The laws relating to ritual purity and niddah are derived from Leviticus 17:18 where it says: ‘Do not draw close to a woman when she is a niddah (i.e. ritually impure); relations are forbidden (at this time).’ A woman becomes niddah when blood comes from her womb. She is then renewing herself, getting ready to produce fresh ova so that she will be able to fulfil

⁹⁹ Dniepropetrovsk [no date]

¹⁰⁰ the Day of Atonement

¹⁰¹ Kazen 1998

¹⁰² Wiese 2001 (page “Information – About”)

the commandment of having children. A woman is a niddah until she undergoes taharah, i.e. ritual purity. The taharah process takes twelve days which are divided in two sets of time: the first five when she starts menstruating and seven ‘white’ days of taharah after which the woman must immerse in a mikvah. She starts counting on the first day of her period and begins counting the seven ‘white’ days, i.e. when she no longer has menstrual discharge, only after she has stopped bleeding. During that time the woman and her husband must relate on a non-physical level: they do not touch or kiss. Only after she has cleaned herself thoroughly and immersed in the mikvah, may she resume sexual relations with her husband.

In Judaism marital relations are a gift from God. Sex is permitted only within the context of marriage. Sex is not merely a way of experiencing physical pleasure. It is an act of immense significance, which requires commitment and responsibility. The requirement of marriage before sex ensures that sense of commitment and responsibility.¹⁰³ Like other laws, niddah is a law of Holiness and serves to elevate the physical to the highest spiritual level. By following the law of niddah, married couples learn to develop self-control and discipline that can lead them to holiness. During the twelve days of sexual abstinence they are given the opportunity to develop their relationship on a spiritual and emotional footing.¹⁰⁴ As a married Jew puts it: “Anything that creates rhythm in life, especially with sexuality, can make life sacred.”¹⁰⁵ It can be enabling and reinvigorate the relationship.

“I have this sense that when you disrobe and go into the mikvah you’re peeling off all facade, all pretence, there’s Nothing you can hide, not from yourself and not from God.”¹⁰⁶

Not all Orthodox Jews see the tradition of the mikvah in such a positive light. Susan Averbach, for instance, who was raised Orthodox and now trains to be a secular rabbi says: “There are anti-women aspects to rabbinical Judaism.” For her the fact that a wife can’t touch her husband when she’s menstruating doesn’t carry the sound of equality. “The experience of not being able to touch any person when you’re that tainted, “ she says, must be very difficult.

¹⁰³ Rich 2002

¹⁰⁴ Allen 2004

¹⁰⁵ Barron 2002

¹⁰⁶ Wiese 2001 (page “Information – About”)

B Worksheets for the German lessons

B.1 Worksheet 1a: Standard tasks (front page)

Arbeitsblatt Nr. _____

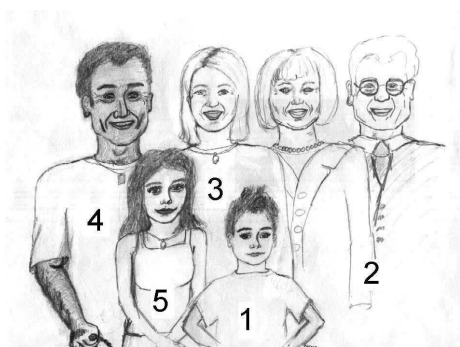
Name: _____

Titel: _____ Datum: _____

I. Mein oder meine?

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. _____ Großvater | 5. _____ Tante |
| 2. _____ Schwester | 6. _____ Bruder |
| 3. _____ Mutter | 7. _____ Onkel |
| 4. _____ Vater | 8. _____ Großmutter |

II. Florians Familie



1. Ich heiße Florian, und das _____ ich.
2. Das ist _____ Tante _____ und das ist mein _____ Peter.
3. Das ist _____. Sie heißt Karin.
4. Das ist _____ Mohammed.
5. Und das ist _____ Petra.

meine - bin - mein - Andrea - meine - Vater - Mutter - meine - Onkel - Schwester

III. Jasmins Familie

Hallo! Ich heiße Jasmin und das ist meine Familie. Auf dem Foto seht ihr meine zwei Mütter Suzanne und Carola. Sie sind beide dreißig Jahre alt. Ich habe einen kleinen Bruder, Sebastian, und eine Zwillingsschwester*, Lore. Sie ist genau wie ich elf Jahre alt. Auf dem Foto seht ihr auch meine Tante Marlies und Onkel Jamal. Onkel Jamal ist mein Lieblingsonkel⁺.

* Zwilling = twin ⁺ Liebling = (here) favourite

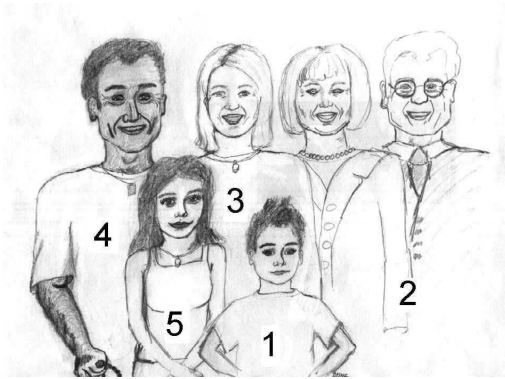
Fragen

1. Wie heißen Jasmins Mütter?
2. Wie alt sind ihre Mütter?
3. Wie heißt Jasmins kleiner Bruder?
4. Wie heißt ihre Schwester?
5. Wer ist Jamal?



