The Construction Of Gender Occupations In Mexico: Government Issued Elementary Textbooks

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER OCCUPATIONS IN MEXICO:
GOVERNMENT ISSUED ELEMENTARY TEXTBOOKS

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Ana, whose selfless life choices have allowed me to succeed in life.

Te adoro en un sartén
Acknowledgements

I was inspired to conduct research on Mexico's government issued, elementary textbooks in 2011 during Dr. Kathleen Staudt’s Seminar on Comparative Political Development. I am grateful to Estella Valles for providing the Secretaría de Educación Pública textbooks.

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Abstract

Historically, gender occupational stereotyping has mainly affected women across numerous social areas. Given that political socialization plays a key role in the classroom, analyzing the gendered language and images in textbooks can help determine social expectations and the efficacy of gendered policies. Previous works suggest that elementary textbooks (through gendered words and images) structure children’s perceptions of women’s and men's occupations. In addition, much work remains with respect to exploring how such depictions may contribute to the gendered stereotyping that continues to permeate across certain Mexican communities, specifically in the private and public sphere. To fill this gap, I conduct a critical analysis of elementary textbooks from Mexico's Public Education Secretariat Department to test the effects of gendered stereotyping in learning materials. I argue that by addressing and eradicating gendered stereotyping in children's textbooks, policy makers and practitioners may help address many of the social challenges related to gender inequality in Mexico.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ....................................................................................................................... v

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................ vi

Table of Contents ........................................................................................................................ vii

List of Tables ................................................................................................................................... ix

List of Figures .................................................................................................................................. x

List of Illustrations ........................................................................................................................ xi

Chapter 1: Road Map ................................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 Definitions ............................................................................................................................ 3
  1.2 Mixed Methods Approach: Concurrent Triangulation ......................................................... 4
  1.3 Summary ................................................................................................................................ 5

Chapter 2: Mexico's Educational System .................................................................................. 6
  2.1 Centralization ....................................................................................................................... 6
  2.2 Official Propaganda: Soft Curricula .................................................................................... 11
  2.3 Secretaría de Educación Pública .......................................................................................... 14
  2.4 Prevention of Violence Against Women ............................................................................. 16
  2.5 Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres ....................................................................................... 17
  2.6 Summary .............................................................................................................................. 21

Chapter 3: Gender Construction and Gender Stereotyping in Political Socialization ............. 22
  3.1 Political Socialization .......................................................................................................... 22
  3.2 Emerging Variables .............................................................................................................. 30
  3.3 Gender Role Construction through education ...................................................................... 31
  3.4 Gender Role Construction in Textbooks ............................................................................ 33
  3.5 Gender Role Construction: Sexism ..................................................................................... 35
  3.6 Gender Role Construction: Stereotypes in Literature ......................................................... 38
  3.7 Global Surveillance on Governmental Textbooks ............................................................... 42
  3.8 Global Studies on Gender Role Construction through Language and Illustrations ......... 44
  3.9 Summary .............................................................................................................................. 51
List of Tables

Table 4.1 Civic and Ethic Construction: First Grade Textbook ......................................................... 57
Table 4.2 Civic and Ethic Construction: Second Grade Textbook .................................................. 62
Table 4.3 Civic and Ethic Construction: Third Grade Textbook .................................................... 66
Table 4.4 Civic and Ethic Construction: Fourth Grade Textbook .................................................... 68
Table 4.5 Civic and Ethic Construction: Fifth Grade Textbook ...................................................... 72
Table 4.6 Civic and Ethic Construction: Sixth Grade Textbook ...................................................... 74
Table 5.1 Significant Findings ......................................................................................................... 90
List of Figures

Figure 4.1: Word Cloud ........................................................................................................ 79

Figure 5.1: Concepts ........................................................................................................ 84
List of Illustrations

Illustration 4.1 La Patria ................................................................. 56
Chapter 1: Road Map

The objective of this thesis is to analyze Mexico's Civic and Ethic Construction elementary, governmental issued textbooks by applying the results of my content analysis to understand the influence of political socialization over gender construction stereotypes. These textbooks construct future generations' perspectives over national ideologies, while at the same time shape students' view of gender, social and political, future occupations. To this end, the thesis is structured in four chapters and a conclusion. The following sections describe each of the chapters' content and the mixed methodology that will be use to analyze the illustrations and narratives within the selected textbooks.

