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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any other degree in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is given in the text.

Signature: ________________________________
Sally C. Gothina
ABSTRACT

This study examines the portrayal of gender in Australian Children's Book Council award and honour books in the Younger Reader and Older Reader categories over the years 1981-1993.

Its purpose is to discover whether the books portray females and males in equally positive ways, which both reflect their changing roles in our society and provide models for gender construction to young readers. This is done by means of a qualitative analysis of the text from selected books, supported by a quantitative analysis in the form of frequency counts of gender representations.

Relevant Government policies and the feminist ideologies which have influenced them are reviewed, and compared with the study's findings to ascertain how far the CBC books' gender portrayals are in line with current education policies and research.

The findings suggest a review of CBC judging criteria, and highlight the need for a critical literacy approach in classroom literacy teaching. Recommendations for the broadening of research in literature are made.
CHAPTER 1

THE RATIONALE

The idea of examining the Children's Book Council of Australia (hereafter referred to as the CBC) award winning books with regard to their portrayal of gender came to the investigator when choosing books to include in a children's literature text, (Clements & Godinho, 1994). She noted that some CBC award winning books were decidedly stereotyped in their portrayal of gender. Mindful that gender equity is a national goal and that teachers are directed to "use texts in which males and females are presented in equally positive ways" (Ministry of Education, Victoria, 1988, p.23), the investigator was concerned that some CBC books did not satisfy this criterion.

An examination of the judging criteria outlined in Children's Book of the Year Awards 1993: Short List Information (Bensemann, 1993) revealed no specific reference to the consideration of the portrayal of gender. Because the CBC awards are regarded by many as the benchmark of quality Australian literature, the investigator believes that there is a need to establish the degree to which CBC award winning books are balanced in their portrayal of gender.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the ways in which females and males are presented in the award and honour books judged by the CBC from 1981-1993 and to ascertain whether they are presented in equally positive ways. The investigation addresses three specific questions:
1. Do the books present males and females in equally positive ways?

2. Do the books reflect the changing roles of males and females in our present society?

3. What role models for gender construction do the books impart to young readers?

The Context of the Study

The investigation was conducted on CBC books judged award and honour winners (hereafter referred to as award books) in the Younger Reader and Older Reader categories over the years 1981 to 1993. Several factors determined the context in which the investigation was conducted, and these are outlined below.

Reeder (1981) had already investigated CBC awards from 1950 to 1980 and found that sex-role stereotyping in Australian children’s books was not merely a subject for historical study but remained a matter for contemporary concern. It therefore seemed appropriate to start the investigation in 1981, the year after Reeder’s examination concluded.

The categorisation of awards has changed since Reeder’s examination of CBC books. In 1982 the Junior Book of the Year Award was introduced. In 1987 this award became known as the Book of the Year: Younger Readers, allowing for one award winner and up to two honour books. The investigator felt it was necessary to include award and honour books in both the Older Reader and the Younger Reader categories rather than change the context midway through the investigation. Focussing on only one category from 1987 onwards would present an unbalanced view of the books within the designated time frame.
Whilst acknowledging the recognition and promotion of all books short-listed for CBC awards, the investigator has analysed only the award books classified as fiction. This has reduced the number of books for analysis from 126 to 66, making the task manageable for a minor thesis.

The books short-listed for the Older Reader Award and the Younger Reader awards are generally classified as fiction. *The Macquarie Dictionary* (1995) defines fiction as works of imaginative narration, especially in prose form, such as novels or short stories. Meek (1988, p.40) states it is the reading of stories which "makes skilful, powerful readers who come to understand not only the meaning but also the force of the texts." The importance of stories for children is undeniable because they provide readers with the opportunity to explore the value systems inherent in the texts.

The occasional books which did not satisfy the fiction criteria, such as poetry books or factual texts, have been excluded from the study, in order to enable a more coherent analysis to be made. Poetry books and factual texts do not always have salient characters, and poetry books may have a wide range of subject matter, which makes analysis difficult.

Quantitative data were collected for all the award books classified as fiction. Frequency counts were kept to record specific information relating to:

- gender identification of characters appearing on the book covers;
- identification of the authors’ gender;
- identification of the the genre of the books;
- gender identification of protagonists and central characters;
- roles assigned to females and males;
- occupations assigned to females and males; and
- gender related behaviour associated with protagonists and central characters.
The frequency counts helped to validate the more in depth textual analysis, carried out in the investigator's qualitative analysis, which was based on the specific focus questions and illustrated by quotations from the books.

The Significance of the Study

Children clearly read a very extensive range of fiction books and their selection of fiction is very individualised, as Rand's (1995) study of Melbourne upper primary school children's reading choices has revealed. Whilst acknowledging that children's reading experiences are far wider than CBC short-listed books, it is apparent that these books receive a very high profile in schools. According to Prentice and Bennett (1992, p.56) the CBC awards are "Considered by many to be the most prestigious awards for authors and illustrators of Australian children's books." Walter McVitty, publisher, critic and reviewer of children's books, speaking at the Australian Reading Association's International Conference (1993), remarked on the accessibility of award books to children, given that many schools and libraries have a standard order for all books nominated for CBC awards.

The awards also have a very high public profile. Leading daily newspapers such as the Age and the Australian feature articles on books short-listed for CBC awards and the CBC icon is printed on the books' covers which facilitates their identification and exposure in libraries and book shops. Companies such as Myer, Grace Brothers and Angus and Robertson sponsor the awards so the short-listed books are promoted across Australia in their retail outlets.

The annual short-list is announced at the end of March but the actual Awards are not made public until August, allowing time for schools to purchase the short-listed books and for staff and children to read the books and speculate about the winners.
before the announcement - a practice common in many schools. The fact that books short-listed for CBC awards are frequently the recipients of children nominated literature awards, such as Kids Own Australian Literature Award (KOALA), Young Australia’s Best Book Award (YABBA) and the West Australian Young Readers Award (WAYBRA), indicates the exposure children have had to these books.

Commonwealth Government policies, such as The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987) and The National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-1997 (Australian Education Council, 1993), advise teachers to address gender construction in their curricula from early childhood and continue to do this through all levels of schooling. The National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-1997 asserts that “The place of language in creating, legitimising and sustaining relationships of equality and inequality is fundamental to the social practices which make up the construction of gender” (1993, p.7). Gilbert (1991) claims it is through stories of our culture that students learn what is acceptable and what is not and thereby develop their social understandings, which impact on their gender construction.

Because of the high profile and the accessibility of CBC award books, the investigator believes it is necessary for educators to know whether the books present females and males in equally positive ways, and to identify the messages regarding gender construction which the books may be transmitting. The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools (1987) endorses the importance of this notion by stating: “All Australian schools should ensure that what is being taught and learned does justice to girls and women, taking account of their cultural, language and socio-economic diversity, and is equally valuable for girls and boys” (front cover).
Overview of the Study

Chapter 1 provides the purpose, context and rationale of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews Government policies relating to gender issues and education. Influential theories concerning feminism, gender construction and discourse are outlined and significant research relating to children's literature is reviewed.

Chapter 3 outlines the research process and the rationale for adopting both a qualitative and quantitative approach. The design for the collection and analysis of data is outlined and the limitations of the study are documented.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the quantitative data collection which are illustrated in the form of frequency tables and bar graphs. Comparisons are drawn between the investigator's findings and those of similar studies.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the qualitative data analysis. The study's three focus questions form the basis for analysing the texts and significant quotations support the findings.

Chapter 6 includes a comparison of the quantitative and the qualitative data analyses based on the three focus questions. The CBC award books from 1981 -1993 are related to Kristeva's (1981, 1986) three tiered schema of the feminist movement to determine whether the books follow government policy guidelines for teachers with regard to achieving gender equity. Implications for CBC judges, teachers and researchers are discussed. Finally recommendations are made for future research.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review examines the theoretical underpinning of gender construction and affirms that Commonwealth Government policies, since the mid 1970s, have emphasised gender equity in curriculum content and teaching. The investigator discusses how feminist ideologies have impacted on these policies and notes the importance of Kristeva’s (1981, 1986) paradigm to this investigation. The review considers post-structuralism and theories of gender differences and examines recent research relating to gender portrayal and stereotyping in a range of children’s books. Finally, the CBC judging criteria is examined for the inclusion of gender portrayal.

Gender Construction

The purpose of this investigation is to examine the depiction of gender in CBC award winning books. The concept of gender became popularised in the late 1980s. Prior to this the distinction between sex and gender was often confused. The National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-1997 makes a clear distinction between the terms sex and gender, stating: “While sex differences are understood as biological, gender differences refer to those behaviours and attitudes which are constructed through social practice” (Australian Education Council, 1993, p.7). The Council also views texts as having an important role in the formation of a student’s gender construction. It claims that may texts transmit cultural understandings and values from which “girls and boys begin to learn their ‘place’ in an unequal society where ‘masculine’ characteristics, including the exercise of power and dominance, are valued for men, and ‘feminine’
characteristics, such as service, nurturing and intuitive reasoning are devalued” (Australian Education Council, 1993, p.7).

Gender construction is a dynamic process because children learn, through their families, social environment, school and the media, socially approved ways of interacting as male and female. These approved ways may differ with time as cultural expectations of male and female roles change.

Whilst gender theory underpins current policies, sex role theory shaped earlier Commonwealth Government policies such as Girls, School and Society (Australian Committee on Social Change and the Education of Women, 1975), Girls and Tomorrow: The Challenge for Schools (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984) and the National Policy for the Education of Girls (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987). This theory asserts that men and women behave differently because they respond to different social expectations by virtue of their biological sex. It assigns a set of stereotyped actions or role behaviours to the male or female position. Connell (1987) states that the stereotypes associated with sex roles provide the basis of the theoretical language of feminist reform within Commonwealth Government policies (p.34). Yet Edwards (1983) and Connell (1987) concur that sex role theory simplifies the complexity of gender as, in effect, it reduces all masculinities and femininities to one dualism by virtue of the biological definition. Although the focus has clearly shifted from sex role identity to gender construction, stereotyping is still a concern and important to this investigation. The qualitative and the quantitative analyses address the issue of stereotyping.
Feminist Ideology

The adoption of the concept of gender in Government policies was welcomed by feminists. *The Macquarie Dictionary* (1995) has a broad definition of feminism which defines it as the advocacy of equal rights and opportunities for women, especially the extension of their activities in social and political life. Yet there are two distinct branches of feminism: liberal feminism and radical feminism.

**Liberal Feminism and its Impact on Education Policy**

Kenway (1990) and Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) assert that it is the liberal feminists’ championing of sex role stereotyping which has so powerfully influenced Commonwealth education policies. The report *Girls, School and Society* (1975) clearly embraces the liberal feminist ideology. It warns that many Australian studies of educational texts and media found that: “women and girls were overwhelmingly characterised as being gentle, timid, conforming, domestic, physically weak, docile and fearful in stress or danger situations. Their occupations were, with rare exceptions, confined to an unrealistic and narrow list of traditional female roles ... women were portrayed with low self esteem and aspirations, and as being dependent on the approval of males” (Australian Committee on Social Change and the Education of Women, 1975 p.73). The report expresses alarm at the undeniably high levels of sex role stereotyping and advises that publishers should provide authors and editors with guidelines for the equal treatment of the sexes.

*Girls and Tomorrow: the Challenge for Schools* (see p.8) is also influenced by liberal feminist ideology. This report notes widespread evidence of sex stereotyped curricula at pre-school and junior primary levels. Curriculum materials frequently depicted females as subordinate beings with limited life options. However, it is the
National Policy for the Education of Girls (see p.8) that marks the first national attempt to provide an educational framework for gender equity in which females and males have equal rights to responsibility and power.

It is the policies mentioned above which have instigated the investigator's focus question: Do the CBC award books portray males and females in equally positive ways? It is evident that, since 1975, the Government has continually conveyed messages about the portrayal of gender in children's books. Therefore, publishers, educators and the CBC have had plenty of time to review and reform their practices prior to the 1981 CBC awards, which is the starting point of this investigation.

Radical Feminism

Although the impact of liberal feminist ideology on Government policies is undeniable, the investigator is very supportive of the radical feminists' position. The latter believe that liberal feminism fails to address the issues of patriarchy which obstructs the advancement of women to positions of power. For example, Kenway (1990, p.12) describes patriarchy as "the institutional arrangement through which men as a sex/class exert power over women." Radical feminists see the State as irredeemably linked with patriarchy because Government administration broadly reflects men's interests. They believe that in a patriarchal society, social change for women cannot be adequately addressed because men will not relinquish their power base. The investigator believes it is the entrenched patriarchal values which deny females access to power in our society and prevent gender equity ever being a reality. If females do not have the same access to power as males, then, males and females cannot be presented in equally positive ways. Females' access to power in the CBC books is discussed in the qualitative analysis.

Kristeva and the Feminist Movement

Kristeva (1981, 1986), the influential French linguist and semiotician, places the feminist movement in a context which values the contribution of both liberal and
radical feminist ideologies in the pursuit of gender equity. Kristeva’s paradigm is very important to this study because her framework is used in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 5; in Chapter 6 the award books are discussed in the context of the three tiers described below.

Kristeva argues that women’s time can be viewed both historically and politically as three tiered. When outlining Kristeva’s paradigm Davies (1989) refers to Moi’s (1985) summary of Kristeva’s position: the liberal feminist reform is the first tier in which feminists seek to redress the inequality of opportunities available to males and females and gain access to the male dominated public life - the male symbolic order. The second tier represents the radical feminists’ view which advocates that women reject the male symbolic order because women’s involvement in public life has subsequently revealed that this does not necessarily give them a voice. Women are encouraged to explore their feminine aspects of their own lives and to celebrate their difference and womanhood. The third tier, which is Kristeva’s own position, focusses on the breakdown of the male/female dualism and goes beyond the liberal and radical feminist ideologies. “Women reject the dichotomy between masculine and feminine as metaphysical” (Moi, 1985, p.70). Kristeva suggests abandoning the preconceived idea of sexual identity and instead searching for less oppositional means of constructing women’s subjectivity.

The tiers are not necessarily hierarchical or chronological, although Kristeva sees the ultimate achievement as the third tier. She claims the tiers have “a parallel existence ... in the same historical time, or even ... interwoven one with the other” (Kristeva, 1986, p.209). Gilbert (1993a) believes that the stories which have been told about gender and literacy can easily be located within Kristeva’s stages of the women’s time and it is this link which the investigator seeks to make in Chapter 6.
Feminism and Social Change

The feminists’ influence on Government policy goes beyond educational issues. Gutman (1982) claims it is the women’s movement which is responsible for the most profound and pervasive changes to Australian society in the 1960s and 1970s. He states that “It has set in train an evolution which will further modify Australian society over the next decades” (p. 39). Equal pay, legal abortion, publicly subsidised childcare, women’s refuges and equal access to education and employment are all acknowledged as achievements of feminist action. Gender equity is now an issue which permeates all aspects of our society.

However, longstanding traditions and attitudes change slowly. Despite the Commonwealth Government’s intentions to promote recognition and acceptance of the principle of gender equity, it acknowledges that publishing policies does not guarantee immediate changes. Girls and Tomorrow: The Challenge for Schools (1984) notes that a significant number of educators do not have a commitment to reform and appear unaware of the social changes occurring in the wider community despite Government policy advocating equality of opportunity in education. The National Action Plan for the Education for Girls 1993-97 concedes that the curriculum is still seen to be gender biased and “commonly reflects the fact that almost all areas of study exclude or trivialise women’s contributions, experiences or knowledge” (Australian Education Council, 1993, p.21).

Kenway (1990, p.41) laments that “Clearly policy initiatives are negotiated, transformed, used and abused at all points in the policy process from Canberra to State capitals, to the classroom and back again.” The National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-97 concedes that “Changes in attitudes to gender require the commitment of educators in partnership with parents and the wider community” (Australian Education Council, 1993, p.2).
Maurice Saxby, often referred to as the doyen of Australian’s children’s literature, remarks that “Children’s books, perhaps more than most print media, reflect social change” (1993, p.7). Yet despite Saxby’s acknowledgement that in the 1960s attitudes to the role of women changed, he only pays lip service to gender and educational issues. His headings in the subject index include “counter-sexism” and “sex roles” but when the references are cross-checked there is no detailed discussion. Given the emphasis on gender in educational policies from the mid 1970s to the present day, it is puzzling and disappointing that Saxby has failed to address this important aspect of social change.

Clearly social change is a very slow process and generation, gender, class and culture all impact on the way it is accepted. This fact indicates the importance of identifying the ways in which gender is constructed in the award books and noting whether they reflect the changing roles of males and females in our present society.

**Theoretical Bases of Gender Construction**

The investigator discusses the works of Gilligan (1982, 1988), Cranny-Francis (1992) and Davies (1993a, 1993b) and relates their theories to her focus questions on gender portrayal and models for gender construction in the CBC award books. The impact of post-structuralism and discourse patterns on the way books are read is also considered.

**Gilligan’s Theory of Male and Female Voices**

Carol Gilligan’s work is important to this study because it infers that the behaviour of males and females will be different and suggests that they will not be portrayed in equally positive ways. Her work on masculine and feminine voices (Gilligan, 1982) derives from her involvement in Kohlberg’s (1973) earlier research
into the stages of moral development: he found that females consistently attained a lower moral developmental rating than boys.