B.2 Worksheet 1b: Differentiated task (back of the page)

I. Florians Familie



1. Ich heie Florian, und das b . . ich.
2. Das ist m Tante A und das ist mein O Peter.
3. Das ist m M Sie heit Karin.
 1. Und das ist m . . . V Mohammed.
 2. Und das ist m S Petra.

meine - bin - mein - Andrea - meine - Vater - Mutter - meine - Onkel - Schwester

II. Jasmins Familie

Hallo! Ich heie Jasmin und das ist meine Familie. Auf dem Foto seht ihr meine zwei Mter Suzanne und Carola. Sie sind beide dreißig Jahre alt. Ich habe einen kleinen Bruder, Sebastian, und eine Zwillingsschwester*, Lore. Sie ist genau wie ich elf Jahre alt. Auf dem Foto seht ihr auch meine Tante Marlies und Onkel Jamal. Onkel Jamal ist mein Lieblingsonkel*.

* Zwilling = twin + Liebling = (here:) favourite



Fragen

1. Wie heien Jasmins Mter?
2. Wie alt sind ihre Mter?
3. Wie heit Jasmins kleiner Bruder?
4. Wie heien ihre Schwestern?
5. Wer ist Jamal?

Antworten

- a) Jamal ist Jasmins Lieblingsonkel.
- b) Jasmins kleiner Bruder heit Sebastian.
- c) Ihre Schwester heit Lore.
- d) Jasmins Mter heien Suzanne und Carola.
- e) Ihre Mter sind 30 Jahre alt:

Fragen auf Englisch

1. What are Jasmin's mothers names?
2. How old are her mothers?
3. What is the name of Jasmin's little brother?
4. What is her sister's name?
5. Who is Jamal?

B.3 Worksheet 2a: Listening exercise, standard tasks (front page)

Arbeitsblatt für die Höraufgabe Name: _____

Titel: _____ Datum: _____

Claudias Familie: _____

Thomas' Familie: _____

B.4 Worksheet 2b: Differentiated tasks (back of the page)



Claudia: Ich heiße Claudia und bin zwölf Jahre alt. Ich habe keine Geschwister. Meine Eltern sind geschieden. Ich lebe bei meinem Vater. Ich habe auch einen Opa und eine Oma.



Thomas: Hallo! Ich bin Thomas und das ist meine Familie: Ich bin Einzelkind. Das sind meine Eltern, Ute und Harald und das ist meine Tante Marion.

Übersetzung

Claudia: My name is Claudia and I am twelve years old. I don't have any sisters or brothers. My parents are divorced. I live with my father. I also have a grandpa and a grandma.

Thomas: Hello! My name is Thomas and this is my family. I am an only child. These are my parents, Ute and Harald and this is my aunt Marion.

List of References

Please note that internet sources, especially html pages, often do not have page numbers. When these sources are printed out, their length depends to a large extent on the kind of internet browser, printer and font that is being used. I only refer to page numbers of those internet sources whose printed version comprises more than three pages. In these cases I give the total number of pages to help readers to find the reference in the source.

- Acker, Sandra, 1987. "Feminist Theory and the Study of Gender and Education", In: International Review of Education, Vol.33, pp.419-435
- Ahmed, Kamal, 2002. "Britain's class divide starts even before nursery school", In: The Observer Special reports (online). London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, available from: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/education/story/0,12554,837171,00.html> [Accessed 26 Nov 2003]
- Ahmed, Kamal & Townsend, Mark, 2003. "Poor white boys flounder under 'feminised' teaching", In: The Observer Special reports (online). London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, available from: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/education/story/0,12554,1020574,00.html> [Accessed 26 Nov 2003]
- Allen, Mike et al., 2004. "Question 8.8: What is 'Niddah'?", In: soc.culture.jewish FAQ: Observance, Marriage, Women in Judaism. Usenet frequently asked questions, available from: <http://www.faqs.org/faqs/judaism/FAQ/04-Observance/preamble.html> [Accessed 06. Jan 2004]
- Amnesty International, 1997. "Female Genital Mutilation in Africa: Information by Country", In: Amnesty International Website. London, Amnesty International, available from: <http://www.amnesty.org/ailib/intcam/femgen/fgm9.htm> [Accessed 06. Jan 2004], 8 pages
- Archer, John, 1976. "Biological Explanations of Psychological Sex Differences", In: Lloyd, Barbara & Archer, John (eds): Exploring Sex Differences. London: Academic Press, pp.241-266
- Archer, John & Lloyd, Barbara, 1982. Sex and Gender. London: Penguin Group
- Arnold, Ronald, 1997. Raising Levels of Achievement in Boys. Slough: Education Management Information Exchange