The idea for this thesis rests on the pioneer reader, *Dick and Jane as victims: sex stereotyping in children's readers*, by Women on Words and Images. This study paved the way for the replication of my own study. The importance of this trail blazer study and its renounced methodic process resulted in it becoming an advocacy book for the problem of gender stereotyping in children's readers. Having analyzed 134 elementary schools readers, a total of 2,760 stories from fourteen different publishers, demonstrated the roles girls and boys are socially guided to grow into by these readers. Based on this work, I choose to implement the same, although with adjustments, content analysis of Mexico's Civic and Ethic Construction elementary, governmental issued textbooks to learn about the stereotypical occupations these required textbooks posit on future generations. The significance of this study relies on the stereotyped perspectives students gain from the stereotyped content, through illustrations and narratives, of these government issued textbooks. Most importantly, these stereotypes become the norm for students' future perspective and decisions over political matters in terms of gender equality rights. These gender stereotyped perspectives pave the way for the future of gender inequality issues that affect Mexico's’ society in their consolidation of democracy.

Although Chapter 2, Mexico's Educational System, briefly compares Mexico's centralized educational system to the United States decentralized educational system, this thesis is not to be
considered a comparative study of the two countries. Rather, the exposé of U.S. studies defines methodological trends that have transcended over to Mexican studies. The emphasis of this chapter is to demonstrate the force behind Mexico's Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) in the curricula and inevitably within the selected civics textbooks. This chapter also explains the motives behind the required free textbooks. The different types of schools in Mexico, public, private and charter will also be discussed in chapter two. It is important to distinguish between the types of schools in order to achieve a better understanding of the impact that these textbooks have on elementary education.

Chapter 3, Gender Construction and Gender Stereotyping in Political Socialization, reviews the literature of these concepts. This chapter will present the different ways, through studies, through which political socialization has been measured. A literature review of U.S. and Mexican studies concerning political socialization, gender construction, gender stereotypes, and sexism will be provided. To supplement the global concern for these concepts, international studies are also discussed as part of the literature review.

Chapter 4, Gender Occupations in Civic and Ethic Construction Textbooks: Findings and Content Analysis, describes the data collection approach and the content analysis of illustrations and narratives. To empirically capture the illustrations’ stereotypes, a table featuring 15 categories differentiating the amount of illustrations representing women’s and men’s activities is provided for each textbook. At the same time, the use of a word cloud, visual representation of text data, is provided in order to decipher the number of times specific gender occupations are used in the content. In other words, informing the frequency of occupations featuring women and the frequency of occupations featuring men. Most importantly, it enlightens the most frequent occupation engaged by women and men throughout all 6 Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks.

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1 Using the online tool available at http://www.abcya.com/word_clouds.htm.
Chapter 5, Elementary Students’ Political Socialization and Mexico’s Future on Gender Occupation Construction, summarizes this thesis’ important concepts, data, and findings. It also provides implications for future research, including the possibility of conducting surveys and observing teachers’ teaching methods; as well as further investigating SEP textbooks’ authors. Chapter 5 also supplies a section of policy recommendations for the future of the Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks, including the engagement of women's machineries catering to women's advocacy.

1.1 Definitions

Before engaging in the content of this thesis, it is imperative that the reader becomes familiar with definite concepts. Reading this thesis through gender glasses, that is, thinking about the given themes from a women’s and men’s perspective, and having in mind a specific definition of political socialization enhances a better understanding of this social problem. Political socialization is the transmission of values and of expected roles one should grow up to become during his or her lifetime. Mexico is currently trying to achieve gender equality approval within its educational system. The SEP and the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES), further discussed in Chapter 2, have all tackled this problem by developing public polices and revising the content of the textbooks. However, it is important to note that there are many studies that dictate the problem in another direction, teachers own gender biases. The process of political socialization is one of the many social processes where gender construction takes place. By using textbooks, filled with narratives and images concerning historical and political figures, and events children learn to 'do gender', that is, how to act according to the learned female or male characteristics attributed to women and men. Stereotypes and sexism play a big role in the development of gender construction. These two problems arise from the historical and traditional notions that have posit women in a private, or domestic, sphere and men in a public sphere, such as the workforce. This positioning or categorization of genders has transcended throughout history and into students’ minds about what is expected of them as well as the limitations they should adhere to.
1.2 Mixed Methods Approach: Concurrent Triangulation