Gilligan (1982, 1988) challenges Kohlberg’s (1973) findings which she claims have a gender bias that devalues girls because they respond to different voices than boys. She finds that males respond to the voice which is associated with preserving rights and upholding principles of justice in the interest of the wider community, whereas females respond to the voice which involves care and responsibility for others and is associated with interpersonal networks. Gilligan (1982, 1988) reports that her research reveals women to be capable of focusing on both justice and care orientations but there is a virtual absence of care focus by men in dilemma situations. Whilst her work has been criticised for dichotomising gender and ignoring the influence of class and race, it is still considered to be most significant. Healy and Ryan’s (1975) analyses of female and male behaviour which are outlined on pp. 18-19 support Gilligan’s theory.

**Post-structuralism, Deconstruction and Discourses**

Post-structuralist theory is important to this study because it integrates the investigator’s ideas about reading texts. Post-structuralist theory advocates that a text does not have a single predetermined meaning. According to post-structuralists “all meaning resides in intertextuality, or the relationship of the text to past and future texts” (Merriam Webster 1995, p. 899). Davies states that “In post-structuralist theory the focus is on the way each person actively takes up discourses through which they and others speak/write the world into their own existence as if they were their own” (1993b, p.13).

Merriam Webster (1995) claims that deconstruction is an extension of the post-structuralist theory in that it allows for “multiple conflicting interpretations of a text and bases such interpretations on the philosophical, political, or social implications of language in the text rather than on the author’s intention” (p.309). Deconstruction
involves “taking apart the language in which authors make their claims” (p.309) to identify the dominant discourses and thereby expose the biases.

Gee (1990) defines a discourse as “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, valuing, and of acting that can can be used to identify oneself as member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’, or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’ ” (p.143). Although the investigator is not doing a discourse analysis of the texts, discourse is relevant to the study because the discourses of patriarchy and feminism are an integral part of the analyses of the qualitative findings.

Similarly, the discourses accessed by writers determine the way they portray gender. Cranny-Francis (1992) believes: “A text is engendered in that it semiotically constructs discourses of or about gender (such as patriarchy and feminism) and that it is produced and consumed (read, heard, viewed) within a set of discourses about gender ” (p.28). She sees significant differences between the texts of male and female authors: “Women and men do not have the same access to the texts in terms of practical experiences or the way they are positioned to feel about the value of what they have to say. The books they produce are different in style and subject content” (p.28). In this study the investigator identifies and compares the authors’ gender and their selection of genre in the CBC books.

The Impact of Discourse Patterns in Children’s Literature

Walkerdine (1990) and Davies (1993b) allege that it is through the storylines embedded in texts that young women and young men learn how to position themselves correctly inside the male/female dualism. Davies states that “Because story provides a substantial and detailed manifestation of the culture, it is through story that children can learn patterns of desire appropriate to their gender” (1993b, p.145). Walkerdine (1990) claims that critiques of children’s stories should not be concerned with how accurately the stories reflect the real world but should analyse the way in which books
enable children to discover different ways of positioning themselves as persons to the
texts they read.

Cranny-Francis (1992) stresses that gender is but one component of a paradigm
of positions an individual can use. Walkerdine (1990) is mindful of this also. She
claims young people can be very resistant to certain discourses given that some
discourses are more powerful and influential such as those practised by the peer group
and advertising. Walkerdine warns that presenting young people with non-gendered
texts will not mean that they systematically adopt that discourse. That would be
assuming young people are passive learners.

However, Meek (1988), and Gilbert (1988) found that the reading of gendered
texts by students does impact on the their writing. The latter notes: “We ‘write’ what
we ‘read’ ” (p.13). Girls’ writing is very closely linked with their reading as both are
learned cultural practices. Gilbert asserts that many of the texts girls read have
masculine discourse patterns which “serve the needs of a patriarchal society” (p.13).
Gilbert and Rowe (1989) have found that girls find it difficult to construct texts which
resist this conditioning. After critically examining texts for masculine discourse
patterns and looking at alternative non-stereotyped, non-gendered reading material,
girls still reverted to gender stereotyping in their own writing. Gilbert and Rowe
(1989) and Walkerdine (1990) advocate deconstruction of texts, using a critical literacy
approach, as the most constructive way of addressing gendered texts. This approach
involves critically examining the gendered nature of texts by identifying the dominant
discourses which underpin them.

Gilbert’s (1993a) statement: “Stories have a functional role in our culture: we
live a good deal of our lives on the power of various stories, and it is through stories
that we position ourselves in relation to others, and are ourselves positioned by the
stories of our culture” (p.3), denotes the importance of identifying the models for
gender construction which the books may transfer to students.
Review of Related Research Findings

The research of Reeder (1981) and Healy and Ryan (1975) provide important comparisons for the investigator’s analyses of the CBC award books. Their findings are discussed below and recent research on gender portrayal and gender stereotyping in children’s fiction is also reviewed.

Gender Portrayal in Children’s Literature

Stephanie Reeder’s (1981) study of Australian Book of the Year award winners from 1950-1981 focusses on 23 books at the reading levels of upper primary and secondary students. She examines the male and female role models presented to readers. Reeder asserts that the literature she studied “does not fully reflect the social development over the last thirty years with regard to sex-roles” (p.15). Adult occupations are strongly sex-stereotyped and females are confined to an unrealistic and narrow list of traditional roles, the major occupations being mother and housekeeper.

Reeder’s count of protagonists and central characters reveals a male/female ratio of 3:2. Female roles are in compliance with traditional stereotyped role models. Mothers are the nurturers and care givers and saddled with the responsibility for household chores and child minding. Males, however, appear as less stereotyped and are shown to be as supportive to the children as the females. However, males are very rarely portrayed as taking any responsibility for basic household chores and child minding. According to Reeder, fathers appear truer to life than “the stereotyped depiction of the mother as either ‘token woman’ or ‘nagging female’ ” (1981, p.14). The investigator believes it important to establish if this statement is still relevant for the CBC books published since 1981.
Peterson and Lach (1990) studied Hornbook booklists, which are primary resources used by American teachers when making book selections for students. Although data revealed "equity in terms of proportional representation of characters" they advised very cautious optimism in concluding stereotypes are being altogether eliminated from children’s books, or that at the near point in time such stereotypes will become non-existant" (p.195). They note that research on gender stereotyping literally comes to an end in the latter part of the seventies and that the call for reform also virtually ceases then (1990, p.186). They hypothesise that researchers might no longer be concerned with the problems of stereotyping because they believe it is no longer occurring in 1990. There appears to be a parallel with Australian research into stereotypes in children’s books because ERIC data base reveals there has been no major study after Reeder’s investigation in 1981.

Christian-Smith (1993) states that the issue of patriarchy is now the focus with American children’s literature researchers and several studies are currently investigating whether books nominated for the prestigious Caldecott Medal reflect a patriarchal society. Although Davies (1993a) and Gilbert (1988) view patriarchy as a major contributor to gendered reading practices, there is no evidence to suggest that Australian research is following this direction. In this study the issue of patriarchy is addressed in the qualitative analyses of the CBC books.

**Research on Gender Bias in School Reading Materials**

Research on gender bias in children’s fiction has focussed on school reading material. Healy and Ryan’s (1975) investigation of reading material used with middle primary grades in New South Wales school showed that male characters outnumbered females three to one. Female children were presented as passive, ignorant and dependent. They were less active, less creative, less self initiating, less knowledgeable and more oriented to domestic activity than male children. They also appeared as passive followers and onlookers; only active in the sense of responding to another’s leadership. Female children are in these ways the antitheses of male children.
The behaviour of male adults showed concern for needs of the wider community whilst females put families’ and friends’ needs before their own. These findings are consistent with Gilligan’s (1982) theory discussed on pp.13-14.

Healy and Ryan (1975) and Reeder (1981), reveal that occupations assigned to females are an extension of the mother’s nurturing and caring roles and are confined to a narrow list of traditional roles such as nursing and teaching. Reeder found the single career woman and the single mother did not exist and surmised that they “are waiting for the eighties to make their debut” (p.13). In both investigations males are also depicted in traditional male occupations. However, Healy and Ryan found 45 occupations were assigned to males compared with only 14 to females. One of the focus questions for this investigation is to establish whether the books reflect the changing roles of males and females in our present society. The frequency counts presented in Chapter 4 record the roles and occupations assigned to males and females in the CBC books from 1981-1993.

Gilbert and Rowe’s (1989) analysis of the Core Library (Holdaway, 1982), which is a literature based approach to reading, found pervasive stereotypes and gender bias. The 1987 edition of this library was found to be nearly identical, confirming Government reports discussed on p.9 which reveal that school texts discriminate against females and present unrealistic images of contemporary women and girls. Of the 42 books surveyed 14 were primarily about boys as opposed to five about girls. The ratio of male characters to female characters and the ratio of occupations ascribed to males and females were consistent with Healy and Ryan’s findings (1975).

The Schools Commission publication, Girls, School and Society (1975), bears out the above findings. It claims that male characters feature two to four times more frequently than female characters. Research undertaken ten years later reveals similar results. Anderson and Yip’s (1987) study of The Young Australia Readers series
(1966, 1980) found that the same gender stereotypes identified in the 1966 edition were present in the 1980 edition: occupational roles for women increased from two to three, whereas for males they increased from eight to nineteen. Freebody and Baker (1985) surveyed the reading schemes most widely used in Australian schools: (Endeavour, Mt Gravatt, Young Australia and Reading Rigby) and found the ratio of males to females in the stories was three to two, an improvement on earlier studies. However, males were found to initiate action more frequently and they dominated in conversation exchanges.

In sum, although the research on texts used for school reading programs shows that reading materials for children continue to be stereotyped and gender biased, research on Australian’s children’s literature is very limited, in that gender portrayal appears to have been ignored in recent years, despite the acknowledgement that stories play an important role in shaping children’s understanding of their culture.

**The Influence of Publishing Companies**

In order to reach children, a book must be accepted by a publisher. Dianne Cooper (1993), an Australian researcher, believes that publishers are largely profit driven, patriarchal hierarchies that sell gender roles and behaviours to children who acquire these vicariously through the literature they read. “The large, male dominated publishing houses are attracted to books which reproduce old meanings which in turn reproduce the existing power structures between males and females” (p.19). Cooper laments that “Small publishing enterprises which have attempted to present innovative literature or literature which represents a feminine world view - women’s knowledge - are silenced through acquisition, mergers or takeovers” (p.12).

This view is reinforced by the statement of the Children’s Publishing Director at Random House (Macleod, 1993): “Sexism of young male readers tends to make us
conservative in our choice of illustrations for book covers in the fiction list. (Girls will read books with a boy on the cover, but some boys still won’t pick up a book that has a girl on a cover, I’m afraid. After all this time!).

Spender (1978) also argues “Nearly all the books have male characters because the girls don’t mind reading about males, but the boys won’t read about females.” Conversely, studies by Johnson and Greenbaum (1983) and Rand (1995) found no significant gender differences in the books read by boys and girls, so it appears that the earlier views may no longer hold, whatever publishers think.

**Judging Criteria of the CBC**

Peterson and Lach’s (1990) suggestion, that educators assume the issues of gender bias and stereotyping have been addressed, may account for the silence about the CBC judging criteria. *Celebrate with Stories: The Children’s Book Council of Australia 1945-1995* (Smith and Hamilton, 1995), stresses that although the judging procedures have varied over the years, “the fundamental aim of selecting children’s books of high literary and artistic quality has remained the same” (p. 39). Fourteen years ago McVitty expressed concern that the CBC judges were “given no guidance as to what constitutes ‘literary merit’ other than this is somehow discovered, in judging fiction, upon consideration of plot, style and characterisation (1980, p.12).”

*The Awards Handbook* (Alderman, Bensemann, Goodman, Linning and Neary, 1995), attempts to be more explicit about literary merit: “The judges should assess entries for literary merit, including cohesiveness in significant literary elements, language chosen carefully for its appropriateness to the theme and style of the work with proper regard to the aesthetic qualities of language, and originality in the treatment of literary elements as they apply to the form of the work. Child appeal
should be taken into account. Judges should also consider book design, production and quality of printing and binding” (p.4). Even in these most recent publications, the CBC makes no reference to gender portrayal in the judging criteria for awards (see Appendix A).

Margot Hillel (1995, p.3) writing in Reading Time states that “The Awards Handbook - the judges’ ‘rulebook’ ... is revamped every two years, partly in response to the changing needs of the Awards themselves and people’s perceptions of what is needed in the field. This means, too, that the criteria by which we judge can also be revised, because, as some critics have pointed out, notions of literary excellence are relative to time and place and are thus influenced by cultural and societal values, and indeed by changing literary theories.”

However, the investigator’s examination of the CBC judges’ reports in Reading Time from 1981 through 1993 found that no reference was made to gender portrayal or related issues such as gender stereotyping of characters and sexist use of language. The publication of Stephanie Reeder’s (1981) article in Reading Time, in which she claims sex stereotyping in CBC award winning fiction is not an historical matter but a contemporary concern, elicited no response from the CBC in subsequent issues.

Personal communication with Judy Bensemann (1996), the CBC Awards Coordinator 1993-1994 and co-author of the current The Children’s Book Council of Australia Awards Handbook 1995, (Alderman, Bensemann, Goodman, Linning and Neary, 1995), confirmed that the issue of gender has at no time been a consideration for the judging criteria.

The gender balance of the judging panel is another significant issue which is not addressed by the CBC. Smith and Hamilton (1995) report that the CBC Branch in each State and Territory elects its own member. The eight judges serve for two years and an Awards Coordinator acts as the convening judge. The criteria for branch
selection includes: "recognised standing qualifications in the field of children's literature; wide and recent knowledge of children's literature; knowledge of illustration techniques, design, editing, printing and production processes" (p. 39).

Clearly, no reference is made to the gender balance of the judging panel. The gender of judges is an important consideration because, as discussed on pp. 15-16, males and females have access to different discourses which impact on the way they view what is read. Gary Crew, a successful writer of young adult fiction and a CBC award winner, has also raised the issue of gender equity on the CBC awards judging panel. Speaking at the Children's Book Council of Australia Third National Conference in Brisbane in 1996, Crew noted that the ratio of women to men was seven to one and insisted that the CBC should practise equity in gender representation (Matthews, 1996).

The CBC's failure to address gender issues in its judging criteria is regrettable, considering that Commonwealth Government reports and legislation for the past twenty years have stressed the responsibility of educators to scrutinize the texts to be used with students for gender imbalance. Many CBC judges have a teaching background, a point made on several occasions in Reading Time journals, which exacerbates the concern. The investigator believes it is most important to establish how far gender issues have influenced CBC awards because, despite Margot Hillel's (1995) comments that judging criteria are adapted to accommodate changing cultural values and literary theories, the CBC judges' reports over the last 15 years and the CBC publication, Celebrate with Stories, (Smith and Hamilton, 1995) do not support her claim.
Conclusion

The literature review is summarised below according to the three focus questions.

Do the books present males and females in equally positive ways? Recent studies of gender balance and stereotyping in children’s books reveal that these issues remain a contemporary concern. Children’s books do not present males and females in equally positive ways. Males still predominate as protagonists and central characters and they initiate action more frequently than females.

Do the books reflect the changing roles of males and females in our present society? Research shows that in children’s books the female continues to be portrayed as the homemaker and caregiver. The range of occupations assigned to females who work is very limited by comparison with career options for males. Children’s books do not reflect social reality because females now access a greater range of jobs and frequently combine a career with motherhood.

What role models for gender construction do the books impart to young readers? Kristeva’s paradigm (1981, 1986) of the women’s movement presents an innovative way of viewing gender construction in children’s books, whereas the patriarchal views of the male dominated publishing houses exemplify the existing power structures between males and females.

Government policy unequivocally states that curriculum must not trivialise or exclude females and advises that females should be represented in equally positive ways which reflect their changing roles in society. It is widely acknowledged that policies are often ignored and the CBC’s failure to address gender portrayal in its judging criteria illustrates this point.
CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Van Maanen (1984, p.256) states that qualitative research aims to “disclose” and “reveal” by answering the elementary qualitative question “What is going on here?”. Cronbach (1975) has differentiated the qualitative case study from other research designs by its “interpretation in context” approach. Van Maanen’s (1984) question provides the focus for this investigation which is to compare the portrayal of males and females in CBC award books from 1981 to 1993, using the texts as the frame of reference.

The Researcher’s Background, Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) state that behind the theory, method and analysis of the qualitative research process “Stands the personal biography of the gendered researcher who speaks from a particular class, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective” (p 11). This statement reflects the post-structuralist theory and is significant because it asserts that the way in which the investigator is socially situated influences the way the material being studied is read and viewed. Therefore the explicit positioning of the investigator is an important aspect of the research.

The investigator is an Australian female who has taught upper primary students in several independent girls’ schools. Her teaching practice has focussed on literacy and children’s literature and she is particularly interested in raising students’ consciousness about the gendered nature of texts and how they reflect the values and
inequalities of our society. She recently co-authored *Book Chat: A Book Club Model for the Classroom* (Clements and Godinho, 1994) which encourages children to think critically about what they have read. This approach is described in Chapter 6, pp.85-86. The investigator has been greatly influenced by feminist criticism of literature, particularly the work of Pam Gilbert, Bronwyn Davies and Valerie Walkerdine on the gendered constructions of femininity and masculinity and the powerlessness of females in literature for young readers.

**Methodology**

The investigator has used both qualitative and quantitative analyses in the study. Her approach has been influenced by Miles and Huberman (1984) who state that doing qualitative analyses of all data with the aid of numbers is a good way of seeing how robust insights are. They claim “There are three good reasons to resort to numbers: to see rapidly what you have in a large slice of data; to verify a hunch or hypothesis; and to keep yourself analytically honest, protecting against bias” (p.215).