- Arnot, Madeleine; David, Miriam; Weiner, Gaby, 1999. Closing the Gender Gap. Postwar Education and Social Change. Cambridge & Oxford: Polity Press
- Bahl, Vinay, 1996. "Reflections on the Recent Work of Sheila Rowbotham: Women's Movements and Building Bridges", In: Monthly Review Vol.48(6), available from: <http://www.monthlyreview.org/1196bahl.htm> [accessed 02.01.2004], 10 pages
- Barron, Rachel, 2002. "The Enduring Mikvah: Ancient Jewish Water Ritual Thrives in Orthodox Faith, Marriages", In: San Pablo Avenue Times. Berkley, UC Berkley Graduate School of Journalism, 26. Nov, available from: <http://journalism.berkeley.edu/projects/sanpablo/stories/000377.html> [Accessed 06 Jan 2004]
- BBC News Online, 2000a. "Britain singled out as lonely nation", In: BBC News Online. London: BBC, 27. Mar, available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/692150.stm> [Accessed 21. Jan 2004]
- BBC News Online, 2000b. "Anti-gay bullying 'given free rein'", In: BBC News Online. London: BBC, 7. Feb, available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/631451.stm> [Accessed 06. Jan 2004]
- BBC News Online, 2002. "Addressing the gender gap", In: BBC News Online. London: BBC, 22. Aug, available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/education/2208596.stm [Accessed 16. Sep 2003], 6 pages
- BBC News Online, 2003. "Action for ethnic minority pupils", In: BBC News Online. London: BBC, 4 Mar., available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/education/2816369.stm [Accessed 16 Sep 2003]
- Bebel, August, 1904. Women under Socialism. New York: New York Labor News Press
- Begley, Sharon, 1995. "Gray Matters. Science: New technologies that catch the mind in the very act of thinking show how men and women use their brains differently", In: Newsweek 11/95, Mar 27
- Bentham, Martin, 1998. "Blunkett acts to end torment of gay pupils", In: telegraph.co.uk. London: Telegraph Group Limited, available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/htmlContent.jhtml?html=/archive/1998/10/18/ngay18.html> [Accessed 08. Jan 2004]
- Bethell, Tom, 2001. "Against Sociobiology", In: First Things No. 109, available from: <http://www.firstthings.com/ftissues/ft0101/articles/bethell.html> [Accessed 30. Dec 2003], 8 pages
- Booth, Heather; Creamer, Day; Davis, Susan; Dobbin, Deb; Kaufman, Robin; Klass, Tobey, 1972. Socialist Feminism - A Strategy for the Women's Movement. Durham: Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, available from: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/wlm/socialist/> [Accessed 31. Dec 2003], 27 pages

- Bradley, Susan J.; Oliver, Gillian D.; Chernick, Avinoam B.; Zucker, Kenneth J., 1998. Experiment of Nurture: Ablatio Penis at Two Months, Sex Reassignment at 7 months and a Psychosexual Follow-up in Young Adulthood. Glebe, Australia: ftm australia inc., available from: <http://library.ftmaustralia.org/98/0700.html> (Original source: Pediatrics 1998; 102(1):e9) [Accessed 29. Dec 2003], 14 pages
- Braver, Rachel, 2000. "The Ritual Bath Experience", In: Jewish Deaf Community Center (JDCC) Website. Burbank, JDCC, available from <http://www.jdcc.org/2000/mar-apr/feature.htm> [Accessed 21. Oct 2003]
- Brown, Lyn Mikel & Gilligan, Carol, 1992. Meeting at the Crossroads: Women's Psychology and Girls' Development. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press
- Brown, Paul, 2003. "Minorities up 40%, census reveals", In: Guardian Unlimited. London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 4. Sep, available from: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/britain/article/0,2763,1035229,00.html> [Accessed 07 Feb 2004]
- Brown, Susan E., 1975. "Love Unites Them, Hunger Separates Them: Poor Women in the Dominican Republic", In: Reiter, Rayna R. (ed): Toward an anthropology of women. New York; London: Monthly Review Press, pp.322-331
- BUPA, 2002. Leaving children at home. London: BUPA (British United Provident Association), available from: http://hcd2.bupa.co.uk/fact_sheets/pdfs/leaving_children.pdf (Accessed 1. Feb 2004)
- Bussey, Kay & Bandura, Albert, 1992. "Influence of Gender Constancy and Social Power on Sex-Linked Modeling", In: Jacklin, Carol Nagy (ed), The Psychology of Gender Vol.II. Hants: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.328-338
- Butler, Stuart, 1984. "Sex Differences in Human Cerebral Function", In: De Vries, G. J., De Bruin, J.P.C., Uylings, H.B.M. & Corner, M.A. (eds): Progress in Brain Research. Vol.61. Sex Differences in the Brain. The Relation between Structure and Function. Proceedings of the 13th International Summer School of Brain Research, held at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 22-26 August 1983. Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishers B.V., pp.443-455
- Byrne, Pat, 2001. The Special Educational Needs and Disability Rights Act, Glasgow, Scot-Connect, available from: <http://www.scotconnect.com/Accessibility/disabilityrights.php> [Accessed 22.01.2003], 7 pages
- campus-germany.de, 2003. Germany Celebrates 'Girl's Day'. Bonn, Germany: Deutsche Welle public radio institution, DW-Online, 5. Sep, available from: <http://www.campus-germany.de/english/print/10.1580.1.33.html> [Accessed 06 Dec 2003]
- Chafetz, Janet Saltzman, 1991. "The Gender Division of Labor and the Reproduction of female Disadvantage: Toward an Integrated Theory.", In: Blumberg, Rae Lesser (ed):

Gender, Family and Economy. The Triple Overlap. Sage Publications Inc., Newsbury Park, California, pp.74-94

Charvet, John, 1982. Modern Ideologies: Feminism. London: J.M. Dent & Son Ltd.