In using a mixed methods approach I will choose a concurrent mixed method design of concurrent triangulation to gather quantitative and qualitative data. According to Gonzalez-Castro et al., "The purpose of concurrent triangulations designs is to use both qualitative and quantitative data to more accurately define relationships among variables of interest...both qualitative and quantitative data are collected during the same stage, although one form of data is given more weight over the other" (2010, 344). In implementing this type of mixed methods design, I will be gathering the following data.

1.1.1 Quantitative Data

In an attempt to gain knowledge over how women and men are stereotyped in these textbooks, I will analyze a total of 6 elementary textbooks from the SEP. Ranging from first to sixth grade, the Civics and Ethics Formation textbooks will be analyzed. To demonstrate the presence of stereotypes in the selected textbooks from the SEP, I will be looking at the weekly lectures provided in each textbook and provide, through categories, a total count (ratio) of the representation of women and men. I will then provide sections to describe the most significant findings, in terms of numbers, and provide a critical analysis over the narratives used by the textbook’s content to depict them. This will inform the readers about existing stereotypes throughout the textbooks’ illustrations.

1.1.2 Qualitative Data

In gathering the qualitative data, I will be examining word patterns. In other words, I will be looking and analyzing the words that describe girls/women and the words that describe boys/men. In identifying the word patterns I will be able to capture the stereotyping of women's and men’s roles. Moreover, each lecture will become a case study. These case studies will be useful for succeeding in the following qualitative matters: achieving a higher level of conceptual validity, having strong procedures for fostering new hypotheses, having their value as a useful means to closely examine they hypothesized
role of causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases, and finally, having capacity for addressing causal complexity (Bennett and George 2005, 19). In acquiring a higher level of conceptual validity, I will be able to provide a higher level of validity for political socialization. I would also be able to develop other hypotheses through the new variables found in each lecture. Additionally, I would be able to better assess the causal mechanism in the context of each lecture.

1.3 Summary

On the path to examine the relationship between government issued textbooks and the portrayed stereotypes, through political socialization, on gender occupations, this thesis is divided into four steps: 1) I will provide a historical background of Mexico’s educational system, 2) Next, I will consolidate the concepts of political socialization, gender construction, gender stereotypes and sexism, 4) I will then analyze the 6 SEP Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks and provide the most significant results along with a content analysis of them, and 5) I will finally succinctly conclude this thesis by providing a summary for each of the four chapters and provide implications for future research and policy recommendations.
Chapter 2: Mexico's Educational System

Mexico's independence from Spain brought radical changes to its educational system. Provided that this new liberty positioned Mexico in a transitional stage, from a centralist to federalist nation, these changes did not rapidly secure decentralization. The slow process of modernizing the educational system is the result of the country's different political leaders' ideologies, and what each of them has conceived of as 'adhering to democratization'. This chapter focuses on Mexico's centralization, the role of soft propaganda, and the pivotal moments that have shaped the current educational system in Mexico, including the very important participation of the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) and the actions taken for gender equality improvement by the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES).

2.1 Centralization

Although aiming to achieve governmental decentralization, Mexico is still currently characterized as possessing and exercising a centralized government, where states have little to no control over educational matters. Understanding the centralization that the country possesses is crucial to further comprehending the key of this thesis, government issued textbooks in Mexico. Therefore, a historical review of Mexico's educational system, its reforms, and progress needs to be described.