Guba and Lincoln (1981, p.377) caution that case study narratives can oversimplify or exaggerate a situation, leading the reader to erroneous conclusions. Readers may think they are accounts of the whole when, in fact, they are one part. As Webb, Campbell, Schwartz & Sechrest (1966, p.3) claim: “Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more measurement processes, the uncertainty is greatly reduced.” In this study number frequency counts are therefore used to confirm the findings of data by textual analysis. The analysis will consequently be in two distinct sections.

The characteristics of the qualitative case study are well matched to the purpose of this investigation. Merriam (1988) outlines four characteristics which are essential
properties of a qualitative case study: particularistic, descriptive, heuristic and inductive. This investigation is particularistic because it focusses on a particular site, that is, the CBC award books from 1981 to 1993 in the Younger Reader and Older Reader categories. Merriam (1988, p.11) suggests "The case itself is important for what it reveals about the phenomenen and for what it might represent".

The investigator needs to look beyond the surface messages which frequency counts may reveal for the possible hidden messages which only careful examination of the texts may elicit. She is reliant upon descriptive analysis because, as Marshall and Ross (1989) claim, it is the "thick" description and detailed analysis that will reveal the "valuable explanations" and convey accuracy of meaning. Miles and Huberman (1984) confirm the value of "thick" description, stating: "Words, especially when they are organized in incidents or stories have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavour that often prove far more convincing to a reader - another researcher, a policy maker, a practitioner - than pages of numbers" (p.15). The numbers cannot reveal how a writer addresses an issue nor can they identify the hidden messages conveyed by the text. "Thick" description is essential for analyses of the texts with regard to the messages they may impart regarding gender construction.

The term heuristic is defined in the Macquarie Dictionary (1995) as "serving to find out; furthering investigation". In general, case studies are intended to elucidate the reader's understanding of the phenomenen under study. Stake (1981, p.47) suggests that "Previously unknown relationships and variables can be expected to emerge from case studies leading to a rethinking of the phenomenen being studied." This study is heuristic in that its purpose is to reveal the way gender is constructed in the CBC award books. This may lead teachers, in particular, to rethink the way they use these books with students.
The study is inductive because it focusses on specific books and by addressing the study’s three focus questions it seeks to make generalisations about the portrayal of gender in the CBC books.

Limitations of the Research

The limitations of the study’s parameters are identified below:

- The investigation is only attempting to analyse social changes which occurred between 1981 and 1993 in relation to Government policy on gender issues. The time frame is examined as a whole. A more detailed study would be needed to undertake a broader examination of social changes.

- The investigation does not attempt to make judgements of the literary merit of the books, which are only analysed with regard to the messages they impart regarding gender.

- The study is concerned with text and therefore does not include an examination of illustrations, with the exception of the book covers, which are examined only for the purpose of a frequency count of male and female representation.

- The books that are analysed are restricted to narrative fiction in which the central characters have continuity in the course of the story’s narration. The books which are excluded from the study are marked with an asterisk in Appendix B. Picture Book of the Year and Information Books are excluded from the investigation because in picture books the illustrations transmitted are often more powerful than the text and information books serve different purposes to narrative fiction. Both these categories would require different judging criteria.
Data Gathering Techniques

The investigator examined 66 of the CBC award books in the Younger Reader and Older Reader categories for the years 1981 to 1993 (see Appendix B for a list of the award and honour books used). The quantitative data is in the form of frequency counts which are used to support the qualitative analysis. The qualitative data collection is based on significant quotations taken from the texts which relate to the three focus questions.

Quantitative Data

The quantitative data collection adapts the model used by Healy and Ryan (1975) in *The Female Image - Sexism in Children's Books* for their content analysis of sexism in New South Wales primary level texts. Their selection of content to be analysed is based on criteria used in an American study of children’s books by Child, Potter and Levine (1946). The frequency counts on all the categories mentioned below are collated on Microsoft Excel spreadsheets.

- The gender of the figures appearing on the book covers is recorded to ascertain if males and females are equally represented.

- The gender of the author for each book is recorded as it may have some bearing on the models of gender construction imparted by the texts.

- The genre of each book is noted in order to establish whether a link between gender portrayal and genre exists. Saunders (1993, p.42) describes the term as “fuzzy” claiming: “ ‘Genre’ means simply, kind or type or sort” and states that “Genres reflect the techniques of production, distribution and consumption readily
available" (p.43). Nicholl and Roberts (1993) claim literature has been identified by genre, or type, for centuries. They claim the modern genres are not as distinctive as the traditional genres but still have certain characteristics “which children, with teacher guidance, will be able to identify for themselves once they have read and compared a number of different examples” (p.43). The investigator has established five distinct types or genres, both traditional and modern, to categorise the books: Aboriginal stories, animal stories, fantasy, historical fiction and social realism. The sixth category will include any book which does not fit the above categories.

- The gender of the books’ protagonists is identified and they are classed as adults or children. *The Oxford Dictionary* (1984) defines the protagonist as “the principal character in the plot of a story.” In most books one character is identified as the protagonist but in a few instances one character cannot be singled out and several protagonists are identified.

- The gender of the central characters is recorded. Central characters are those who have a significant role in the course of the story’s narration.

- The roles and occupations assigned to males and females are noted. Role is defined in the *Oxford Dictionary* (1984) as “the part which a character undertakes, assumes or has to play”. A role does not involve remuneration given for responsibilities taken or duties performed. Conversely, occupations are defined as paid employment. For instance, if a female is an unpaid housekeeper for her family, housekeeping is defined as a role, but paid housekeeping is described as an occupation. Roles and occupations are not restricted to the protagonists and the central characters as this is thought to be insufficient to indicate the books’ overall portrayal of males and females.
The behaviour of the protagonists and central characters is recorded. The data on the behaviour of the protagonists and the central characters is collected with consideration to the four basic points of distinction between male and female behaviour as outlined by Healy and Ryan (1975, p.3): role type (active or passive); role direction (self, inner or outer directed); role orientation (initiator/creator or follower/directed); and role knowledge (possessor of skills, giver of knowledge, seeker of knowledge, or ignorant and/or disinterested in acquiring knowledge). The investigator has used the first three of Healy and Ryan's four basic distinctions of behaviour, because they are the most relevant to this study.

1. **Role type**: The behaviour of the protagonists and central characters was classified as either **active** or **passive** and each type was divided into subcategories.

   Active behaviour is that which can be described as:

   - **Exploratory** when it involves the exploration of a situation or subject,
   - **Directive** when it involves the direction of others' activities,
   - **Aimless** when it involves activity not directed at a specific purpose,
   - **Constructive** when it involves the making or building of things, solving problems or helping others,
   - **Destructive** when it portrays behaviour as actively anti-social or harmful to others, for example bullying.

   Passive behaviour can be described as:
Plain passive when the character does not actively participate in or contribute to the situation and may not be attributed any feelings or opinions,

Acquiescent passive when the character consciously acquiesces to other dominant forces and waits for direction to be given.

2. Role direction: These roles are divided into the following subcategories:

   Inner-directed behaviour occurs within or is directed towards the needs and interests of the primary groups such as the family or intimate friendship group.

   Self-directed behaviour is directed towards self-interest, either selfishly or unselfishly.

   Outer-directed behaviour is directed towards the needs and interests of the wider community.

3. Role orientation: This classifies characters as initiators of action or followers, i.e. those who wait for others to give direction:

   Initiator/Creator describes the behaviour of the character as self initiated and involving leading or directing others.

   Follower/Directed describes the behaviour of the character as primarily a response to another’s commands or suggestions and self determination is not evident.

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data for this study consists of significant quotations from the CBC award books from 1981 to 1993 which are stored on Microsoft Word files. This material focusses on the three basic questions for the investigation and the subheadings
set out below provide a guide for categorising the quotations used in the analysis in Chapter 5. For the third question, only books categorised within the social realism genre are analysed. The investigator believes that children clearly distinguish between social realism and fantasy and that characters in real life situations are more likely to be viewed as role models by young readers.

1. **Do the books present males and females in equally positive ways?**

   Females as helpers of men in the male sphere

   The Female’s access to power

   Gendered positions in personal relationships

2. **Do the books reflect the changing roles of males and females in our present Society?**

   Domestic chores: female and/or male responsibility

   Food preparation: male and/or female domain

   Views of female occupations and roles

   A woman’s place is with her children

3. **What role models for gender construction do the books impart to young readers?**

   Female role models
Male role models

Evidence of gender stereotyping

Solutions for achieving gender equality

Data Analysis

Quantitative Data

In some instances, raw scores are converted to percentages to facilitate comparisons between males and females. The investigator uses frequency counts from the Microsoft Excel spreadsheets referred to on p.29, which are then converted to bar graph or table format.

When analysing the behaviour of male and female central characters, the investigator includes protagonists in the counts, given that protagonists are also considered as central characters.

Comparisons are drawn between the investigator's findings and those of similar studies such as Healy and Ryan (1975), Reeder (1981) and Gilbert and Rowe (1989). Information printed in The Australian Bureau of Statistics 1991 Census of Population and Housing, State Comparison Series (1993) provides a relevant hierarchical categorisation of occupations assigned to the males and females in the books examined. It also provides a yardstick for evaluating whether the books reflect current social reality with respect to employment of males and females in the workforce.
Qualitative Data

Significant quotations from 22 of the 66 books are used for the investigator’s analysis (see Appendix B). The discussion of the findings concentrates on these particular books as they best convey messages which relate most closely to the three focus questions. A summary of the findings is presented at the end of each question.

Discussion

This study examines gender portrayal, particularly as it relates to Government policies, in the CBC books from 1981 - 1993. Only narrative fiction books are analysed and the time frame is analysed as a whole. The qualitative analysis, reinforced by quantitative analysis, is considered to be the most appropriate method for examining the texts in this study. This enables the investigator to examine both surface features and the more subtle messages in the texts.

The quantitative data model, based on Healy and Ryan’s (1975) model, consists of frequency counts of the roles, occupations and behaviour of male and female central characters. These are compared with the results of the in depth analysis of the relative positions and interactions of males and females in selected texts.

In conclusion the investigator relates the CBC award books from 1981 - 1993 to Kristeva’s (1981, 1986) three tiered schema of the feminist movement, and assesses whether the books follow the Government policy guidelines for teachers with regard to achieving gender equity. Her overall results form a basis for discussion of the implications for CBC judges and teachers, and the directions future research might take.
CHAPTER 4

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: FREQUENCY COUNTS

The findings of the frequency counts conducted on CBC award books from 1981 to 1993 are presented in this chapter. These findings are limited to the categories set out below and defined in the Design of the Study, Chapter 3, pp.29-31, and are compared to the findings of similar studies such as those undertaken by Healy and Ryan (1975), Reeder (1981) and Gilbert and Rowe (1989). These quantitative findings will help validate the more in depth qualitative analysis presented in Chapter 5.

The findings presented in this chapter concern the following categories:

- gender identification of figures appearing on the book covers;

- genres of books and gender of authors;

- gender identificaton of protagonists and central characters;

- roles assigned to females and males;

- occupations assigned to females and males; and

- role behaviour of female and male central characters.
Gender Identification of Figures Appearing on the Book Covers

A frequency count of the number of times males and females featured on the CBC award book covers discloses a slightly higher number of females - 54 females and 52 males. When ascertaining the number of males and females who appear in the foreground on the book covers the investigator found that gender equity is achieved with a count of 50 males and 50 females.

The investigator has not found reference to any previous count with which she could compare these results. The findings do not appear consistent with comments made by Mark Mcleod (1993), Children’s Publishing Director at Random House, about boys not reading books with girls on the cover. These comments are recorded in Chapter 2, pp.20-21.

Genres of Books and Gender of Authors

Table 1
The Gender of Authors and Book Genres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of Genre</th>
<th>No. of Female Authors</th>
<th>% Choice of Female Authors</th>
<th>No. of Male Authors</th>
<th>% Choice of Male Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Story</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Realism</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 indicates that female authors have received more than twice the number of CBC awards as male authors. Taking this into consideration, there are not significant differences between the male and female authors’ choice of genre, with the exception of the fantasy genre. Female authors favour the fantasy genre slightly more than males.

Overall, the animal genre is the least popular, which is not consistent with Gilbert and Rowe’s (1989) analysis of *The Storybox Reading Program* (Melsor, 1984) readers in which nearly half the books featured animals and half were exclusively about animals. Social realism is the most popular with authors of both sexes and this is consistent with a comment made by Walter McVitty (1993) that if a book is to be considered for a CBC award the genre should be social realism.

**Gender Identification of Protagonists and Central Characters**

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Protagonist Nos.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Central Character Nos.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of the counts of protagonists and central characters are found in Table 2. The overall result shows there are 12% more male protagonists than females and 10% more male central characters than females. This result shows less gender bias than the figures presented by Gilbert and Rowe’s (1989) analysis of 42 books from The *Core*
Library (Holdaway, 1982). Gilbert and Rowe stated that “In the case of protagonists, animals, total characters, or almost any combination, the ‘3:1’ rule seems to apply; that is, there are about three males to each female” (1989, p.40).

Table 3
Gender Groupings of Protagonists and Central Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Female Count</th>
<th>Male Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Characters</th>
<th>Female Count</th>
<th>Male Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows that in the CBC award books animals categorised as main characters or protagonists are exclusively male. Gilbert and Rowe’s (1989) analyses of both the Core Library and The Storybox Reading Program found that the gender of animals was predominantly male. The investigator is also reminded of Mem Fox’s (1986) claim that she made a conscious decision to assign female gender to her animals because in children’s texts animals were frequently portrayed as males.
The investigator’s breakdown of protagonists into child and adult categories shows some similarities with Gilbert and Rowe’s (1989) results. Of the adult protagonists, seven are males and three are females, affirming Gilbert and Rowe’s claim that “of adult protagonists, there are twice as many men as women” (p.32). Yet as Table 3 reveals, very few CBC award books feature adults as protagonists. A count of child protagonists shows that the male-female ratio is equal. By contrast Gilbert and Rowe’s Storybox analysis found girls to have the edge, with 13 girl protagonists and 10 boy protagonists. In the present study, overall, 44% of protagonists are female and 56% are male. This result differs notably from Healy and Ryan’s (1975) earlier study of school reading material which showed 26% of protagonists to be female and 74% male.

The investigator found there were 10% more male central characters than female. However, the counts cannot be compared to the studies of Healy and Ryan (1975) and Gilbert and Rowe (1989) because their counts included all the characters in the books.

Gilbert and Rowe did note that 11 of the books surveyed for The Storybox analysis had exclusively male characters compared to four with exclusively female characters. The results of the present survey are more equitable. In five of the 66 books examined the counts of protagonists and central characters are gender exclusive: two books are male exclusive and three books are female exclusive. No book is gender exclusive if all characters are taken into consideration.

Roles Assigned to Females and Males

Reeder’s (1981) investigation of CBC award books from 1950 to 1980 found that “the overwhelming picture conveyed is that a women’s place is in the home. The major occupation (role) of the central female character was as mother and housekeeper (p.14). This is consistent with the investigator’s count which shows females to be more
frequently assigned family roles. An overall count of family roles found in Appendix C shows that 92 females are assigned family roles compared with 69 males. Conversely, females are assigned one third fewer non-family roles than males. Only 13 non-family roles are gender inclusive. Fantasy roles, which relied on the story’s context for relevance, were excluded in the counts.

**Occupations Assigned to Females and Males**

Table 4 shows the results of the investigator’s counts of the occupations categorised according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Commonwealth of Australia, 1993) listings, whose complete list of male and female occupations can be found in Appendix D.

**Table 4**

**Occupations Assigned to Females and Males**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Categories</th>
<th>No. of Females</th>
<th>No. of Sub Categories</th>
<th>No. of Males</th>
<th>No. of Sub Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managerial/Administration</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para Professional</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesperson</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales &amp; Personnel</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant &amp; Machinery Operators</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers &amp; Related Jobs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>184</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The investigator’s counts of occupations ascribed to males and females are consistent with the findings of Gilbert and Rowe’s (1989) analysis of *The Storybox*
Reading Program (Melsor, 1984) and Core Library (Holdaway, 1982) which showed that more than twice as many contemporary occupations were identified with males than with females. Healy and Ryan (1975) also found females poorly represented in the work-force; their figures were even more divergent, identifying 14 females with contemporary occupations compared with 71 males.

It was thought the books would show a significant increase in female representation in the work-force, reflecting present social reality. However, only 18 of the 77 females identified as central characters combined a family role with employment outside the home. The count was limited to books classified by the investigator as socially realistic. Books in which the predominant setting was fantasised, such as The Dragon of Mith (Walker, 1989), Merryll of the Stones (Caswell, 1989) and The Farseekers (Carmody, 1990) were excluded because the roles and occupations assigned to the characters are not true in real life situations, for example, a queen in a time slip, a barrier comber in an alien territory, and a spellmaster in an ancient Welsh kingdom. The investigator’s count is inconsistent with information released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994) which stated that between 1973 and 1993 the female labour force participation rate had increased to 51% (1994, p.106). Furthermore, according to Summers (1994), mothers in the workforce who had children under 12 had by then increased to 63%.

Females are poorly represented compared with males in every occupational category except the sales and personnel and the clerk categories, both of which are closely identified with menial positions. The investigator’s findings affirm Gilbert and Rowe’s statement that “Men are shown in an overwhelmingly greater variety and number of roles or occupations” (1989, p.32).
Role Behaviour of Female and Male Central Characters

Although the gender demarcation of occupations and roles found in the books is of interest, it is the behavioural patterns of the central characters which may more forcefully impact on a reader’s gender construction. Christian-Smith suggests that “Popular fiction often confirms conventional femininities that carefully circumscribe women’s possibilities” (1993, pp.45-46).