Childs, Gilbert, 1998. Steiner Education in Theory and Practice. Edingburgh: Floris Books

Cohen, Jozef, 1981. "Psychology", In: Encyclopedia Britannica. Vol.15, London: W. Benton & H. Hamingway Benton, pp.149-151

Colapinto, John, 1997. The Case of John/Joan. Glebe, Australia: ftm australia inc., available from: <http://library.ftmaustralia.org/97/1211.html> (Original source: The Rolling Stone, 11. Dec 1997, pp. 54-97) [Accessed 29. Dec 2003], 45 pages

Collins English Dictionary, 1998. Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers

Contratto, Susan, 1994. "A Too Hasty Marriage: Gilligan's Developmental Theory and its Application to Feminist Clinical Practice", In: Feminism & Psychology, Vol.4(3), pp.367-377

Cush, Julie, 2003. "Boys close the gap", In: icNewcastle. Newcastle: Trinity Mirror Plc, 21. Aug., available from: <http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/0700learning/0200pupils/page.cfm?objectid=13318159&method=full&siteid=50081> [Accessed 22. Sep 2003]

Dalton, Peggy & Dunnett, Gavin, 1992. A Psychology for Living. Personal Construct Theory for Professionals and Clients. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Daniels, Harry, 2001. Vygotsky and Pedagogy. London & New York: Routledge

Daniels, Henry; Hey, Val; Leanard, Diana; Smith, M., 1995. "Gendered Practice in Special Educational Needs", In: Dawtry, Liz, Holland, Janet, Hammer, Merril, Sheldon, Susan (eds): Equality and Inequality in Education Policy: A Reader. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters in association with the Open University, pp.204-219

Department for Education and Employment, 2001. Structure of Education and Training in Britain. London: Department for Education and Employment, available from: <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/ekb/intro.htm> [Accessed 1. Sep 2001]

Department for Education and Employment & Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1999. "About the school curriculum", In: National Curriculum online. London: Department for Education and Employment & Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, available from: http://www.nc.uk.net/about_school.html [Accessed 18. Apr 2002]

Donovan, Nick (ed.), 1998. Second changes: exclusion from school and equality of opportunity (summary). London, The New Policy Institute, available from: <http://www.npi.org.uk/summ%20exclusions.htm> [Accessed 4. Jan 2004]

- Doolittle, Peter E., [no date]. Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development as a Theoretical Foundation for Cooperative Learning. Unpublished and undated script (an article with the same title was published in 1997 in the Journal on Excellence in College Teaching, Vol.8(1), pp.81-101)
- Ehrhardt, Anke A., 1992. "The Psychobiology of Gender", In: Jacklin, Carol Nagy (ed), The Psychology of Gender Vol.I. Hants: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.455-470
- Elmfield Rudolf Steiner School, 2002. Loose Ends, Weekly Newssheet, 11. Sep. Stourbridge: Elmfield Rudolf Steiner School
- Engels, Friedrich, 1972. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. London: Lawrence and Wishart
- Evans, Stephen, 1996. The Historical Christ and the Jesus of Faith. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Finegan, Jo-Anne; Bartleman, Betty; Wong, P.Y., 1992. "A Window for the Study of Prenatal Sex Hormone Influences on Postnatal Development", In: Jacklin, Carol Nagy (ed), The Psychology of Gender Vol.I. Hants: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.443-454
- Firestone, Shulamith, 1988. The Dialectic of Sex. The Case for Feminist Revolution. London: The Women's Press
- Fletcher, Ronald, 1988. The Shaking of the Foundations. Family and Society. London: Routledge
- Freire, Paulo, 1996. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Friedan, Betty, 1963. The Feminine Mystique. St. Ives: Penguin Books
- Gallimore, Ronald & Tharp, Roland, 1990. "Teaching mind in society: Teaching, schooling, and literate discourse", In: Moll, Luis C. (ed): Vygotsky and education. Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology. Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp.175-204
- Gilligan, Carol, 1982. In a Different Voice. Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press
- Gilligan, Carol & Attanucci, Jane, 1994. "Two Moral Orientations", In: Gilligan, Carol, Ward, Janie Victoria & Taylor, Jill McLean (eds) with Betty Bardige: Mapping the Moral Domain. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, pp. 73-86
- Gilligan, Carol & Wiggins, Grant, 1994. "The Origins of Morality in Early Childhood Relationships", In: Gilligan, Carol, Ward, Janie Victoria & Taylor, Jill McLean (eds) with Betty Bardige: Mapping the Moral Domain. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, pp.111-138