Public education in Mexico dates back as one of the most important results of its independence from Spain in 1821. As a result, the federal government allowed for a Federation of States; by 1917, it gave the states the responsibility of providing education to constituents (Schmelkes 1997, 149). Even though Mexico's first and second Constitutions decentralized the federal government from educational matters, by giving its states the authority to organize and structure its own public education, the lack of financial and educational resources did not permit a successful educational management by the states. Scholar, Sylvia Schmelkes (1997) describes this problem, "It [Constitutional decentralization] is also the root of profound educational inequalities among the different states, which is at present one of the
principal educational problems in the country" (150). This problem was addressed by centralizing the educational system so that states could provide good and free education to their constituents. The federal government taking over, as temporary relievers of this problem, opened up a loophole that has been hard to close. In other words, states have not been able to restitute their complete autonomy over education matters within their constituents.

2.1.1 Pivotal Moments: Leading Figures

Once the states were able to provide education to their constituents, they wanted to become decentralized from the federal government. This has yet to happen, given that power and control over such an important and influential agent, education, is not easy to give up. The control of education is not simple to unleash, especially by those who can manipulate it according to their party's needs. However, there were many political figures who tried to decentralize the educational system. Lic. Jose Vasconcelos, former rector of the National University, noticed that the problem of not being able to provide superior education had to be solved by the federal government, with limitations to its control over states. As a result of this vision, Vasconcelos became the first Secretary of Public Education in 1921 (Schmelkes 1997, 151). However, his 'good intention' attempts to secure education for the nation backfired, because the federal government began to increase its power. The federal government became a massive bureaucracy taking control of other social issues. Political leaders such as Reyes Heroles, De La Madrid, Zedillo, and finally Salinas de Gortari worked towards decentralization, and as a result the Agreement of the Modernization of Basic Education was signed. This meant that the federal government would transfer educational administration to the states. However, the federal government still kept "in exclusivity the normative, evaluative and compensatory functions" (Schemelkes 1997, 152). The power held by the federal government stems out of Mexico's golden age, where centralization was disguised as success.
2.1.2 El Porfiriato

One of the greatest influences to the educational system was former Mexican president, Lic. Porfirio Díaz. Under his 35 years of presidency, one of the objectives of the country became the achievement of democracy through the implementation of supreme education. Mílada Bazant further explains this by stating that, "Educational democracy was a distant dream, but a possible one...Education had its successes in quality, but not in quantity" (2006, 15). Although the dream to have exceptional education was plausible, the limitations posed by Mexico's states' inability for economic sustainability obstructed its achievement.

During Díaz' presidency, Mexico's education skyrocketed and became sublime. His ideology consisted of providing the same kind of education to everyone so they could achieve an equal social status (Bazant 2006, 16). However, the good intentions to produce an educated and productive country fell short, as Mexico's social development was not parallel to these educational changes. This mainly had to do with the vast rural population that was left outside of the urban society. Also, the rapid development of industrialization played a huge role in the development of the educational system. The competitiveness of global performance drove Díaz to make political and educational leaders believe that education was the key to social modernization and democracy, regardless of other social limitations facing the country (i.e. public health, territorial divisions, and job creations). The push for providing equal education began to grow into a dangerous zone of governmental centralization.

President Díaz's ideology of uniformity also translated into the school system's existing textbooks and subjects. However, discrepancies over the use of the textbooks began when the rate of graduating teachers increased. This meant that textbooks were not a mere tool for education, but rather teachers could also contribute via personal opinion. Also, the realization that memorizing textbooks impaired students' ability to rationalize and analyze the texts pushed to annihilate further the use of

2 However the good intentions to better the country by establishing supreme education, his dictatorship ruling approach tremendously hurt the country's economy. See http://mexicanhistory.org/Diaz.htm
them, "These points of views were so dominant that, by the end of the regime, 1910, the use of textbooks was voluntary" (Bazant 2006, 57). In other words, voluntary use of textbooks resulted in an interpretative teaching method.