Active Behaviour of Female and Male Central Characters

Overall 72% of the female characters and 90% of the male characters are categorised as active in their behaviour. The analysis of active behaviour presented in Figure 1 shows the only significant difference between female and male behaviour is in the destructive category with 11% more males than females demonstrating destructive behaviour. The other categories are separable by a mere one to three percent.

**Figure 1.** Active behaviour of female and male central characters
Figure 2. Passive behaviour of female and male central characters

Whilst the plain passive behaviour of females and males was separable by only one percent, 15% more females than males demonstrated acquiescent passive behaviour. This suggests the females’ reluctance to take the initiative in decision making and is consistent with the social reality of our times, in which males have greater access to leadership roles and to power.

Healy and Ryan’s (1975) findings showed that 60% of female characters were ascribed active behaviour and 40% passive behaviour as opposed to 82% of the male characters who showed active behaviour and only 18% who showed passive behaviour. Conversely, the investigator found that a higher percentage of both females and males demonstrate active rather than passive behaviour.

Role Direction of Female and Male Central Characters

Role direction percentages of male and female characters in this study (see Figure 3) show that 58% of female central characters have inner-directed behaviour
compared with 35% of males. Carol Gilligan’s (1982, 1988) conclusions, discussed in Chapter 2, pp.13-14 indicate that females are more often identified with inner-directed behaviour, a term which refers to care orientated behaviour, focussing on the interpersonal network. Conversely, more males are identified with outer-directed behaviour, which refers to behaviour directed at the needs of the wider community, than females. Only 13% of females, compared with 27% of males, are assigned outer-directed behaviour. This is consistent with Gilligan’s claim that males are more likely to be concerned with upholding principles than focussing on interpersonal relationships. Male characters, as evidenced in the counts of occupations, have more involvement with the outside world and this too may account for the gender differences in role direction behaviour. Females’ closer links with the home environment provide more opportunities for them to help and care for others. It is therefore consistent that females are more frequently associated with inner-directed behaviour and less often with outer-directed behaviour than males.

Figure 3. Role direction of female and male central characters
Male characters in the award books show a greater tendency than females to be self-directed. The results support Gilligan’s assertion that maintaining relationships and interpersonal networks can involve self-sacrificing behaviour on the female’s part. Male characters are freer to pursue directions of their own choice as they are not shackled with the responsibilities of chief care provider. The findings in this category of behaviour show the most distinct differences in male and female behaviour of any category in the present study.

Role Orientation of Female and Male Central Characters

The investigator found that male characters are more frequently identified as self-initiators of action and less frequently identified as following the lead of others than females, as indicated in Figure 4. This is consistent with Healy and Ryan’s (1975) investigation which found that 42% of female child characters demonstrated self-initiating behaviour compared with 69% of the male children.

![Role Orientation Graph](image)

**Figure 4.** Role orientation of female and male central characters
These findings are consistent with the analyses of passive behaviour (see Figure 2, p.43) in which females show a greater tendency than males to acquiesce and be led by others.

Summary of Quantitative Analyses

The investigator’s quantitative findings generally reveal a more equitable representation of male and female protagonists and central characters than were found in earlier studies. However, the stereotyping of occupations and roles assigned to males and females which predominate in the earlier studies are still prevalent in the CBC award books of 1981-1993.

Key Findings:

- The only quantitative count which is gender equitable is the representation of males and females in foreground positions on the book cover illustrations.

- The gender of protagonists and central characters still show a male gender bias. However, the gender balance has improved significantly in this study compared with earlier ones, with the exception of animal counts, which are exclusively male.

- Females are closely identified with family roles and only a small minority of female protagonists and central characters have employment outside the home environment. Twice as many males as females are assigned occupations and males dominate in the majority of employment categories.

- Role direction counts affirm Gilligan’s (1982, 1988) findings that females were more closely identified with inner-directed behaviour which focusses on the needs and interests of the family or intimate friendship group. Conversely, she found that
males had a greater inclination to outer-directed behaviour, that is, behaviour
directed towards the needs and interests of the general community.

- Males tend to be the initiators of action and females the followers. Similarly,
  females demonstrate a significantly higher level of acquiescent passive behaviour
  than males.

Despite the preponderance of female authors the counts do not show sympathy
with the females’ gendered position and their struggle for recognition outside the home
environment. However, as Gilbert and Rowe (1989) claim, the mere counting of
female characters tells us about their visibility in the texts, but little else.
CHAPTER 5

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: EXAMINATION OF SELECTED TEXTS

Chapter 5 examines a selection of texts from the books judged by the CBC as award winners from 1981-1993. The examination concentrates on 26 texts (see list p.113) that have particular relevance to the investigator’s three focus questions, which form the headings for this chapter.

Do the Books Present Males and Females in Equally Positive Ways?

Females as “Helpers of Men in the Male Sphere”

The above quotation is from Davies (1989, p.138) and describes the way females support and assist males to retain their positions of power. The examination of CBC books clearly affirms this notion.

Merryl of the Stones (Caswell, 1989) and The Farseekers (Carmody, 1990) present the only instances in all of the 66 books, examined overall, where female protagonists are clearly portrayed as having some notable power. Both protagonists achieve this by virtue of special gifts or abilities which they have inherited and these gifts are used either to maintain or restore order to the patriarchal society in which they live. Apart from the female protagonists, the central characters in both books are predominantly male and neither of the heroines initiates the action which supports the central plot.
Merrill of the Stones (Caswell, 1989) demonstrates a time slip in which the protagonist is known as Megan in the present day and as Merrill in the ancient Welsh kingdom. After successfully fighting her father’s cruel successor, Merrill gained a position of power as ruler of the kingdom and peace keeper. However, she was to live a lonely life, predestined not to marry. Merrill had no female company as other positions of power were held exclusively by men. The sexist nature of the kingdom is particularly evident in the way Iestyn, Merrill’s father, addressed her: “Iestyn rarely spoke his daughter’s name aloud. She was usually ‘the woman’, ‘girl’ or ‘my daughter’ as befitted her position as a woman” (Caswell, 1989, p.4).

The Farseekers (Carmody, 1990) is a novel set in the future. The role of Elspeth, the protagonist, was ultimately to destroy the machines which created the Great White, a powerful substance which had destroyed the Earth. In doing so she would help Rushdon, the community ruler, maintain his position of power and authority. Although Elspeth had remarkable mind reading abilities and headed the most powerful Guild, she was answerable to and dependent upon Rushdon, claiming “for though Obernewtyn ran smoothly even in his absence, I never felt as safe as when he was there” (Carmody, 1990, p.14).

Kelleher’s book, Master of the Grove (1982), also epitomises females as “helpers of men in the male sphere” (Davies 1989, p.138) who willingly subordinate themselves to male authority. The central characters are Marna, the elderly witch woman, and Asti, the young witch girl trained by Obin who was the tenth member of the Circle and famed for his wisdom and great powers. The two females accompanied Derin on his quest to find his father, Ardelan. Although Derin initiated the journey, the success of his mission depended on the help Marna and Asti gave him. For example, Asti saved Derin from certain death when soldiers invaded the cave.

Derin openly acknowledged Marna’s vital “helper” role in defeating the evil Krob:
...he understood everything: the reason for their arduous journey; the necessity for the elaborate web of lies and half-truths which Marna had spun so skilfully; the secret purpose which had persuaded her to blot out his memory of the past - her sole intention not to use or bewilder him, but rather to protect them both from the watchful, probing eye of Krob (Kelleher, 1982, pp.172-173).

Marna personally affirmed her role as the “helper” when Derin asked her to remain with him as he set forth on his journey across the uplands because he needed someone “who is steeped in the knowledge of the Witch People” (Kelleher, 1982, p.182). Marna clearly saw it as her duty to be selfless and continue in the role of helper, although she admitted that she had done “more travelling recently than my old bones can bear” (1982, p. 183).

The female “helper” role was also demonstrated in the Junior Book of the Year, *Bernice Knows Best* (Dann, 1983). Bernice was introduced as a confident, assertive female who initiated action:

She wasn’t scared. She didn’t need helmets, or a padded suit, or any of that stuff.

“You wouldn’t like me,” said Hugh, “I’m accident-prone.”

“Who says?”

“Everybody.”

She shook his hand then and said, “Well, you’re in luck, Pugh.”

“It’s Hugh.”

“Because accident-prone is my business” (Dann, 1983, pages not numbered.).

Bernice continued to suggest creative cures for Hugh’s accident proneness. Nevertheless, it was Hugh who by default entered the mountain bicycle race, emerging as the winner and the hero of the day. Bernice was simply relegated to the background and barely acknowledged. She appeared to accept that as a female “helper” her position was rightfully in the shadow of Hugh when he became successful.
The Challenge to the Female’s Right to Access Power

In the books examined the appropriateness of a female acquiring power is questioned. Conversely, when a male attains a position of power he can be judged as a felicitous choice for the job. Females are portrayed as having self doubts about their ability to manage power. They also question the concept of power and whether it is the direction they want to pursue. There is no evidence in the books to suggest that males experience similar feelings of self doubt.

Gruffydd, the Spellmaster in Merryll of the Stones (Caswell, 1989) saw Merryll as vulnerable by virtue of her sex and the power vested in her as queen: “She [Merryll] was so young. And he [the Spellmaster] knew the doubts that dogged her waking hours. She feared victory almost as much as defeat; the responsibilities of power, the decisions. A heavy yoke for such light shoulders” (p.206). The dying words of Merryll’s father, Iestyn had been “Trust in Gruffydd” (p.93). His advice to his daughter implied that as a female Merryll was not strongminded enough to assume the responsibility of ruling the kingdom without the support of a male.

Megan, Merryll’s twentieth century persona, did not disagree when Emlyn, her confidant and friend, suggested that her sex would be a disadvantage and would make her less effective as a ruler:

“You wouldn’t make a good queen, Meg.”
“And why not?” Already she knew what his answer would be. She had pondered the subject often enough herself.
“Not strong enough are you? Not enough of a cruel streak in you, is there? A queen rules, girl. That means making the decisions.”
“Even a queen takes advice, Em.” There was no real confidence in her argument ...“I don’t want to control anyone! I just want to ...”
“Rule?” Em jumped in. “To rule is to control. It’s not possible to separate the two. If you assume power you have to be prepared to use it. No threat, no control. And no queen” (Caswell, 1989 pp.181-192).

Females such as Merryll in *Merryl of the Stones* (Caswell, 1989) and Elspeth in *The Farseekers* (Carmody, 1990) questioned the notion of power and shrank from the trust bestowed upon them in a way unobserved in male protagonists. When Merryll had fulfilled her role as helper and saviour of her people she said to Gruffydd, her adviser: “‘Power is a disease. I guess I just never caught it ... I really am two people. And the other me has more to live for’ ” (Caswell, 1989, pp.245-246). In *The Farseekers*, Elspeth’s statement: “‘People who want power to control other people’s lives. There would be always be people like that’ ” (Carmody, 1990, p.250) expresses her negative view of power and a lack of ambition to acquire it. Likewise Elspeth showed some reluctance to fulfil the responsibility entrusted to her and ensure the machines which made the Giant White were not resurrected. When Atthis told her she was destined to cross paths with a Destroyer who also wanted access to the machines for destructive purposes Elspeth said: “I felt sick. I wanted to tell myself that it was ridiculous, that I must be dreaming, that prophesies belonged to stories ....‘Why does it have to be me?’ I asked. ‘Don’t I have any choice?’ ” (p.281).

Although both Elspeth and Merryll have gained access to power, they attest Davies’ notion that the “Majority of women feel quite ambivalent about power, and it is something they often claim they do not want. Power remains fundamentally contradictory to the *idea* and the idealisation of the idea of being female” (1989b, p.71).

**Gendered Positions in Personal Relationships**

With regard to personal relationships, the females in the books are generally bound by traditional gendered positions or “patterns of desire” (Davies, 1993a, p.145). The females’ desire to be protected and nurtured by males in the traditional sense is
most apparent in the award books. In *Merril of the Stones* (Caswell, 1989) Merril acknowledged that Emlyn “was never far from her thoughts, never recalled without a small ache in her heart. No one had touched her feelings more deeply. No one in either of her worlds had seemed so real, meant quite as much, understood her feelings as well” (pp.178 -179). It was for Emlyn that she returned to the twentieth century because she could not continue in her role as Queen without his presence: “I am really two people. And the other me has more to live for” (p.246).

When Rushton invited Elspeth of *The Farseekers* (Carmody, 1990) to dance the reader is left with the impression that Rushton may well determine the direction her life will take: “I stared at him, astonished. I had never seen Rushton dance, and I did not dance. I opened my mouth to say so, but the words died on my lips ....‘I have always fought for what I want,’ Rushton said with calm determination” (p.323). Elspeth’s claim that “My life did not belong to me until I had fulfilled my vow to destroy the weapon machines” (p.322) was weakened by this final exchange, leaving the reader with the impression that Rushton would determine the course of events in the future and consequently her life would never really be her own.

Patterns of desire associated with female gender are also found in *Thunderwith* (Hathorn, 1989). Gladwyn, a central female character, is left to mind the remote farm in Wallingat Forest with her four young children and her step daughter, Lara, whilst her husband, Larry, heads north to collect some overdue money. Lara has recently arrived from the city following the death of her mother, Cheryl. Both Gladwyn and Cheryl, Larry’s former wife, are portrayed as forceful, strong willed characters yet they idealise the male role as protector and provider. Gladwyn, Larry’s seemingly tough, resilient wife claimed he was: “the first thing in my life since childhood that I found I could love” (p.180). And Cheryl, his former wife, expressed regret about leaving Larry, *the Man*. She assured Lara: “‘We’ll find him now .... You won’t just meet the Man. .... You’ll get to love him, be his daughter. He’s a beautiful person, Lara’ ”

54
(p.10). Despite their attitudes of confidence the story does little to justify the females’
dependence upon Larry, given that his absence is more notable than his presence.

Central female characters in the books convey the message that while females
wield power they must remain single. Although the reader may doubt the conviction of
Elspeth’s statement in *The Farseekers* (Carmody, 1990) she nevertheless, on several
occasions, stated that she was prepared to sacrifice her personal feelings for Rushton
until she had completed her mission to destroy the machines which spawned the Great
White. The historical protagonist of *Merryl of the Stones* (Caswell, 1989) was
destined to remain single: “For twenty years, she ruled in peace, with no one to oppose
her will, and when she died, unwedded, all the Power of Old One’s Gift died with her”
(p.111). The implication is that power rightfully belongs with the male and when a
female assumes power the natural order of events is destroyed. Merryl, however,
decided to forsake history and was prepared to sacrifice her power as Queen for
Emlyn.

In *The True Story of Lilli Stubeck* (Aldridge, 1984), Miss Dalgleish had power
by right of her inherited wealth which allowed her to make decisions and choices not
accessible to others during the years of the depression. She had paid Lilli’s parents the
sum of thirty pounds so that Lilli would come and live with her. “It was her connection
with European culture that really set her apart from the rest of us” (p.25). However,
Miss Dalgleish’s position of power through wealth denied her access to an intimate
relationship with a male in the small country town in which she lived.

Dr Betty Harris, a central character in *Little Brother* (Baillie, 1985), was a
doctor in a refugee camp on the Thai border. Dr Harris obviously cared deeply for
children and understood their needs. Yet when Vithy, the young Cambodian refugee
whom she befriended in the camp, asked about her family she replied: “‘You mean
husband and kids? No, too much trouble. But I am not looking forward to going back
to that empty house’” (p.124). In *All We Know* (French, 1986) the mother of the
protagonist, Arkie, told her daughter that her marriage to Arkie’s father had failed because: ‘He wanted me to be at home, and I wanted to work. I’d trained for four years to be a teacher, and I’d trained as a musician for most of my life. I couldn’t give that away’ ” (p.216). Although she had since married Michael, a sympathetic teaching colleague, there was still strong disapproval expressed by Arkie’s grandmother regarding her daughter combining the role of mother and a career.

These books suggest to readers that a successful career and a family are not compatible for a woman but conversely, no male makes a sacrifice of this nature. Male adult central characters identified as having successful careers and not precluded from having meaningful relationships with female partners and a family include Percival Willoughby, an executive with a merchant bank in *Toby’s Millions* (Lurie, 1982) and Geoff Trethewan, a project manager, in *Beyond the Labyrinth* (Rubinstein, 1988a).

**Female Reliance on a Male Supportive Role**

Females without a male partner are often portrayed as vulnerable and not coping adequately. In *A Long Way to Tipperary* (Gough, 1992) Mrs Featherstonhaugh-Beauchamp (hereafter referred to Mrs FB) and her fellow travellers, all females with the exception of her son, were in a state of despair as they alighted from a train at a remote railway siding in Queensland. Salvation arrived when Smithy, a returned soldier who had been gassed at Pozieres, suddenly appeared in his Ford motor car.

Smithy looked at their dejected figures and suddenly he felt energetic and protective .... In no time at all he had a good campfire going and a metal tripod and camp oven swinging above it. The tarpaulin, rigged securely across a low-lying branch, was turned into a sizeable tent .... Smithy turned dinner into a three-ring circus. He juggled a tin of golden syrup, a billy can and three potatoes. He broke eggs into his old army helmet, poured in flour and water and abracadabra! out came a perfectly cooked damper (Gough, 1992, p.43-44).
Under the leadership of Mrs FB, the travellers had combined their skills and formed a troupe called the Ragtime Rovers which would tour outback towns. This would serve the dual purpose of providing them with an income and keeping their various pursuers at bay. The story ended with all the adult women having a male partner and protector. The troupe was disbanded and the adult females assumed positions of subservience, complementary to and supportive of male power. The message again being conveyed to the reader is that female initiative and employment outside the home is incompatible with family life and their duties as caregivers.