- Gilligan, Carol; Ward, Janie Victoria; Taylor, Jill McLean (eds) with Bardige, Betty, 1994. Mapping the Moral Domain. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press
- Gittins, Diana, 1993. The Family in Question: Changing Household and Family Ideologies. Hampshire: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Goldthorpe, John Ernest, 1987. Family life in western societies. A historical sociology of family relationships in Britain and North America. Cambridge (USA): Cambridge University Press
- Gordon, Linda, 1985. "Child Abuse, Gender, and the Myth of Family Independence: A Historical Critique", In: Child Welfare, Vol.64(3), pp.213-224
- Gore, Jennifer, 1992. "What We Can Do For You! What Can 'We' Do for 'You'? Struggling over Empowerment in Critical and Feminist Pedagogy", In: Luke, Carmen & Gore, Jennifer (eds): Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy. New York and London: Routledge, pp.54-72
- Gore, Jennifer M., 1993. The Struggle for Pedagogies. Critical and Feminist Discourses as Regimes of Truth. New York and London: Routledge
- Grandt, Guido & Garndt, Michael, 2001. Waldorf Connection - Rudolf Steiner und die Anthroposophen. Aschaffenburg, Germany: Alibri Verlag
- Grimmitt, Michael (ed.), 2000. Pedagogies of Religious Education. Case Studies in the Research and Development of Good Pedagogic Practice in RE. Great Wakering, Essex: McCrimmon Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Haddock, Lynda & Cruddas, Leora (eds.), 2000. Girls' Voices. Are they on the Agenda? London: Newham Education Council
- Hartmann, Heidi H., 1981. "The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class and Political Struggle: The Example of Housework", In: SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol.6(3), pp.366-394
- Harvey, David, 1992. The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Henslin, James M. (ed), 1985. Marriage and the Family in a Changing Society. New York: The Free Press
- Hite, Shere, 1995. The Hite Report on the Family. Growing up Under Patriarchy. London: Hodder and Stoughton
- HMSO, 1975. The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (c.65)
- Hoffmann, Lore; Häußler, Peter; Bünder, Wolfgang; Nentwig, Peter; Peters-Haft, Sabine, 1995. BLK-Modellversuch: Chancengleichheit - Veränderung des Anfangsunterrichts

Physik/Chemie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kompetenzen und Interessen von Mädchen. Kiel: IPN

- Hollingsworth, Sandra, 1994. "Feminist Pedagogy in the Research Class: an example of teacher research", In: Educational Action Research, Vol.2(1), pp.49-70
- Jakabovics, Allison; Pikman, Yana; Rossi, Jennifer, 2000. "Female vs. Male Brains", In: The Evolution of Lateralization in the Hominid Brain - A Web Project. New York: Columbia University, available from:
<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/anthropology/v1007/jakabovics/main.html> [Accessed 29. Dec 2003]
- Jewish Community of Dniepropetrovsk, [no date]. "Mikvah", In: Jewish Community of Dniepropetrovsk website. Available from: <http://jew.dp.ua/english/mikva.htm> [Accessed 02. Oct 2003]
- Jordan, Ellen, 1995. "Fighting Boys and Fantasy Play: the construction of masculinity in the early years of school", In: Gender and Education, Vol.7(1), pp.69-86
- Kazen, Yosef, 1998. "Understanding Mikvah and Family Purity", In: Suite101.com. Vancouver: Creative Marketeam Canada Ltd, available from:
http://www.suite101.com/print_article.cfm/658/8650 [Accessed 03. Oct 2003]
- Kelly, Alison; Alexander, Juliet; Azam, Umar; Bretherton, Carol; Burgess, Gillian et al., 1982. "Gender Role at Home and School", In: British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.3(3), pp.281-295
- Keniston, Kenneth, 1985. "The Myth of Family Independence", In: Henslin, James M. (ed): Marriage and the Family in a Changing Society. New York: The Free Press, pp.27-33
- Kenway, Jane & Modsen, Helen, 1992. "Feminist Pedagogy and Emancipatory Possibilities", In: Luke, Carmen & Gore, Jennifer (eds): Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy. New York and London: Routledge, pp.138-164
- Kenway, Jane; Willies, Sue; Blackmore, Jill; Rennie, Leonie, 1994. "Making 'Hope Practical' Rather than 'Despair Convincing': feminist post-structuralism, gender reform and educational change", In: British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 15(2), pp.187-211
- Kipnis, Kenneth; Diamond, Milton, 1998. "Pediatric Ethics and the Surgical Assignment of Sex", In: The UK Intersex Association website, available from:
http://www.ukia.co.uk/diamond/ped_eth.htm (original source: The Journal of Clinical Ethics, Vol.9(4), pp.398-410) [Accessed 08. Jan 2004], 18 pages
- Kitcher, Philip, 1985. Vaulting Ambition. Sociobiology and the Quest for Human Nature. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press