The textbook and subject that directly deals with nationalistic inclinations is Civic Education. For Civic Education, during the porfiriato, its main concentrations were about the rights and freedoms of citizens, the right to a job, the right to free education, freedom of speech, and freedom to vote, but these rights were mythical in that they were not consolidated. History, as a school subject, became a heated debate. The porfiriatos (Porfirio's followers) wanted to illustrate Mexico's history in an inductive approach, one where the history of the municipality would be taught first, and the national history (in relation to the international sphere) would follow. This would only fortify children's loyalty and patriotic admiration to their country's history (i.e. historical figures, successful battles, among others). Díaz emphasized the importance of these textbooks, to create a nationalistic future generation for Mexico and to use these textbooks to develop their roles of citizenship. Due to the importance placed on the textbooks, it was important to constantly revise them and portray history from a patriotic view and not from actual historical cases (Bazant 2006, 67). This nationalistic and centralized view ended with Mexico's 1910 revolutionary war, where socialist ideologists demanded a change. Socialist demanded changes that focused on cultural and technical training, thereby changing the educational system to one which was more practical and democratic (Rippberger and Staudt 2003, 31).

2.1.3 Progress

By exploring civic education in the state of Morelos, Lorena Orozco (1998) thoroughly provides an overview of Mexico’s progress of decentralization. She emphasizes the importance and interrelated concepts of democracy and decentralization, which are, “Decentralization as means of pursuing stability and legitimacy will depend on the implementation of direct democracy through the greater instilling of political culture where democracy is learned and practiced” (1998, 10). The link between democracy
and the power of decentralization lies in the quality and quantity of stability that its democracy is able to provide. This has yet to completely happen in Mexico. The following study, conducted by Maria Teresa Tato, describes and analyzes the reforms that have helped Mexico achieve a closer acquisition of decentralization.

For instance, in an attempt to decentralize itself from mandating states' school curricula, the Mexican federal government has tried to do this by "Monitoring the devolution of authority and responsibility for education to the states" (Tatto 1999, 251). Tato's study addresses this issue by providing a thorough discussion of the 'supposed' improvements (reform and structure of authorities). However, she does assert that just because this works in the United States, "Much speculation has evolved around whether a decentralized system of education (of which the United States of America is an extreme example) can achieve the level of coherence to implement changes required by current reforms" (Tatto 1999, 254), it does not mean that Mexico can rapidly and successfully achieve the same level of success.

The 1992 National Agreement to Modernize Basic Education (ANMEB) became one of the first decentralization reforms. It effectively decentralized the federal government from controlling the states' curricula. The rapid implementation of this reform was in part due to the national teachers' union (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacion, SNTE) (Tatto 1999, 259). Even though the changes were seen as progress for Mexico's educational system, they were more symbolic than practical. In other words, the new reforms were not being implemented within classrooms. The result of this deficiency paved the way for the creation of the technical councils, Consejo Técnicos Escolares (CTEs), where they must adhere to Mexico's Ministry of Education statutes. Tato conveyed their role in the following manner, "CTEs...they have functioned for years as instruments to implement the ministry's mandates and monitor teacher compliance...more often they [CTEs' meetings] are an environment where teachers and principals' personal agendas prevail" (1999, 562).
Even with the 'exercised control', imposed by the Ministry of Education, CTEs are successful due to involvement of the teachers, "The most important instrument of the reform to move teaching from didactic/routine to interactive/conceptual is teacher education" (Tatto 1999, 264). The National Council on Teacher Training (CONACEN) provides different programs (PAM: Program for Teacher Updating and PARE: Compensatory Program to Address Educational Lag) for teachers' own growth as primary inculcators of classroom curricula. Tatto concludes, "Mexico's top down reform strategy differs substantially from the idea of a weak state and stronger regions, contrary to what notions of 'decentralizing functions' and 'devolving power' would suggest" (Tatto 1999, p. 282.)

Now that there is a brief understanding of Mexico's centralized educational system and its pivotal moments, key political figures, as well as key agreements and progress to achieving decentralization, it is also important to take a dive into an important characterization of Mexico's educational system, the mechanism behind official propaganda, also known as the hidden or soft curricula, behind education.