In *Change the Locks* (French, 1991) Steven’s mother was in a depressed state after the father of her infant son, Dylan, left home. Steven, her elder son, despaired of his mother’s ability to cope, commenting on “a growing pile of smelly washing in the laundry and a sinkload of cups and plates in the kitchen” (p.31). Even worse was her neglect of Dylan, with Steven taking considerable responsibility for the baby’s well being: “‘She forgot you again, didn’t she?’ I whispered, and put him into a dry nappy and warmer clothes. ‘Slack old mum’” (pp.15-16). When Steven’s mother befriended Neil, a divorcee who had bought the old school house, their lives started to improve as he adopted a protective and supportive role. Neil, in contrast to Steven’s mother, was coping most successfully with separation from his marital partner.

Similarly, in *Looking for Alibrandi* (Marchetta, 1992) there were memorable instances when females accepted and relied on male support and power. Josephine, the female protagonist, found herself in an awkward situation, having hit a classmate with a science book for calling her a “wog”. It was her estranged father whom she telephoned for help. Josephine knew the backing of a male, plus the authority of his legal background, would place her in a stronger position than the presence of her mother, who was a single parent and a mere secretary.

Nonna, Josephine’s grandmother, despite cruel treatment from her husband, still respected male authority. She told Josephine that she could not leave her husband
to marry the father of her child, Marcus Sandford, whom she desperately loved because: "I was still an Italian girl in my heart and I could not disgrace Francesco" (p.223). Consequently, Nonna remained in her husband's power and was subject to his cruel abuse until his death. When Christina, Nonna's daughter and Josephine's mother, became pregnant, Nonna said:

"If I could have carried her on my back for nine months I would have. But he looked at me wit so much hate and I knew if I tried to help her he would ruin her life. So I said 'Yes, Francisco. Anything you say, Francesco.' When she did something while she was growing up that he didn't like I would say 'Yes, Francesco. She is wrong, Francesco'" (Marchetta, 1992, pp.225-226).

The texts of the books categorised within the social realism genre demonstrate repeatedly that males and females are not presented in equally valued ways. As Davies has stated: "The girl is portrayed as only achieving through the encouragement of the male, and the boy as an adult male through the supportive work of the female" (1988, p.22). Females are constituted as being dependent on male protection and support. The females who ultimately achieve power and independence do so at the expense of personal relationships, a sacrifice not required of males.

**Do the Books Reflect the Changing Roles of Males and Females in our Present Society?**

The findings of the examination of the texts are organized under the following subheadings:

- Domestic Chores are the Responsibility of Females;
- Food Preparation is the Female's domain;
- A Woman's Place is with her Children; and
• The Trivialisation of Female Roles and Occupations.

The books examined for this question were limited to those categorised within the social realism genre, books which in some aspects reflect the reality of our times.

**Domestic Chores are the Responsibility of Females**

In these books women are still depicted as the homemakers and care givers which may lead girls to see "the mother as the only powerful position which they can legitimately claim" (Davies, 1989b, p.78). Chris Trethewan in *Beyond the Labyrinth* (Rubinstein, 1988a) was a skilled dressmaker, cook, weaver, gardener and goat breeder. She was totally content with her homemaker role and did not want to return to nursing, her occupation before marriage. Her artistic talents were focussed on creating the type of home setting which might feature in a stylish magazine. Her niece, Vicky, reflected that even "The lasagna looks artistic ... but then everything in Chris Trethewan’s house does" (p.45).

The gratitude Chris Trethewan showed at being given a dishwasher for Christmas was testimony to her acceptance that she was ultimately responsible for the household chores. Yet washing up was a shared responsibility in the household and by rights the dishwasher should have been a gift to all of them.

The books instil the idea that keeping the house in a pristine condition is a female duty and responsibility. Seymour, the young boy in *Came Back to Show You I Could Fly* (Klein, 1989), noted that Thelma, his mother’s friend, had a kitchen in which, "there was a place for everything and everything in its rightful place. .... The room was spotlessly tidy and so was Thelma, as though she’d slept perfectly flat on her back all night" (p.2). Even her “back garden reflected the immaculate tidiness of the house” (p.3). When Seymour visited Angie’s mother’s house, he observed: "Mrs
Easterbrook seemed just as house proud as Thelma, and even the cat bowl, he noticed, sat on a spotless white plastic mat instead of newspaper” (p.62).

When Lara, the protagonist of Thunderwith (Hathorn, 1989), first glanced around her new home she noted with approval that “everything was very neat and very clean” (p.16). Conversely, in House Guest (Nilsson, 1991) Gunno, the male protagonist, was distressed that Anne, the owner of the house he “visited”, did not fulfil the expectations he had of the female as homemaker:

He was feeling annoyed with the woman who lived in the house - Hugh’s mother, Geoff’s wife, the dog’s mistress. She was so untidy. She owned a big house with plenty of cupboards and drawers to store things in yet the place always looked a mess. It wasn’t only that the dishes were piled up in the sink every day that he’d been here, and that the bed was unmade. It was her study as well (Nilsson, 1991, p.31).

In Change the Locks (French, 1991), Steven expressed similar annoyance at his mother’s untidiness, saying that:

All she seemed to do was sit with her magazines or in front of the TV. And this week, after Katrina had driven mum into town to collect her pension cheque and do the shopping, a new pile of magazines and rented video movies had come home. And even though Katrina tried to help mum out, the house was a mess. There was still the rubbish of cigarette butts and empty beer cans that Daryl had left behind, and now, a growing pile of smelly laundry and a sinkload of cups and plates in the kitchen (French, 1991, p.31).

Steven had not questioned the injustice of his mother having to clean up Daryl’s mess. He merely considered it her duty. The novels, thus, reinforce the message to readers that housework is a female domain and a service rendered to males.

There is not the same expectation of males to keep the house neat and orderly. In Melanie and the Night Animal (Rubinstein, 1988b), Jasmine described her father’s
house to her friend Melanie: "‘This is Dad’s house, you see how lovely and old and messy it is. And these are the dogs, Pepper and Libby, and this is Gareth with our cat ... I can’t even have a cat here [in her mother’s house]. We had one, but she scratched the wallpaper we had then’" (p.35). Dad’s house was the antithesis of her Mother’s which Jasmine told Melanie was “like living in a movie set” (p.33) with each room decorated in one theme or colour.

*Breaking Up* (Wilmott, 1983) is a rare exception in portraying a female for whom neatness was not important and in stating that males can help clean up at home. Mark, Jackie’s son, was very accepting of her housekeeping techniques and philosophy. He stated: “And I’ll tell you, Jackie doesn’t much care much about dirt and germs either. She reckons that’s why your body’s there, to take care of them. Our house is always messy because everyone who lives in it is messy. About once a month we all have a clean-up, and take turns to do different jobs” (p.23).

**Food Preparation is the Female’s Domain**

The books also convey the message that food preparation is the female’s domain. In *Beyond the Labyrinth* (Rubinstein, 1988a) Chris Trethewan typifies the female concern with feeding her family nourishing and attractively presented meals: “The table, set for Sunday evening tea, looks like a magazine photograph ... perfectly browned lasagna ... home-made plaited bread” (p.45).

Even the embattled Gladwyn, in *Thunderwith* (Hathorn, 1989) coping with a large family and meagre finances managed to provide delicious meals and snacks: “Lara found their afternoon tea, sliced bread and great thick slabs of Gladwyn’s heavy carrot cake, a tub of butter and a bottle of milk, waiting on the table. Her heart gave a strange little start to see it all set out so neatly” (p.39).

The single working mother still provides meals for the whole family. In *Peter* (Walker, 1991) Lyn was was a divorcée with two teenage sons. She worked as a nurse
in a doctor’s surgery and despite a hectic schedule, preparation of family meals was a priority, regardless of the circumstances: “Dad dropped in on Thursday night, right on dinnertime. It didn’t throw Mum, she just steamed up more vegies to make the casserole stretch further” (p.100). Take away food or meals eaten out, now common practices in Australian lifestyles, do not feature in homes described in the CBC award books.

In Peter (Walker, 1991) it is suggested that children of working mothers are deprived, reinforcing the notion that a woman’s place is at home nurturing her family. Lyn is portrayed as recompensing her children by using her precious spare time on the weekend to provide them with treats: ‘On Saturday Mum baked cakes and biscuits, all the stuff we’ve missed out on with her being a working mum’ (p.127).

When males are involved in meal preparation, they are the focus of attention and cause some surprise, inferring that this is not a usual male occupation. The description of Dad preparing dinner in Looking Out for Sampson (Hathorn, 1987) suggested this was not Dad’s normal role otherwise he would have been appropriately attired. Cheryl, a family guest, remarked “‘Fancy your Dad wearing an apron!’ ... as Dad chopped the celery, carrots and meat for dinner. ‘I mean it does look funny a big man like that in a tiny little apron. It’s great that he wants to do the cooking but I must say it’s very unusual about the apron’ ”(p.5). In So Much To Tell You (Marsden, 1987), Marina, the female protagonist, visited her teacher’s home for the term exeat and remarked: “Then I went into the kitchen, when Mr Lindell started preparing dinner. That surprised me - him doing that!” (p.56). When Smithy, in a A Long Way to Tipperary (Gough, 1992), prepared a meal for the tired travellers (see p.55) it was described as a conjuring trick and an act of salvation for the exhausted, dejected females.
A Woman’s Place is with her Children

Women who have left their children in the permanent care of the father are referred to disparagingly. There is an implicit message that a mother’s place is with her children regardless of the circumstances. In *Space Demons* (Rubinstein, 1986) Elaine constantly wished that her mother was with her to help make decisions and guide her. When Elaine expressed resentment because her mother left home without her, Elaine’s father described her mother as irresponsible and self-serving: “‘She kept saying she’d got married too young, never had any life of her own. She needed to find out who she was, all that sort of thing …. She didn’t want to be anyone’s mother, and she didn’t want to be anyone’s wife, so she ran away’ ”(p.141). The letters Elaine wrote to her mother in her head whenever she was troubled further reinforced the belief that the mother’s proper place was with her daughter, not fulfilling some selfish need of her own.

When Gunno, the young protagonist in *The House Guest* (Nilsson, 1991), asked his father why his mother had been locked up, his father denied this had happened, claiming she had been hallucinating and needed to go away and have a rest. The father’s response elicited sympathy for his position: “‘Look, Gunno, I haven’t let you think anything. I work hard, I hold down two jobs so that I can send your mother money and keep us going. I do - I’ve done my best’ ” (p.108). Similarly the reader feels sympathy for their situation when the text states: “Gunno reflected that he had two fathers - his Dad-on-the-fridge with his cheerful messages and his Dad-home-from-work, fretful and too tired to want to do anything. Not that there was any money to do anything with” (p.15-16). The loneliness Gunno feels when he comes home from school, waters the garden and prepares their meal reinforces the idea that Gunno’s mother should be at home caring for her family.
Trivialising Female Occupations and Roles

Occupations and roles outside the home which are assigned to central female characters are generally trivialised or disapproved of. This is not evidenced with male characters. The one notable exception found to this observation was in Little Brother (Baillie, 1985). The central character, Dr Betty Harris, was a female doctor working in a refugee camp on the Thai border. The nature of her work, her professional competence and her compassion combined to present a female who is employed outside the home in a meaningful, respected way.

In All We Know (French, 1986) the class berated the female relief teacher when speaking to their former teacher, Mr Clifton. Their comments implied she was most unprofessional in her conduct:

"...and all she did all day was sit at your desk and knit."
"And nag."
"And give us boring stencils she never even marked."
"Yeah, nag and knit, nag and knit" (French, 1986, p.126).

Jasmine, Melanie’s friend in Melanie and the Night Animal (Rubinstein, 1988b), found her mother’s professionalism too invasive of their personal lives. Jasmine claimed: “‘All the rooms are hers. She’s the one who does them all like this. It’s her work. She’s an interior decorator, and she likes to do it all the time. .... Every time I go to Dad’s, when I come back everything is different. You never know where you are’ ”(p.34).

In some instances female central characters do not even have their occupations identified. Examples include Anne in The House Guest (Nilsson, 1991), the mothers in Thing (Klein, 1982), Jandy Malone and the Nine o’Clock Tiger (Bolton, 1980) and Melanie and the Night Animal (Rubinstein, 1988). This is not the case with male characters and again it may be viewed as trivialising the female role in the workforce.
Martin Ferrier, Caspian's father in *Answers to Brut* (Rubinstein, 1988b) played a minor role in the story yet his profession was recorded as a computer programmer. Similarly the reader learnt that Mr Angie's father in *Came Back to Show You I Could Fly* (Klein, 1989) had an important job in electronics. Stating the male's occupation appears to be an essential part of their identification. With a female, it suffices to know that she is a mother, as that role is considered to be of paramount importance to young readers.

In *Toby's Millions* (Lurie, 1982), Toby's father was too busy to work in the garden because he was an executive with a merchant bank but his mother's life was "too rushy for things like gardens. There was all that organizing to do, all those phonecalls to make. Oh, and her pottery class. And her local history group. And the Brownies" (p.7). The text suggests that Toby's father had a legitimate reason for not gardening whilst his mother was merely busy-busy and therefore she should do the gardening.

The texts do not suggest any significant changes to the roles of males and females over the past decade, despite the pace of social change and an increasing number of adult females with families now working outside the home. A contradiction clearly exists between the current community goals of gender equity and the polarisation of the male and female roles presented in the CBC books.

**What Role Models for Gender Construction do the Books Impart to Young Readers?**

The award books used for this question are also restricted to the social realism genre. As indicated in the preceding discussion the books present conservative models for gender construction. Davies describes role models as "the exceptions" which "do not change the general observable state of affairs about femaleness in our society, they merely demonstrate that the link between femaleness and deference to male authority
is not a necessary link” (Davies, 1988, p.12). Within this context readers are presented with very few “exceptions” to the traditional female role model.

Given the limited role models the investigator also examines female protests about gender stereotyping and the way gender roles are reversed in some instances. Finally, Rubinstein’s (1988a) radical solution for achieving gender equity is discussed.

**Female Role Models**

Dr Betty Harris in *Little Brother* (Baillie, 1985), referred to on p.55, is the one female central character who provides a professional role model for girls. Dr Harris’ career choice meant she had no time for a husband and children. This can present complications as spinsterhood is still not a desirable status. Davies (1988) and Walkerdine (1990) suggest girls will resist a role model where the female has achieved a successful career but remained single because they will perceive her to be “Someone who has failed to achieve her ‘womanliness’ anyway, and therefore as the very kind of person they do not want to be” (Campbell, 1987, p.12).

The mother of Susannah, a central character in *I am Susannah* (Gleeson, 1987), rejected male authority to pursue a more meaningful life for herself. As she explained to her daughter, she left her husband: “Because he was happy in Milan and I wasn’t. Because he had a job and friends and I didn’t. I was stuck in a tiny flat” (p.57). This model may also be rejected by readers because Susannah’s mother is single, her career as a laboratory technician does not have particularly high status and she has failed to maintain a relationship with her partner.

Susan Gerhardt, the mother of the young female protagonist Arkie, in *All We Know* (French, 1986) is the one notable central character who demonstrates that “the link between femaleness and deference to male authority is not a necessary one” (Davies, 1988, p.12). Susan was a music teacher with a talent for arranging music. Having left her former husband because he would not accept her right to combine a
career and motherhood, she remarried and successfully combined a career of some status with family life. *All We Know* is the only book to have a family role model in which both parents pursue a meaningful career outside the home and share the domestic responsibilities.

**Male Role Models**

According to Gilligan (1982), females value interpersonal relationships and demonstrate a higher degree of care and sensitivity than males. In dilemma situations females demonstrate a stronger sense of responsibility for the well being of others than males. Although this is a widely accepted view, it is not always the case in the books examined and examples which refute this claim are described below. Gilligan’s theories are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, pp.13-14.

In *All We Know* (1986) it was Michael, the neighbour, and Mr Clinton, his class teacher who cared for Ian, the young boy abused and neglected by his mother. For years Joe had found a safe haven with Michael to counteract his mother’s neglect. Michael also showed great sensitivity to Arkie’s brother, Jo, who regularly wet his bed, and he reprimanded Arkie for not being more understanding: “I used to wet the bed too, when I was Jo’s age, and it wasn’t much fun. You couldn’t go staying with friends. Missed out on school camps, scared the other kids would find out. My dad used to belt me for it. I’m trying to help Jo - how about you helping too?” (p.20).

In *Looking for Alibrandi* (Marchetta, 1992), Josephine’s father, Michael Andretti, showed exceptional support for Josephine when her friend, John Barton, committed suicide: “He leaned over and kissed me. ‘Josie, I would rather die than ever see you suffering this way. I don’t want you or any child I ever have or any woman I ever love to go through or feel what you’re going through’ ” (p.237).

Mr Lindell, in *So Much to Tell You*, (Marsden, 1987), showed special care for Marina, a pupil in his English class. An accident had left Marina’s face physically
disfigured and the emotional scarring caused by the accident meant she was unable to communicate verbally. Mr Lindell took Marina home for exacts to be with his family. Melanie's father in *Melanie and the Night Animal* (Rubinstein, 1988c), referred to on p.69, also demonstrated concern and sensitivity for his daughter, Melanie, when she became distressed about her close friend going to live with her father for an extended period.

Many CBC award book authors challenge the traditional role of the male as limited to the bread winner who leaves the care giving and nurturing role to the female. The books show males can be equally care oriented and have equally effective interpersonal relationships as females without their masculinity being compromised.