- Kohlberg, Lawrence, 1967. "A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Childrens' Sex Role Concepts and Attitudes", In: Maccoby, Eleanor E. (ed), The Development of Sex Differences. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., pp.82-173
- Kruse, Anne-Mette, 1992. "'We have not learnt to sit back, twiddle our thumbs and let them take over'. Single-sex Sitings and the development of a pedagogy for girls and pedagogy for boys in Danish schools", In: Gender and Education, Vol. 4(1-2)
- Leibowitz, Lila, 1975. "Perspectives on the Evolution of Sex Differences", In: Reiter, Rayna R. (ed): Toward an anthropology of women. New York; London: Monthly Review Press, pp.20-35
- Leslie, Gerald R. & Korman, Sheila K., 1989. The Family in Social Context. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Lloyd, Barbara & Archer, John (eds), 1976. Exploring Sex Differences. London: Academic Press
- Luke, Carmen & Gore, Jennifer (eds), 1992. "Interrupting the Calls for Student Voice in 'Liberatory' Education: A Feminist Poststructuralist Perspective", In: Luke, Carmen & Gore, Jennifer (eds): Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy. New York and London: Routledge, pp.74-82
- Lunt, Ingrid, 1993. "The practice of assessment", In: Daniels, Harry (ed), Charting the Agenda. Educational Activity after Vygotsky. London & New York: Routledge, pp.145-170
- Mac an Ghaill, Máirtín, 1998. The Making of Men. Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. & Jacklin, Carol N., 1974. The Psychology of Sex Differences. Stanford (USA): Stanford University Press
- Mackenzie, Jeannie, 1997. It's a Man's Job... - Class and Gender in School Work-Experience Programmes. Edinburgh: The Scottish Council for Research in Education. Available from: <http://www.scre.ac.uk/pdf/spotlight/spotlight60.pdf> [Accessed 12 Dec 2003]
- MACS Steering Group, 2001. Men And Childcare Scotland: Working Paper - June 2001. Available from: <http://www.opfs.org.uk/aboutus/projects/Working%20Paper%20June%202001.doc> [Accessed 21. Feb 2004]
- Major, Lee Elliot, 2001. "Black children more likely to fail at school, report claims", In: Guardian Unlimited. London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 7. Aug, available from: <http://education.guardian.co.uk/racism/story/0,10795,533493,00.html> [Accessed 18. Jan 2004]

- Merrett, Frank & Wheldall, Kevin, 1992. "Teachers' Use of Praise and Reprimands to Boys and Girls", In: Educational Review, Vol.44(1), pp.73-79
- Messent, Peter R., 1976. "Female Hormones and Behaviour", In: Lloyd, Barbara & Archer, John (eds): Exploring Sex Differences. London: Academic Press, pp.185-212
- Microsoft Encarta Enzyklopädie 2001, 2000. (CD-ROM). Redmond: Microsoft Corporation
- Middleton, Sue, 1993. "A Post-Modern Pedagogy for the Sociology of Women's Education", In: Arnot, Madeleine & Weiler, Kathleen (eds): Feminism and Social Justice in Education: International Perspectives. London: Falmer Press, pp.124-141
- Middleton, Sue, 1995. "Towards a feminist pedagogy for teacher education", In: Gender and Education, Vol.17(1), pp.89-100
- Millett, Kate, 1977. Sexual Politics. London: Virgo Press Ltd.
- Mitchell, Rosamond, 2000. "Research, Inspection and Teacher Education: the quest for a consensus on effective MFLs pedagogy", In: Links 21, London: Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, pp.5-12
- Mitterauer, Michael & Seidler, Reinhard, 1982. The European Family. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited
- Muir, Hugh, 2004. "Women hold less than 10% of top jobs", In: Guardian Weekly, Vol.170(5), 22. Jan, p.10
- National Statistics, [no date]. The UK in figures - Labour Market. London: HMSO, available from: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/ukin_figs/Data_labour.asp [Accessed 07. Sep 2001]
- National Statistics, 2003a. Divorce Increases: Highest number of divorces since 1997. London: HMSO, available from: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cc/nugget.asp?id=170> [Accessed 21. Jan 2001]
- National Statistics, 2003b. Population Estimates: UK total rises to 59.2 million in 2002. London: HMSO, available from: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cc/nugget_print.asp?ID=6 [Accessed 23. Jan 2004]
- National Statistics, 2003c. Census 2001 - Ethnicity and religion in England and Wales. London: HMSO, available from: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/commentaries/ethnicity.asp> [Accessed 18. Feb 2004], 4 pages
- Nicholson, Linda J., 1994. "Women and Schooling", In: Stone, Lynda (ed) with Boldt, Gail Masuchika: The Education Feminism Reader. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 74-84