**Protests about Gender Stereotyping**

Writers such as Gleeson (1987) and Willmott (1983) protest the practice of gender stereotyping and raise the readers' awareness of this issue through the text of their books. Females protest about freedom to choose the direction their lives will take and the stereotyped roles they have traditionally been assigned. These protests may impact on the readers' perceptions of gender identity and the way gender is constituted in their own lives.

Jackie, the mother of two sons in *Breaking Up* (Willmott, 1983), challenged the social positioning of males and females. In an argument with her husband she defended the position of women being free to dress as they please without having to fear sexual attack by perverse males: "Why don't women have as much right to roam free as men? What do you think it's like spending your whole life aware that you could be raped and killed, just because you were unlucky enough to be born a female?" (p.43).
I am Susannah (Gleeson, 1987) presented a classroom scene in which children disputed a male student’s presentation of his assignment involving the allocation of jobs in a new society:

“Carlos can be the doctor and Jason can be the teacher ‘cause they’re both brainy and Allessandro can be the builder because he’s best at woodwork...”

“What about us?” said Susie. “You haven’t said anything about the girls yet.” She looked to Michelle and Mai. They nodded. “Sexist.”

“Hang on a sec .. Most of the girls will stay home with the children. Some will work. Susie and Michelle will sweep the streets and collect garbage” (Gleeson, 1987, p.60).

Susannah, the young protagonist, strongly objected to this model in which the women stay at home or are relegated to the menial tasks.

The issue of females making choices and challenging the traditional role of females is also raised in I am Susannah (Gleeson, 1987). Jess, a neighbour of the young protagonist, Susannah, believed marriage would have prevented her pursuing an interest in art. She explained to Susannah her reasons for not marrying:

“There’s another sort of madness. Marrying someone you don’t love just because you’ve been stupid enough to get engaged because all your friends were doing it and you believed what you’d always been taught - that you’re only half a person on your own, that you need someone else to make you complete ... I also thought about being married and what it meant for women like me. In a few years I’d be stuck with a tribe of kids, worried only about getting dinner on time, and I’d never do the things I wanted to do. The night before the wedding I cleared out ” (Gleeson, 1987, p.111).

Whilst Jackie and Jess, in different ways, challenge the traditional role of females within the domestic sphere, readers may view them as destructive. The books do not present any solution to the dilemma presented to females who wish to pursue a career whilst having a commitment to a partner and a family. Jess pursued a career as
an artist but at the cost of a personal relationship, as did Dr Betty Harris, and although Jackie defied the conventional aspects of homemaker (keeping her home in pristine condition) she confined her power to the domestic sphere until financial circumstances forced her return to the workforce.

Reversal of Gender Roles

A reversal of traditional male and female roles in the care of children was found in only one book, *Melanie and the Night Animal* (Rubinstein, 1988c). The mother of the young protagonist, Melanie, was portrayed as undomesticated and her father assumed the role of chief homemaker and caregiver: “Dad was washing up the tea things and Mum was sprawled in an armchair trying to concentrate on the television news” (p.22).

Jasmine, Melanie’s friend and a central character in the book, lived with her mother yet she yearned to be with her father because he understood her love of animals and his home was warm and inviting, unlike her mother’s house which resembled a “movie set”. Mrs Hardcastle, Jasmine’s mother, “was one of those people who never, ever altered their plans for anyone else’s sake” (p.42). When Melanie’s and Jasmine’s plans for camping out were upset by Jasmine visiting her father “Somehow sitting on Dad’s knee made Melanie feel like pouring it all out” (p.46). Dad offered practical advice too, suggesting: “We’ll find out the address and phone number of her father’s place, and then you can talk to her on the phone. We might even take a drive up that way” (p.47).

A Radical Solution for Achieving Gender Equity

Rubinstein also presents the most radical model for gender construction which introduces readers to a futuristic, non patriarchal society in which the inhabitants are monosexual thus rendering gender roles irrelevant.
In *Beyond the Labyrinth* (Rubinstein, 1988a), monosexuality is examined. Rubinstein’s book presents the only example of gender construction which allows the reader to explore beyond the male-female dualism. Cal, one of the central characters is an alien, who is visiting Earth to acquire information about Earth’s cultural practices. In creating Cal, Rubinstein has deconstructed the opposition between masculinity and femininity. Cal explained: “We only have one body shape. .... We do not need a word to distinguish it. We simply call ourselves ... ‘humans’ ” (p.73). Victoria, a young girl who on meeting Cal was somewhat confused by the alien’s monosexuality. “But what she does get an inkling of is that Cal is not a member of half the human race-divided-into-male-and-female, nor even half the human race-divided-into-child-and-adult. And this gives the alien girl her remarkable air of self-sufficiency” (p.73).

Cal challenged Victoria’s concept of the society in which she lived and made her aware of gender bias and the inequalities which existed between females and males.

She assumed the alien [Cal] was a boy because of his manner of dealing with the world, so confident and assured. She had assumed people in any culture who were anthropologists and explorers were automatically male. She feels thrown off balance by having related to someone as a boy when all the time he was a girl. She sees all at once the limitations she places on herself, simply because she is female. And she feels very strongly a new resentment towards Michael who avoids her, simply not because he dislikes her, but because she is a girl (Rubinstein, 1988a, pp.72-73).

Whilst Rubinstein has challenged the reader to look critically at gender stereotyping, the solution she offers to overcome gender inequity would possibly be rejected by readers as they would consider the model too futuristic, improbable and/or undesirable.
Conclusion

The summary of the findings is presented, again according to the focus questions.

Do the Books Present Males and Females in Equally Positive Ways? In the texts most females condone the patriarchal society in which they live. They rarely protest their roles as “helpers in the male sphere” (Davies 1989, p.138). It is the males who in most instances initiate the action and the females who support their initiatives. The two books in which females gain most access to power are fantasy narratives. Females in these texts, Elspeth in The Farseekers (Carmody, 1990) and Merryll in Merryll of the Stones (Caswell, 1989), show ambivalence about gaining power and the males in the texts challenge their suitability to access it. Females who are empowered by their superior professions are unmarried and without children, a sacrifice not required of males with successful careers.

Females are consistently associated with gendered patterns of desire and seek a male on whom they can depend for support and love. Those without a male partner to guide and support them are often depicted as vulnerable and unfulfilled. The females in Thunderwith (Hathorn, 1989), Change the Locks (French, 1991) and A Long Way to Tipperary (Gough, 1992) typify this notion. Conversely, the males in Blabber Mouth (Gleitzman, 1992) Space Demons (Rubinstein, 1986) and House Guest (Nilsson, 1991), who are left to raise children single handed, are presented as self sufficient and very capable. Clearly males and females are not presented in equally positive ways.

Do the Books Reflect the Changing Roles of Males and Females? The message conveyed by the books is that females with family responsibilities should not be in the work-force unless circumstances make it a necessity. Females who do work outside their homes often have their occupation or role trivialised as seen in All We Know (French, 1986) and Toby’s Millions (Lurie, 1982).
There is an expectation that females should be fastidious housekeepers. When they fail in their duty males voice their displeasure as seen in *House Guest* (Nilsson, 1991), *Change the Locks* (French, 1991) and *Came Back to Show You I Could Fly* (Klein, 1989). Domestic chores and meal preparation are still tasks associated with females. When males do participate in these domains they are the subject of amusement or surprise, evidenced in *A Long Way to Tipperary* (Gough, 1992) and *Looking out for Sampson* (Hathorn, 1987).

**What Role Models for Gender Construction do the Books Impart to Young Readers?** There is a paucity of female professional role models. The traditional stereotyped role model of the female as housekeeper and caregiver for her family still prevails. Conversely, as Reeder’s (1981) study found, males are portrayed in a less stereotypical manner and are shown as sensitive and supportive of their family’s needs. Although the majority of texts remain gender stereotyped, some authors such as Rubinstein (1988a and 1988b), Gleeson (1987) and Willmott (1983) have raised the issues of gender inequality and gender discrimination. Rubinstein attempts a radical solution in creating an androgynous character, Cal, in whose world the male-female dualism is eradicated and gender roles are irrelevant.

The investigator believes it is most regrettable that, with a few exceptions, the majority of the CBC award books are still reflecting outdated stereotypes of past decades. Despite Commonwealth directives, over the past two decades the books have still failed to present readers with social practices which reflect the contemporary world and the current awareness of gender equity in our society. The analyses of the texts in this chapter have powerfully illuminated the investigator’s quantitative findings that the CBC award books are stereotyped in their portrayal of gender and do not present females and males in equally positive ways.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter commences by presenting a comparison of the quantitative and qualitative findings of the study. The investigator then relates the CBC award books to Kristeva’s (1981, 1986) three tiered schema of the feminist movement, and evaluates how effectively they follow Commonwealth Government policies relating to gender equity. Implications for judges and teachers are discussed in the light of the depiction of gender bias in the books. Finally, some recommendations are made for future research directions in the field of Australian children’s literature.

A Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

The three focus questions for the investigation are used as subheadings for the comparison of the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study.

Do the Books Present Males and Females in Equally Positive Ways?

Overall, both the qualitative and quantitative findings are negative. However, quantitative data reveal that gender equity is achieved with the foreground representation of males and females on the book covers. It also shows that the representation of males and females as protagonists and central characters is more equitable than indicated by the earlier studies of Reeder (1981) and Gilbert and Rowe (1989), with the exception of animal characters which are exclusively male. Whilst these data are encouraging they are concerned with relatively unimportant factors. A cover may have initial impact on the reader but it is the content of the book: the plot
and the characterisation, that are more likely to leave a lasting impression, particularly if it is a book with which the reader readily identifies.

The quantitative analyses show that the differences between the active behaviour attributed to male and female protagonists and central characters are very slight. However, notable gender differences are revealed in the behavioural categories of role orientation and role direction. Females also continue to be portrayed more frequently than males as having passive acquiescent behavioural patterns.

In accordance with Gilligan's (1982) theory (see Chapter 2, pp.13-14) females are more frequently ascribed behaviour which is inner-directed, that is, behaviour directed towards the nurture and care for those within their interpersonal network, than males. Conversely, male characters are identified more frequently with outer-directed behaviour, that is, behaviour directed towards the needs of the wider community.

Qualitative data show that females are rarely assigned power outside the domestic sphere. The findings, substantiated in Chapter 5, pp.52-53, make it clear that females only achieve power in the community through the initiation, encouragement and support of males. Females are more typically portrayed as the "helpers of men in the male sphere" (Davies, 1989, p. 138) and females' right to access power is challenged. Unlike males, who unhesitatingly accept power, females question their own competence to take on leadership roles and convey an ambivalence towards acquiring power. Conspicuous examples are Merryl, the protagonist of Merryl of the Stones (Caswell, 1989) and Elspeth, the protagonist of The Farseekers (Carmody, 1990). The investigator's findings affirm Davies' (1989) claim that women are often ambivalent about acquiring power.

Some females are bound by what Davies describes as "patterns of desire" (1993, p.145). Females portrayed as idolising males include Gladwyn and Cheryl, female characters in Thunderwith (Hathorn, 1989), and Elspeth, the protagonist of The
Farseekers (Carmody, 1990). Gendered positions are also evident in the way female characters are dependent on males as providers and protectors. The female characters in A Long Way to Tipperary (Gough, 1992), Change the Locks (French, 1991) and Looking for Alibrandi (Marchetta, 1992) exemplify these traits (see Chapter 5, pp.56-57).

Females who are successful in their careers or who hold some position of authority remain single, for example, Dr Betty Harris, a central character in Little Brother (Baillie, 1985) and Miss Dalgleish, a central character in The True Story Of Lilli Stubeck (Aldridge, 1984). Conversely, this is not a sacrifice required of males.

In sum, the message presented by the books is that male-female positions both in personal relationships and in leadership roles are gendered. Whilst the quantitative findings reveal certain gender inequities, the qualitative data most strongly affirm that the books do not present females and males in equally positive ways.

Do the Books Reflect the Changing Roles of Males and Females in our Present Society?

The qualitative and quantitative findings concur that the changing roles of males and females in today’s society are largely ignored in the CBC award books of 1981-1993.

The investigator’s quantitative findings reveal that of the 116 central characters only 18 of the adult females are assigned specific occupations and twice as many males as females hold jobs outside the home environment. Yet the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994) claims that females now represent over 42% of the workforce. In CBC books males also have access to a greater range of occupations. Only seven females are associated with occupations at the administrative/managerial level, compared with 45 males, and twice the number of males hold professional jobs as females. It is apparent that CBC books do little to
emphasize the changes which have occurred in the work-place over the last decade. They do not indicate the increasing number of females who have professional qualifications and who are employed in high status occupations such as the law, medicine and senior management.

The qualitative findings, presented in Chapter 5, pp 59-65, also indicate a failure to address the social changes in our community. The investigator has shown by her findings under the sub-headings: Domestic Chores are the Responsibility of Females; Food Preparation is the Female’s Domain; A Woman’s Place is with her Children; and The Trivialisation of Female Roles and Occupations, that female roles are still mainly portrayed as those of care givers and homemakers.

The qualitative data show females as shackled with the responsibility for domestic chores: and it is seen as a duty of care for females to present neat, orderly homes and to provide nourishing meals for their families. The difficulties this may present for the working mother are overlooked as is the need for parents to share domestic responsibilities. The advent of take-away food, so popular in today’s world, is totally ignored as is the widespread use of child care centres by working parents. Females who reneged on their responsibilities are severely chastised: Peter’s mother in Change the Locks (French, 1991) and Anne, the house owner in House Guest (Nilsson, 1991), are victims of such treatment. Males are generally disassociated from all forms of domesticity and where they are assigned domestic activities these are usually remarked on with admiration or surprise. Male characters in Looking out for Sampson (Hathorn, 1987) and So Much to Tell You (Marsden, 1987) exemplify such behaviour (see Chapter 5, p.61).

Although the quantitative and the qualitative findings both show that the books reflect insufficiently the changing roles of males and females in today’s world, it is the qualitative findings which lend the most telling support to Summer’s statement that the CBC books portray a work-force that is still organized around patterns which existed
when the work-place was predominantly male and "each male worker had a domestic support system in the form of a wife" (1994, p.41).

What Role Models for Gender Construction do the Books Impart to Young Readers?

Whilst quantitative data provide some useful insights, it is the gendered constructions of femininity and masculinity and cultural knowledge imparted by the qualitative data which provide the best indicators of what is likely to influence children reading the books. The quantitative and the qualitative data affirm that there is a paucity of professionally successful female role models in the CBC award books. This is verified by the categorisation of occupations assigned to male and female characters (see Table 4, Chapter 4, p.41) and the data relating to family roles which discloses that females are more frequently connected with family roles than males (see Appendix D). The trivialisation of females' employment outside the home as discussed in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 5, pp.63-65 and the emphasis placed on the female's obligation to her family (see p.62-63) affirm that the woman's place is in the home not the workforce.

The qualitative findings relating to male role models are also consistent with the quantitative data on behaviour assigned to males. Quantitative findings presented in Figure 3, Chapter 4, p.46 show that the behaviour of male characters is more evenly spread between inner-directed, self-directed and outer-directed behaviour than that of the female characters. Consequently readers are presented with a better range of male role models. The fathers in Cannily Cannily (French, 1981), All We Know (French, 1986), So Much to Tell You (Marsden, 1987), Melanie and the Night Animal (Rubinstein, 1988b), Blabber Mouth (Gleitzman, 1992) and Looking for Allibrandi (Marchetta, 1992) show themselves to be as competent at care-giving and nurturing as female characters. Conversely, females are not presented as equally competent and successful in those roles outside the home environment in which males predominate.
As Reeder (1981) observed, the traditional roles assigned to females “leads to diminished perceptions of adult possibilities and aspirations” (p.15). The books in this study strongly suggest that motherhood is the preferred option to a career as a single woman. The investigator’s qualitative findings with regard to male and female role models in CBC award books indicate that little has changed in the years since Reeder’s (1981) study.

**Feminist Ideology and CBC Award Books**

Kristeva’s (1981, 1986) outline of the women’s movement is important for this study because the liberal feminist ideology reflected in her first tier and the radical feminist ideology reflected in her second tier are the dominant influences on Government policies. This is discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, pp.10-11. Merriam Webster (1995, p.409) describes Kristeva as “among the writers who have had a great impact on feminist critical discourse”, and her model has influenced leading feminist educators such as Walkerdine (1990), Davies (1993a), and Gilbert (1993). Therefore, the investigator believes that aligning the CBC award books with Kristeva’s three different tiers of feminist ideology is a valid way of evaluating whether they reflect the changes advocated by current Government policies.

Very few of the CBC books examined exemplify Kristeva’s three tiers. Elspeth and Merryll, the protagonists of *The Farseekers* (Carmody, 1990) and *Merryl of the Stones* (Caswell, 1989) epitomise the liberal feminists’ position. Although they both have leadership roles, their power is constrained because they are answerable to a patriarchal society in which males dominate and are the ultimate decision makers and power brokers (see Chapter 5, pp.49-51).

In the books *Breaking Up* (Willmott, 1983) and *All We Know* (French, 1986), the mothers, both central characters, advocate equal opportunity for women (see
Chapter 5, pp.66-69). Susan Gerhardt, in *All We Know*, left her first husband because she insisted on her equal right to be part of the work-force, rather than confined to home duties by virtue of being a wife and mother. Jackie, in *Breaking Up*, rebelled against the unequal society in which she lived, believing females should have equal freedom to walk the streets, without fear of sexual harassment. Susannah, the female protagonist in *I am Susannah* (Gleeson, 1987), also argued for gender equity when she disputed a student’s sexist allocation of community roles in his school project (see pp. 68-69).