- Nishmat: The Jerusalem Center for Advanced Jewish Study, [no date]. "Preparation for Mikveh Immersion", In: NISHMAT Women's Online Information Center. Jerusalem, NISHMAT, available from <http://www.yoatzot.org/article/66> [Accessed 21. Oct 2003]
- Noddings, Nel, 1990. "Constructivism in Mathematics Education", In: Journal for Research in Mathematics, National Council of Teachers of Mathematics: Monograph No.4, pp.7-18
- Noonan, Mary C., 2001. "The Impact of Domestic Work on Men's and Women's Wages", In: Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol.63(4), pp.1134-1145
- Nyborg, H., 1984. "Performance and Intelligence in Hormonally Different Groups", In: De Vries, G. J., De Bruin, J.P.C., Uylings, H.B.M. & Corner, M.A. (eds): Progress in Brain Research. Vol.61. Sex Differences in the Brain. The Relation between Structure and Function. Proceedings of the 13th International Summer School of Brain Research, held at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 22-26 August 1983. Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishers B.V., pp.491-508
- O'Connell, Helen, 1994. Women and the Family. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Oakley, Ann, 1985. "Childhood lessons", In: Henslin, James M. (ed), Marriage and the Family in a Changing Society. New York: The Free Press, pp.152-156
- Okin, Susan Moller, 1987. Justice, Gender and the Family. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Oxford Blueprint, 2001. "Anti-bullying policies are failing children", In: Oxford Blueprint Vol.1(6). Oxford: The University of Oxford, 01. Feb, available from: <http://www.ox.uk/blueprint/2000-01/0102/07.shtml> [Accessed 06 Jan 2004]
- Paludi, Michelle Antoinette, 1992. The Psychology of Women. Debuque, USA: Brown & Benchmark
- Perry, David G. & Bussey, Kay, 1992. "Imitation is Alive and Well", In: Jacklin, Carol Nagy (ed), The Psychology of Gender Vol.I. Hants: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.339-353
- Pickering, John, 1997. Raising Boys' Achievement. Stafford: Network Educational Press
- Powney, Janet, 1997. Trends in Gender and Attainment in Scotland. Edinburgh: The Scottish Council for Research in Education. Available from: <http://www.scre.ac.uk/pdf/spotlight/spotlight64.pdf> [Accessed 18. Jan 2004]
- Press Association, 2003. "UK child abuse deaths could be double official figures, says UN", In: Guardian Unlimited. London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 18. Sep, available from: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/child/story/0,7369,1044787,00.html> [Accessed 22. Jan 2004]

- Reinisch, June Machover & Sanders, Stephanie A., 1984. "Prenatal Gonadal Steroidal Influences on Gender-Related Behavior", In: De Vries, G. J., De Bruin, J.P.C., Uylings, H.B.M. & Corner, M.A. (eds): Progress in Brain Research. Vol.61. Sex Differences in the Brain. The Relation between Structure and Function. Proceedings of the 13th International Summer School of Brain Research, held at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 22-26 August 1983. Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishers B.V., pp.407-416
- Rich, Tracey R., 2002. "Kosher Sex", In: Judaism 101 website. Available from: <http://www.jewfaq.org/sex.htm> [Accessed 05. Jan 2004]
- Richardson, Virginia (ed), 1997. Constructivist Teacher Education: Building a World of new Understandings. London & Bristol, USA: Falmer Press
- Richter, Roni Leob, [no date]. "Mikvah Time", In: Chabad Online Network. Brooklyn: Chabad-Lubavitch Media Center, available from: <http://chabad.org/library/article.asp?AID=1144> [Accessed 21. Oct 2003]
- Rowbotham, Sheila & Mitter, Swasti (eds.), 1993. Dignity and Daily Bread: New Forms of Economic Organization Among Poor Women in the Third World and the First. London & New York: Routledge
- Sabbatini, Renato M.E., 2000. "Are There Differences between the Brains of Males and Females?", In: Brain & Mind - Electronic Magazine on Neuroscience No. 11. Campinas, State University of Campinas, available from, 5 pages
- School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), 1994. Model syllabuses for religious education - Model 1: Living Faiths Today. London: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority
- Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Frauen, 2004. Häusliche Gewalt. Berlin: Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Frauen, available from: <http://www.berlin.de/senwiarbfrau/frauen/4gewalt/haeusliche.htm> [Accessed 07. Jan 2004]
- Slocum, Sally, 1975. "Woman the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology", In: Reiter, Rayna R. (ed): Toward an anthropology of women. New York; London: Monthly Review Press, pp.36-50
- Smithers, Rebecca, 2001. "Punishment for black pupils appears harsher", In: Guardian Unlimited. London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 1. Mar, available from: <http://education.guardian.co.uk/racism/story/0,10795,526754,00.html> [Accessed 18. Jan 2004]
- Sociobiology Study Group of Science for the People, 1978. "Sociobiology - Another Biological Determinism", In: The Sociobiology Debate. Readings on Ethical and Scientific Issues. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, pp.280-290

- Spender, Dale, 1983. Invisible Women. The Schooling Scandal. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd.
- Statistics Canada, 2002. Same-sex common-law couples: Male couples outnumber female couples, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, available from:
http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/fam/canada.cfm#same_sex_common_law [Accessed 23. Jan 2004], 9 pages
- Steiner, Rudolf, 1985. Women in Society (Die Frauenfrage). London: Rudolf Steiner Press
- Steiner, Rudolf, 1997. Education as a Force for Social Change. New York: Anthroposophic Press
- Stockard, Jean & Johnson, Miriam M., 1992. Gender and Sex in Society. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., A Simon & Schuster Company
- Sulatycki, Bob, 2003. "New Labour Fails the Education Test", In: The Socialist Newspaper (online), London: The Socialist Party. Available from:
<http://www.socialistparty.org.uk/2003/315/index.html?id=pp5.htm> [Accessed 26 Nov 2003]
- Swaab, D. F. & Hofman, M. A., 1984. "Sexual Differentiation of the Human Brain. A Historical Perspective", In: De Vries, G. J., De Bruin, J.P.C., Uylings, H.B.M. & Corner, M.A. (eds): Progress in Brain Research. Vol.61. Sex Differences in the Brain. The Relation between Structure and Function. Proceedings of the 13th International Summer School of Brain Research, held at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 22-26 August 1983. Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishers B.V., pp.361-374
- The British Council, 1999a. "Women in science, engineering and technology: the UK experience", In: British Council Website. London and Manchester, The British Council, available from: <http://www.britishcouncil.org/science/science/pubs/briefsht/wise/> [Accessed 17. Sep 2001]
- The British Council, 1999b. "Children's rights: a national and international perspective", In: British Council Website. London and Manchester, The British Council, available from: <http://www.britishcouncil.org/governance/jusrig/human/childrig/cr02.htm> [Accessed 24. Sep 2001]
- The British Council, 1999c. "Education in Britain", In: British Council Website. London and Manchester, The British Council, available from: http://elt.britcoun.org.pl/e_paper.htm
- The British Council, 1999e. "Public sector reform in Britain", In: British Council Website. London and Manchester, The British Council, available from:
<http://www.britishcouncil.org/governance/manag/reform/psref11.html> (Accessed 17. Oct 2001)

- The Lecturer, 2000. "Why so few black scientists?", In: The Lecturer June 2000. London, NATFHE, Available from: <http://www.natfhe.org.uk/says/lect0006/feat0007.html> [Accessed 06. Jan 2004]
- Toomy, Derek, 1989. "Linking Class and Gender Inequality: the family and schooling", In: British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.10(4), pp.389-402
- Trigg, Roger, 1982. The Shaping of Man. Philosophical Aspects of Sociobiology. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishers Limited
- Tudge, Jonathan, 1990. "Vygotsky, the zone of proximal development, and peer collaboration: Implications for classroom practice", In: Moll, Luis C. (ed): Vygotsky and education. Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology. Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp.155-163
- Tuttle, Lisa, 1986. Encyclopedia of Feminism. Essex: Longman Group Limited.
- Ullian, Dorothy Z., 1976. "The Development of Conceptions of Masculinity and Femininity", In: Lloyd, Barbara & Archer, John (eds): Exploring Sex Differences. London: Academic Press, pp.25-48
- Vygotsky, Lev S., 1962. Thought and Language. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press
- Vygotsky, Lev S., 1978. Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Weiner, Gaby, 1994. Feminisms in Education. An Introduction. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Weisner, Thomas S.; Garnier, Helen; Loucky, James, 1994. "Domestic Tasks, Gender Egalitarian Values and Children's Gender-Typing in Conventional and Nonconventional Families", In: Sex Roles. A Journal of Research, Vol.30(1-2), pp.23-54
- Weisstein, Naomi, 1993. "Psychology Constructs the Female; or, The Fantasy Life of the Male Psychologist (with Some Attention to the Fantasies of His Friends, the Male Biologist and the Male Anthropologist) (featured reprint)", In: Feminism & Psychology, Vol.3(2), pp.195-210
- Wertsch, James W., 1985. Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press
- Wiese, Charles (ed), 2001. The Mikvah Project website. Houston: The Mikvah Project, available from <http://www.mikvahproject.com/photopg.html> [Accessed 21. Oct 2003]
- Wilkinson, Roy, 1993. Rudolf Steiner on Education. A Compendium. Stroud, UK: Hawthorn Press
- Wilson, Edward O., 1978. On Human Nature. London: Harvard University Press

- Wilson, Edward O., 1980. Sociobiology: The Abridged Version. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary, 1992. A Vindication of the Rights of Women. London: David Campbell Publishers Ltd.
- Women's Aid Federation of England, 2003. "Domestic Violence Statistical Factsheet - 2002", In: Women's Aid Website. Bristol, Women's Aid Federation of England, available from: <http://www.womensaid.org.uk/dv/dvfactsh2002.htm> [Accessed 22. Jan 2004], 4 pages
- Wood, David & Wood, Heather, 1996. "Vygotsky, Tutoring and Learning", In: Oxford Review of Education, Vol.22(1), pp.5-16
- Woodward, Will, 2003. "Poverty hits exam scores", In: Guardian Unlimited. London: Guardian Newspapers Limited, 21 Apr, available from: <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/publicservices/story/0,11032,940540,00.html> [Accessed 24 Sep 2003]
- Wylie, Mary Sykes, 2003. "The Untold Story - Carol Gilligan on recapturing the lost voice of pleasure", In: Psychotherapy Networker Website. Washinton: Psychotherapy Networker Inc., available from: <http://www.psychotherapynetworker.org/interviews.htm> [Accessed 14. Jan 2004], 13 pages
- Yates, Lyn, 1994. "Feminist Pedagogy Meets Critical Pedagogy Meets Poststructuralism", In: British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.15(3), pp.429-437