*I am Susannah* (1987) and *Little Brother* (Baillie, 1985) are the only books that feature examples of radical feminism, the second tier of the feminist movement. In the former, the central character, Jess, a middle-aged neighbour of Susannah, rejects the male symbolic order by refusing marriage on the grounds that it would prevent her achieving important goals in life. She refuses to be subservient to any male and sees females as distinctly disadvantaged by the patriarchal society in which they exist. Hence her refusal to adopt the role of wife and mother. Dr Betty Harris, in *Little Brother*, also rejects the idea of marriage and children because they would interfere with the career which was her right to choose.

The central character, Cal, in *Beyond the Labyrinth* (Rubinstein, 1988), provides the one attempt at the third tier of the women’s movement, in which the opposition between masculine and feminine is deconstructed and the male-female dualism is completely eradicated. Cal has characteristics which are both masculine and feminine. In her society, gender roles have become irrelevant (see Chapter 5, pp.70-71). Davies (1989) believes this to be the most confronting tier of the feminist struggle because “The task of evolving a thought form which goes beyond this particular dualism is almost unthinkable because of its embeddedness in our own identities, and in the language and narrative structures through which we come to know ourselves”(p.70).
Whilst the character Cal provides an interesting model for readers to consider, the book presents readers with a paradox, because in it Rubinstein adopts conflicting positions on feminism. She appears sympathetic to feminist ideas with her reflections on the female's position in contemporary society (see Chapter 5, p.71), yet the characterisation of Chris Trethewen, in her roles as mother and wife, is highly stereotyped.

Despite the fact that 69% of the CBC award book authors are female, the feminist position has been largely ignored in all but a small minority of the 66 books examined. Summers (1994, p. 22) applauds the fact that women's greatest successes have been in the field of writing and that works of fiction by and about women are now included on students' reading lists which, she states, seemed only to include male authors in the past. Yet, CBC female authors do not appear to be taking advantage of their current position to endorse the feminist cause. Overall, the texts reinforce the assertion made by Gilbert and Rowe (1989) that, whether written by men or women, they are not sympathetic to feminist ideology.

**Government Policy and CBC Award Books**

The findings of the investigation support the concern expressed twenty years ago in *Girls, School and Society* which states: “The omission of women and the tendency to overlook and deprecate their contribution to society and social change is a serious deficiency in many current school curricula” (Australian Committee on Social Change and the Education of Women, 1975, p.71). CBC award books certainly overlook the contribution of females to society and social change. This is a serious concern because, as Prentice and Bennett (1992) claim, a considerable number of CBC short-listed books appear in literature awards nominated by children, such as Kids Own Australian Literature Award (KOALA) and Young Australia’s Best Book Award (YABBA), indicating that children have had a wide exposure to these books and been impressed
by them. From the investigator’s findings it appears that the CBC books continue to present “A major source of unintended teaching about women and sex roles” (Australian Committee on Social Change and the Education of Women, 1975, p. 71).

Commonwealth Government educational policies continue to advocate gender equality. For example the National Policy for the Education of Girls (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987), advises that “All Australian schools should ensure that what is being taught and learned does justice to girls and women, taking account of their cultural, language and socio-economic diversity, and is equally valuable for girls and boys” (inside cover). The investigator’s findings confirm that the books she examined do not satisfy these criteria. Instead, the books reflect the findings of the Commonwealth Government’s report Half Way to Equal (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, 1992), that the role of women in our history and culture has been neglected. Likewise, the CBC books reflect the criticism made in the Commonwealth Government’s National Action Plan for the Education of Girls 1993-1997 (Australian Education Council, 1993) concerning curriculum: “... almost all areas of study exclude or trivialise women’s contributions, experiences or knowledge” (p.21). The trivialisation of women’s occupations and roles is highlighted in the findings of this study.

In addition to education and employment, the Commonwealth Government’s legislation, for example, the Sex Discrimination Act (1984) and the Affirmative Action Act (1986), have resulted in gender discrimination being scrutinised in a number of areas including law, sport, the arts and media coverage. Given the Government policies regarding gender inclusiveness, it is most regrettable that the CBC does not make some reference to gender portrayal in its judging criteria.

The investigator has shown that recent CBC Junior and Older Reader award books are predominantly gender biased and stereotyped. These books do not provide favourable role models for young readers. This implies that Government educational policies on gender awareness are not supported by teachers. It also raises important
questions such as: “Are teachers aware of these policies relating to gender awareness?” or “Are they choosing to ignore the implications such policies have for curriculum content and what is taught to children?” Primary teachers are predominantly female, and therefore it is particularly surprising and dismaying that they appear not to recognize the paucity of female role models in the CBC award books and the significance of this in education. This demonstrates that traditional attitudes are pervasive and, regardless of Government policy directives, change occurs slowly.

Implications for CBC Judges and for Teachers

Implications for CBC Judges

The investigator’s findings are limited to gender portrayal in the CBC award books from 1981 to 1993 and no judgement is attempted regarding the quality of the literature presented. Literary merit and artistic quality are the primary considerations of CBC judges when judging books for their awards, Smith and Hamilton, 1995 (see p. 21). Yet the investigator believes it is difficult to divorce literary merit from social and moral factors. According to post-structuralist theory, the way we read a book is determined by the discourses we adopt and the knowledge we have already acquired. (see Chapter 2, p.14). The recent controversy regarding Helen Darville/Demidenko being the recipient of the Miles Franklin Award is testimony to this notion. The judges initially believed this book to be the oral history of the author’s family. This belief influenced the way they read and consequently judged the book. Critics of the book, including some historians and members of the Jewish community, who access different discourses to the judges, viewed the book quite differently.

The inclusion of some reference to the presentation of a balanced portrayal of gender would bring CBC judging into line with the general move towards gender equity and satisfy Government policy initiatives seeking curriculum content that does justice to both males and females. It would, also, provide important guidelines for the
judges whose appointments are for only two years. In some instances, judges may not be totally familiar with current policies, and including gender in the judging criteria might help make them more conscious of their social obligations.

The CBC awards have a reputation for being amongst the “most prestigious literary awards in the country” (Hillel 1995, p.4). This has led teachers and librarians to use the award books in their literature programs because they regard them as models of merit. Thus, the cultural and social values inculcated by the books are unlikely to be challenged. Because the award books are so influential, the investigator believes the CBC has a responsibility to ensure that young readers are exposed to books of literary merit, and this includes presenting a more balanced portrayal of gender which is more in line with the social realities of people’s present roles.

**Implications for Teachers**

The literature review in Chapter 2 established the wide circulation of CBC award and short-listed books in schools. Some of these books become firm favourites, as the YABBA (Young Australians’ Best Book Award) awards have verified, and will continue to be read and included in literature programs for years to come. Teachers may be faced with the dilemma of using books that are judged as having considerable literary merit by Australia’s most prestigious book awards, but which are gender biased and stereotyped, and do not provide socially acceptable role models for young students. Teachers therefore need to empower students as readers by leading them to read the stories in ways which may counteract the gendered messages imparted by some of these books.

pp.14-15) "to address the practices by which words enact social meaning, and the practices by which we, as social subjects, make meaning" (Gilbert, 1993b). As Luke and Bishop (1994) suggest, if students develop a critical understanding of how texts position readers then this understanding may allow them to conceptualise how others might read texts, and construct meanings differently, which is one of the goals of the English curriculum (Board of Studies, 1995 and Curriculum Corporation, 1994).

Kamler (1994) believes that a critical literacy approach to the students' examination of texts is still very marginal in current literacy teaching. It is also the investigator's experience that teachers' awareness of gender implications for curriculum is very limited. Present preservice teaching courses include gender awareness but this has only occurred in the last few years. Given that the average age of teachers is around forty, it can be assumed that for most teachers gender awareness was neglected in their initial training or was a very new idea. It would appear that there is a real need for current teacher inservice and to focus on gender awareness, and introduce teachers to critical literacy as a means of addressing gender bias in texts used with students.

Kempe (1993) and O'Brien (1994) claim to have successfully used critical literacy approaches, with their post-structuralist underpinnings, in their primary programs. Objectives for students listed by Kempe (p.309) include:

- identifying the values inherent in texts and whose interests these values serve;
- analysing different readings to examine the issues involved in the contradictions between readings;
- challenging taken-for-granted or dominant readings;
- examining how selective use of language and the structured silences work to position the reader to accept the underlying ideology of the text; and
- exposing the gaps and silences of readings, their own and others.
Also, resources such as Allard and Wilson's (1995) *Gender Dimensions*, which details classroom activities for examining aspects of masculine and feminine behaviour, need to be promoted in schools.

As Walkerdine (1990) claims it is not merely a question of providing texts which have non-stereotyped gender portrayal because students can be resistant to the images and discourses that books present. The approach of merely presenting students with non-stereotypical gender positions in texts with the assumption that they will absorb the positive images transmitted presumes that students are passive learners and do not read anything outside the classroom. Texts have to compete with the powerful messages conveyed by other media such as advertising, films and television. The influence of family values must also be considered. "Thus the text has to be actively read in order to engage with the way in which images and other signs, verbal and non-verbal, are constructed" (p.89).

A socially critical reading of a text requires teachers to carefully construct questions based on the objectives outlined above by Kempe (1993, p.309). Talty (1994) examined the quality of the questions that teachers asked students in shared-book lessons and found that in the resultant small talk around big books "conversationalisation can create a confusion of registers that can not only affect the interaction between reader and text but the child's perception of literacy" (p.5). Focussed questioning is clearly important to clarify students' understandings. There is good evidence that children can be encouraged to critique books quite competently: Rand (1995) found that logs used to record primary school students' reflections on their current reading at first showed students to have limited insights into the texts. Yet, when the children were questioned verbally and specifically about book qualities, they showed perceptive understandings of complex issues within the books.

Knowledge that quality questioning can lead the reader to a more insightful understanding of the text underpinned the investigator's literature program outlined in *Book Chat: A Book Club Model for the Classroom* (Clements and Godinho, 1994). The
model presents small group discussions on a chosen book and focuses on questioning techniques based on Bloom's Taxonomy of Cognitive Processes (1956). Bloom sets out a hierarchy of increasingly complex levels of cognition, from which appropriate questions can be devised.

Book discussions facilitate the presentation of different positionings to the text because individual students have access to a wide range of discourses (these ideas are explained in Chapter 2, p.15). Exposure to different viewpoints in a well-led discussion may impact on a student's initial positioning to a book. By exposing students to different ways of reading texts, a critical literacy approach to literature can empower students as readers, therefore enabling them to identify and confront gendered fiction.

Recommendations for Future Research

The investigator stresses the need for a more comprehensive study of the gender constructions found in contemporary Australian children’s literature. She recommends that future research includes examination of a wider range of books, particularly those popularly chosen by young readers, and believes that a critical literacy approach to examining these texts could reveal important links between language, culture and gender.

Recommendations Concerning Research on Texts

The investigator's research on CBC books is limited to the award books in the younger reader and older reader categories. A study of the full short list may generate some different findings. The picture book category is also an important area of study because illustrations can transmit equally powerful messages about the way gender is perceived in our culture. Surprisingly, the ERIC data base indicates that Reeder's (1981) study is the only one to focus exclusively on stereotyping and gender
portrayal in CBC award books. Given the popular exposure these books receive, future research could profit from examination of the gender constructions found in both the texts and the pictures in the full short list.

The CBC books provide an important starting point for research but, as Rand (1995) discovered in her survey of books chosen by primary school students, children read very widely. The most popular titles were not CBC award books but humorous books such as those written by Paul Jennings and the mystery stories by Enid Blyton. The investigator’s experience in discussing popular books with children also suggests that despite the enthusiastic promotion of CBC award books by teachers and librarians, children are very independent and have their own ideas about what they like and want to read. Researching the gendered nature of texts popular with children, rather than teachers’ or reviewers’ favoured books, should also provide interesting insights into the values and social practices of our contemporary culture.

However, present day children’s literature extends beyond books. “Literature can be based on fiction or fact and includes written, spoken and nonprint texts” (Board of Studies, 1995, p.11). Children’s “reading” includes comics, information books, picture story books, plays, poetry, feature films, television, newspapers, short stories and novels. Researching the social construction of gender in a wider range of Australian literature texts would also provide significant information about the social values and the power structures in place in our present day society.

The interdependence of gender, class and culture is noted in the literature review p.13. This study covers only 13 years, yet children’s books were first published here in 1841. Future research could provide a broader historical perspective of gender portrayal in Australian children’s literature by examining it at different points in time and in different cultural and social contexts.
Critical Literacy and Research

To evaluate the social construction of gender in contemporary Australian children's literature, the language of the texts needs to be emphasised and carefully examined because it is through the language that children develop an understanding of their world. Researchers need to look more closely at the connections between gender, language and culture. The critical literacy approach, discussed in the recommendations to teachers on pp.83-84, provides this opportunity.

Language is shaped by the discourses enacted in the texts (discourses, are defined in Chapter 2, p.15). As Kamlar (1994) has stated: "To understand how texts participate in the exercise of social power that result in gender, racial and class inequality, we need to understand the notion of discourse and how discourses operate in texts" (p.131). By examining the discourses embodied in the texts, researchers can discover the connections between gender and language and gender and power and thus gain a better understanding of the society in which we live. Chapter 5 reveals how texts can construct discourses of or about gender such as patriarchy and feminism. For example, males are frequently identified with positions of power and females are identified as their helpers (see pp.49-51), and females who have lost their partners are depicted as coping poorly whereas males in similar circumstances are depicted as managing very competently (see pp.56-57).

The post-structuralist theory asserts that the interpretation and understanding of literature texts may vary according to the student's gender, cultural and social differences (see Chapter 2, p.14). It is students' access to discourses which determines the way they read or view texts. Therefore, researchers need to document how the gender, cultural and social backgrounds of students affects their reading of texts. According to post-structuralist argument the subject is constituted through the intermediary of social and cultural discourses and therefore a text may have multiple interpretations. More information on the application of post-structuralist theory,
supported by research, will enable teachers to understand and accept the possibility of different readings of the same text and show students how this can be done.

In the implications for teachers the importance of questioning techniques is raised. Further research, such as that undertaken by Comber (1993), Davies (1993b), and Kempe (1993) is needed to demonstrate to teachers how by asking specific questions students can be challenged to deconstruct texts, thus allowing them to “understand the constitutive force of discourse, the political implications of particular discourses and the positionings made available through them” (Davies, 1993b). Research needs to convince teachers that effective questioning guides students to a better understanding of how cultural beliefs and values are formed in their world.

Conclusion

The conclusion addresses the investigator’s three focus questions and summarises the implications of the findings for judges, teachers and researchers.

Despite gender equity being achieved in the foreground representation of males and females on the CBC award book covers and a more gender equitable representation of protagonists and central characters, the quantitative findings affirm that in personal relationships and leadership roles there are distinct gender inequities.

Both the quantitative and qualitative findings testify that the CBC award books largely ignore the changing roles of females and males in our present society and in this respect they do not reflect social reality. The stereotyped image of the female as homemaker and care giver found in Reeder’s (1981) investigation is still a contemporary concern. The books ignore that an increasing number of females successfully combine the responsibilities of motherhood and employment in the
workforce. Their jobs are often trivialised and the books do not indicate that many females now have professional qualifications and are increasingly found in responsible and senior positions.

The role models presented to young readers are very limited. Female occupational role models are both limited and questionable because those females with successful careers are not married. Conversely, male role models are less stereotyped. Some males are presented as competent care givers and very supportive of their family’s emotional needs. Although in several instances, this serves to highlight the female’s inadequate fulfilment of her domestic role. Family role models, where both parents have meaningful careers and share the domestic responsibilities, are generally overlooked.

The CBC judging criteria need to include some reference to a socially balanced portrayal of gender. This would ensure that the criteria are consistent with Government policy and society’s general move towards gender equity.

Teachers need to be made aware that many of the books that they currently use with students have stereotyped portrayals of gender. They need to be made aware that the critical literacy approach is a very constructive way of addressing gendered fiction.

Researchers need to focus more on a wider range of literature, including popular fiction, picture books and non fiction texts, and examine its role in reinforcing cultural understandings about current social values and power structures. Future research also needs to explore the ways in which discourses operate in texts and the connections they make between language, gender and power.
Most importantly, researchers need to explore ways in which students can be empowered as readers so that they can interact with the text in different ways and challenge the portrayals of gender which literature presents. Gilbert (1994, p.15) advocates "that the first task for an English curriculum is a critical reading of its own gendered culture."
1. AWARDS TITLES AND CRITERIA

1.1 NAMES OF THE AWARDS
The Children's Book Council of Australia Book of the Year: Older Readers
The Children's Book Council of Australia Book of the Year: Younger Readers
The Children's Book Council of Australia: Picture Book of the Year
The Children's Book Council of Australia: Eve Pownall Award for Information Books

1.2 DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE
Refer to Entry Form (Appendix 1) and Conditions of Entry (Appendix 2)
The Judges should assess entries for the Awards primarily for literary merit, including
cohesiveness in significant literary elements, language chosen carefully for its
appropriateness to the theme and style of the work with proper regard to the aesthetic
qualities of language, and originality in the treatment of literary elements as they apply to
the form of the work. Child appeal should be taken into account. Judges should also
consider quality of illustrations, book design, production and quality of printing and
binding.

1.2.1 Book of the Year: Older Readers awards will be made to outstanding books
of fiction which generally require of the reader maturity to appreciate the topics,
themes and scope of emotional involvement.

1.2.2 Book of the Year: Younger Readers awards will be made to outstanding
books of fiction for readers who have developed independent reading skills but are
still developing in literary appreciation.

1.2.3 Picture Book of the Year awards will be made to outstanding books in Picture
Book format in which the author and illustrator achieve artistic and literary unity,
or, in wordless books, where the story, theme or concept are unified through
illustrations.
As a general guideline, the Judges may consider the relative success of a picture
book in balancing and harmonising the following elements:
artistic style and graphic excellence, including typography and its
suitability to the implied audience;
## Children's Book of the Year Awards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winner</th>
<th>Highly Commended</th>
<th>Commended</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>PARK, Ruch</td>
<td>SCOTT, Bill</td>
<td>BOLTON, Barbara</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ill. by A M HICKS</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ill. by Alan WHITE</td>
<td>Angus and Robertson</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SPENCE, Eleanor</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ill. by Sisca VERWOERT</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playing Beatie Bow</td>
<td>Darkness Under the Hills</td>
<td>Jandy Malone and the Nine</td>
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<td>O'Clock Tiger</td>
<td>Angus and Robertson</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Seventh Pebble</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>THIELE, Colin</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Valley Between</td>
<td>Rigby Opal Books</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Behind the Wind</td>
<td>Hutchinson of Australia</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cannily, Cannily</td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rummage</td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SPENCE, Eleanor</td>
<td>The Left Overs</td>
<td>Medhuen Australia</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Toby’s Millions</td>
<td>Kestrel Books/Penguin Books</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Five Times Dizzy</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>WRIGHTSON, Patricia</td>
<td></td>
<td>A Little Fear</td>
<td>Hutchinson of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KLEIN, Robin</td>
<td>Penny Pollard’s Diary</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>III. by Ann JAMES</td>
<td>The Devil’s Stone</td>
<td>Omnibus Books</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Collins London</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'FRANCES, Helen'</td>
<td>Breaking Up</td>
<td>Hyland House</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(pseud. Helen GRANGER &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frances PEARCE)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dove Communications</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ill. by Kerry ARGENT</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WILLMOTT, Frank</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>ALDRIDGE, James</td>
<td>GLEESON, Libby</td>
<td>SPENCE, Eleanor</td>
<td>The True Story of Lilli Stubeck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>III. by Shane CONROY</td>
<td>Eleanor, Elizabeth</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WHEATLEY, Nadia</td>
<td>Me and Jeshua</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ill. by Waldemar BUCZYNSKI</td>
<td>Dancing in the Anzac Deli</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Based on a screenplay by Nadia</td>
<td>(Based on a screenplay by Nadia</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wheatley and Terry Larsen.)</td>
<td>Wheatley and Terry Larsen.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1986 Winner
FOWLER, Thurley
HIGHLY COMMENDED
BAILLIE, Allan
Ill. by Elizabeth HONEY
COMMENDED
LAKE, David J
Ill. by Steph [Stephen]
CAMPBELL
WHEATLEY, Nadia
The Green Wind
Little Brother
The Changelings of Chaa
The House That Was Eureka
Rigby
Blackie/Nelson
Hyland House
Viking/Kestrel/Penguin Books

From 1987 this award has become BOOK OF THE YEAR: OLDER READERS. There may be one Award Winner and up to two Honour Books.

1987 Winner
FRENCH, Simon
Honour Books
KELLEHER, Victor
RUBINSTEIN, Gillian
All We Know
Taronga
Space Demons
Angus & Robertson
Viking Kestrel/Penguin Books
Omnibus/Penguin Books

1988 Winner
MARSDEN, John
Honour Books
GLEESON, Libby
SPENCE, Eleanor
So Much To Tell You...
I Am Susannah
Deeble Boy
Walter McVitty Books
Angus & Robertson
Collins Dove

1989 Winner
RUBINSTEIN, Gillian
Honour Books
RUBINSTEIN, Gillian
MACDONALD, Caroline
Beyond the Labyrinth
Answers to Brut
The Lake at the End of the World
Hyland House Publishing
Omnibus/Penguin Books
Viking Kestrel/Penguin Books

1990 Winner
KLEIN, Robin
Honour Books
CASWELL, Brian
HATHORN, Libby
Came Back to Show You I Could Fly
Merrilly of the Stones
Thunderwith
Viking Kestrel/Penguin Books
University of Queensland Press
William Heinemann Australia

1991 Winner
CREW, Gary
Honour Books
CARMODY, Isobelle
KELLEHER, Victor
SPENCE, Eleanor
Strange Objects
The Farseekers
Brother Night
The Family Book of Mary-Claire
William Heinemann Australia
Penguin Books Australia
Julia MacRae Books
Collins Dove

1992 Winner
NILSSON, Eleanor
Honour Books
FRENCH, Simon
WALKER, Kate
The House Guest
Change the Locks
Peter
Viking/Penguin Books Australia
Ashton Scholastic
Omnibus Books
### Junior Book of the Year Awards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winner</th>
<th>Book Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>MATTINGLEY, Christobel</td>
<td>Rummage</td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KLEIN, Robin</td>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>DANN, Max</td>
<td>Bernice Knows Best</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>RODDA, Emily</td>
<td>Something Special</td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STEELE, Mary</td>
<td>Arkwright</td>
<td>Hyland House</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1987 this Award has become known as the BOOK OF THE YEAR: YOUNGER READERS. There may be one Award Winner and up to two Honour Books.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winner</th>
<th>Book Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>RODDA, Emily</td>
<td>Pigs Might Fly</td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HATHORN, Libby</td>
<td>All About Anna and Harriet and Christopher and Me</td>
<td>Methuen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MacLEOD, Doug</td>
<td>Sister Madge’s Book of Nuns</td>
<td>Omnibus Books/Penguin Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>WHEATLEY, Nadia &amp; RAWLINS, Donna</td>
<td>My Place</td>
<td>Collins Dove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FATCHEN, Max</td>
<td>A Paddock of Poems</td>
<td>Omnibus Books/Penguin Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HATHORN, Libby</td>
<td>Looking out for Sampson</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>RODDA, Emily</td>
<td>The Best-Kept Secret</td>
<td>Angus &amp; Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GRANT, Joan (editor)</td>
<td>The Australopedia: How Australia Works After 200 Years of Other People Living Here</td>
<td>McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RUBINSTEIN, Gillian</td>
<td>Melanie and the Night Animal</td>
<td>Omnibus Books/Penguin Books</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1990 Winner
ADAMS, Jeannie
HONOUR BOOKS
EDWARDS, Ian
III. by Rachel TONKIN
WALKER, Kate
III. by Laurie SHARPE

Pigs and Honey
Papa and the Olden Days
The Dragon of Mich

Omnibus Books
William Heinemann Australia
Allen & Unwin

1991 Winner
RODDA, Emily
III. by Noela YOUNG
HONOUR BOOKS
KLEIN, Robin
III. by Cathy WILCOX
PEGUERO, Leone
III. by Shirley PETERS

Finders Keepers
Boris and Borsch
Mervyn's Revenge

Omnibus Books
Allen & Unwin
Margaret Hamilton Books

1992 Winner
FIENBERG, Anna
III. by Kim GAMBLE
HONOUR BOOK
GLEITZMAN, Morris

The Magnificent Nose and Other Marvels
Misery Guts

Allen & Unwin
Pan MacMillan

1993 Winner
DISHER, Garry
HONOUR BOOKS
GLEITZMAN, Morris
HILTON, Nette
III. by Kerry MILLARD

The Bamboo Flute
Blabber Mouth
The Web

Collins Angus & Robertson
Pan Macmillan
Collins Angus & Robertson

*The books marked with an asterisk are not used by the investigator because they do not provide relevant material for her analysis.*
## APPENDIX C

### Female and Male Roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Roles</th>
<th>Female Roles</th>
<th>Male Roles</th>
<th>Male Roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal trainer</td>
<td>Rescue worker</td>
<td>Animal Trainer (3)</td>
<td>Inventor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antique collector</td>
<td>School captain</td>
<td>Alderman</td>
<td>King (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Band member</strong></td>
<td>School monitor</td>
<td>Backpacker</td>
<td><strong>Landlord (3)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling club member</td>
<td>Secretary of club</td>
<td>Cannibal</td>
<td>Leader (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair person</td>
<td>Sisters of the church</td>
<td>Captain of the Guard</td>
<td>lodger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child minder (5)</td>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>Castaway</td>
<td>Major (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church group member</td>
<td>Sorcerer</td>
<td>Coach</td>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee member</td>
<td>Stall convenor</td>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>message bearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Convict</strong></td>
<td>Squatter</td>
<td>Convict</td>
<td>military gentleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtier</td>
<td><strong>Thief (2)</strong></td>
<td>Defeneree in correction centre (2)</td>
<td>Mutineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWA member</td>
<td>University Student (2)</td>
<td>Dog breeder</td>
<td>Parachutist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrator (2)</td>
<td>Local gossip</td>
<td>Dog fight coordinator</td>
<td>Piper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Den mother - Brownies</td>
<td>Local matron</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress-lodger</td>
<td>Witch</td>
<td>Dragon slayer</td>
<td>Pioneer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drug addict/patient</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drug dealer</td>
<td>Prisoner (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fete coordinator</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Drug addict/patient</strong></td>
<td>Rebel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortune teller</td>
<td></td>
<td>Drunkard</td>
<td><strong>Refugee</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elder of the Church</td>
<td>Rescue worker (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbalist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Executor of will</td>
<td>School Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hermit</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Executioner</td>
<td>Soap box orator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Explorer</td>
<td>Soldier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapper</td>
<td></td>
<td>Football coach</td>
<td>S.P. Bookie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land lady (2)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Graffiti artist</strong></td>
<td>Squatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local history authority</td>
<td></td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>Stand over merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-wife (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermit (2)</td>
<td>Swagman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>Town Crier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop Star</td>
<td></td>
<td>Investor</td>
<td>Traitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Queen (2)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Judge (2)</td>
<td>Tramp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Refugee</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tribal leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent collector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Thief (5)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Train club member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University Student (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vandal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer fire worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Warrior</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 44

Total 65

Occupations which are in bold print indicate that they are gender inclusive. The occupations in unbolded print are gender exclusive occupations. The figure in brackets indicates the number of times the occupation is assigned to a female or a male in the CBC award books.
APPENDIX C cont.

Female and Male Roles

Family roles
Mother (58)
Grandmother (17)
Great grandmother
Step-mother
Aunt (11)
Foster parent (4)

Total 92

Family roles
Father (49)
Grandfather (5)
Uncle (12)
Step-father (2)
Foster parent

Total 69

Occupations which are in bold print indicate that they are gender inclusive. The occupations in unbolded print are gender exclusive occupations. The figure in brackets indicates the number of times the occupation is assigned to a female or a male in the CBC award books.
APPENDIX D

Categorisation of Female and Male Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Managers/ Administrators</th>
<th>Male Managers/ Administrators</th>
<th>Female Professional</th>
<th>Male Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>Acting Manager</td>
<td>Actress</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Anthropologist</td>
<td>Archeologist (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Principal (5)</td>
<td>Bank Managera (2)</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Architect (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caravan Park Manager</td>
<td>Business woman</td>
<td>Army Personnel Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Classics Scholar</td>
<td>Astrologer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Minister (5)</td>
<td>Counsellor (2)</td>
<td>Businessman (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>Dancer</td>
<td>Concert Pianist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health Inspector</td>
<td>Doctor (3)</td>
<td>Concessionaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Counsellor (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overseer</td>
<td>Industrial Chemist</td>
<td>Dentist (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
<td>Librarian (6)</td>
<td>Doctor (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Property Managers (14)</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Principal (6)</td>
<td>Ship’s Captain (6)</td>
<td>Scientist (2)</td>
<td>Farmer (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Store Manager (2)</td>
<td>Teacher (31)</td>
<td>Lawyer (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theatre Manager</td>
<td>Translator</td>
<td>Museum curator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tutor</td>
<td>Natural history expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Photographer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Presenter (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sub categories 3</td>
<td>Total sub categories 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Priest (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of females 7</td>
<td>Total no. of males 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Professor (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total no. of males 17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total no. of males 56</td>
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<td>Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tutor (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vicar (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Welfare Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total sub categories 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total no. of males 137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupations which are in bold print indicate that they are gender inclusive. The occupations in unbolded print are gender exclusive occupations. The figure in brackets indicates the number of times the occupation is assigned to a female or a male in the CBC award books.
APPENDIX D cont.

Categorisation of Female and Male Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Para-professional</th>
<th>Male Para-professional</th>
<th>Female Tradepersons</th>
<th>Male Tradepersons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laboratory Technician</td>
<td>Aide de Campe</td>
<td>Animal Trainer</td>
<td>Animal Trainer/Keeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matron (5)</td>
<td>Beach Inspector</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>Apiarist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun/Sister (4)</td>
<td>Computer Consultant</td>
<td>Cook (2)</td>
<td>Baker (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse (10)</td>
<td>Computer Programmer</td>
<td>Dress Designer</td>
<td>Barber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policewoman</td>
<td>Debt Collector</td>
<td>Dressmaker (2)</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmistress</td>
<td>Developer</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation Officer</td>
<td>Electronics Specialist</td>
<td>Hairdresser (3)</td>
<td>Builder (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Reporter</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Interior Designer</td>
<td>Butcher (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sub categories 8</td>
<td>Footballer</td>
<td>Strapper</td>
<td>Car Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of females 24</td>
<td>Immigration Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Circus Performer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jockey</td>
<td></td>
<td>Confectioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marine Maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td>Electrician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mariner</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse Breeder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanic (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pilot (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Magician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Policeman (12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nurseryman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recruitment Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Painter (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soldier (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perfume Maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Station Master (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Printer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ticket Inspector</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ring Master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roofer (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sub categories 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Impersonator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of males 54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shearer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupations which are in bold print indicate that they are gender inclusive. The occupations in unbolded print are gender exclusive occupations. The figure in brackets indicates the number of times the occupation is assigned to a female or a male in the CBC award books.
### APPENDIX D cont.

**Categorisation of Female and Male Occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Clerks</th>
<th>Male Clerks</th>
<th>Female Salepersons &amp; Personnel</th>
<th>Male Salepersons &amp; Personnel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountant's Assistant</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Bar Maid</td>
<td>Bank Teller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Keeper</td>
<td>News Boy (2)</td>
<td>Boarding House Mistress</td>
<td>Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Office Worker</td>
<td>Child Minder (2)</td>
<td>Cabin Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Assistant</td>
<td>Postal Worker (4)</td>
<td>Dental Nurse</td>
<td>Cadet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Girl (2)</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Foster Mother</td>
<td>Car Dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary (4)</td>
<td>Shire Employee</td>
<td>Game Show Assistant</td>
<td>Deck Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Governess</td>
<td>Doorman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total sub categories 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. of females 11</th>
<th>Total no. of males 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Salepersons &amp; Personnel</th>
<th>Male Salepersons &amp; Personnel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bar Maid</td>
<td>Bank Teller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding House Mistress</td>
<td>Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Minder (2)</td>
<td>Cabin Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental Nurse</td>
<td>Cadet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Mother</td>
<td>Car Dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game Show Assistant</td>
<td>Deck Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governess</td>
<td>Doorman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper/Nanny 5</td>
<td>Draper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Worker</td>
<td>Fish Wholesaler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing Aide (2)</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographic Assistant</td>
<td>Hawker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Hand dealer</td>
<td>Merchant (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant/Maid (2)</td>
<td>Newsagent (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistant (17)</td>
<td>Real Estate Agent (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Proprietor (11)</td>
<td>Salesman (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Lady</td>
<td>Second Hand Dealer Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticket Seller</td>
<td>Shop Assistant (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usher 92)</td>
<td>Shop Prop. (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>Travel Agent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total sub categories 20**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total no. of females 55</th>
<th>Total no. of males 52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Occupations which are in bold print indicate that they are gender inclusive. The occupations in unbolded print are gender exclusive occupations. The figure in brackets indicates the number of times the occupation is assigned to a female or a male in the CBC award books.
### APPENDIX D cont.

#### Categorisation of Female and Male Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Plant &amp; Machine Operator &amp; Driver</th>
<th>Male Plant &amp; Machine Operator &amp; Driver</th>
<th>Female Labourers Related Worker</th>
<th>Male Labourers &amp; Related Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Entry</td>
<td>Balloonist (2)</td>
<td>Cleaner (4)</td>
<td>Cane Cutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bus Driver (2)</td>
<td>Factory (4)</td>
<td>Cleaner (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carousel Operator</td>
<td>Fruit Picker (3)</td>
<td>Docker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chauffeur</td>
<td>Herbalist</td>
<td>Fisherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coachman</td>
<td>Kitchen Hand</td>
<td>Fruit Picker (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fireman (4)</td>
<td>Landlady</td>
<td>Garage Hand (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milkman</td>
<td>Laundrette Worker</td>
<td>Garbage Collector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taxi Cab Driver (4)</td>
<td>Station Hand</td>
<td>Gardener (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Train Driver (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Guard (Train)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Transport/Truck Driver 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Itinerant Worker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Logger (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Total no. of females 0</td>
<td>Total sub categories 8</td>
<td>Miner (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Total no. of females 16</td>
<td>Night Watchman (4)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Railway Worker (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sailor (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stable Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State Emergency Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Timber Mill Employee</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Trisaw Operator</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Male Miscellaneous</th>
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<tr>
<td>Madam</td>
<td>Mercenary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prostitute</td>
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<th>Total subcategories 2</th>
<th>Total subcategories 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of females 2</td>
<td>Total no. of males 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupations which are in bold print indicate that they are gender inclusive. The occupations in unbolded print are gender exclusive occupations. The figure in brackets indicates the number of times the occupation is assigned to a female or a male in the CBC award books.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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CBC AWARD AND HONOUR TITLES REFERRED TO IN THIS STUDY


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