2.2 Official Propaganda: Soft Curricula

Official propaganda, or soft curricula, derives from the government's attempt to build loyal constituents. The study of the effects of official propaganda can be seen in the early works of Carroll Woody, "Propaganda may be regarded as primarily designed to produce action, or attitudes favorable to the compliance with the action to the part of others" (1935, 227). To further understand the implication of propaganda, Woody distinguishes between the concept of education and the concept of propaganda, "Education, in the schools, consists in teaching the material-facts and attitudes-which the teaching profession believes should be taught; propaganda consists in the teaching facts or opinions insisted upon by persons or groups not a part of the school machinery" (1935, 231). These persons or groups that are not part of the school institutions are the government officials who want their party ideology to 'softly' become part of the curricula. Woody's study primarily focuses on the responsibility of the actors behind
education, "Those who determine the content of curriculum must of necessity assume responsibility for deciding what is the social inheritance and what parts of this inheritance should be passed on" (1935, 234). Another scholar who concurs with Woody's perception of official propaganda, to build up subjective loyalty, is Roberta Sigel. Sigel asserts that, "Since the best guarantee for political loyalty in adulthood lies with its establishment in childhood, if the schools can succeed in making loyal Americans out of their pupils, the government's task will be considerably eased later on. No wonder then that from time immemorial governments have used education for propaganda purposes" (1970, 311). It is within curricula that, although invisible at times, governmental propaganda emphasizes its nationalistic values. According to Sigel, there are various ways for official propaganda to infiltrate the educational system, "Intrinsic to such education is of course a definition of a citizen- what is expected of him, how can he best serve his country, and what political beliefs, expectations, and behaviors are considered desirable" (Sigel 1970, 312). In the U.S., this paves the way for future social roles and stereotypes.

Other scholars have tackled the role of official propaganda in relation to other variables. Walter L. Nourse and William B. Brown (1940), five years after Woody, write about the implementation of sociology in the curricula. Their study focuses on the implementation of sociology in curricula with the hopes of broadening students' knowledge about social problems, "It is already contributing richly to the development of mature, balanced personalities on the part of boys and girls on our schools" (Nourse and Brown 1940, 413). This means that other variables, such as social issues, need to be part of the curricula so that girls and boys can become aware of these through education.

More recently, scholars are specifically concentrating on different global issues to showcase the effects of soft curricula in textbooks. The realization of the deplorable effects of nationalistic soft propaganda have scholars further examining the manner in which governments and their ideologies are being transmitted to the younger generations. In his book, Robert Coles writes about the process by which nations have historically passed down ideologies to their constituents. He analyses the past work
of many powerful nations, historical leaders, and scholars that have tackled the issue of soft propaganda, including: Roman Empire, Nazis, Rousseau and Plato, Greenstein to name a few (Coles 1986). Dan Porat dissects the narratives of the Israeli-Arab conflict in his 2006 study. Porat aims at discovering how a singular perspective portrayal of this event affects students’ perception of the issues. He discovered that although there are many ways by which students can reach the meaning of a historical event (horizons of expectations, gaps in the texts, and narrative interpretations), it us ultimately the cultural backbone that is part of every individual that determines the path of perspective (Porat 2006, 268). In other words, educational guidance is limited by the culture that society implants on young generations through family and traditions.

During the Porfiriatio, the nationalistic curriculum was neither soft nor hidden. Díaz openly wanted children to inherit patriotic ideologies and develop loyal behavior to Mexico. A current study performed by Young (2012) dictates that Mexico's history textbooks are still portraying nationalistic views, but instead of openly expressing it, they are using the soft, hidden curricula approach. Young further explains this, "History is presented as a linear progression, reflecting strong processes of ideology that hides the crimes and corruption of governmental leaders, entrepreneurs and other members of the ruling class, as well as the contributions and stories of the subordinate class" (Young 2012, 599). Mexico's education is still keeping away from historical facts that can sink the patriotic goal of forming loyal citizens.

The realization that students are learning hidden ideologies is alarming and should be addressed. In the following section, I examine the one primary institution that is the responsible for providing education to children in Mexico, the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP). It is the most important educational organism that dictates the curricula, and accordingly, its hidden ideologies because it controls public education in Mexico. Public schools are attended by most children in Mexico, 71.9 percent, thus being influenced by the government's ideologies.
2.3 Secretaría de Educación Pública

The Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) is Mexico's Ministry of Education. It oversees the public education provided to the nation's children and adults. The SEP's mission and purpose declare that, "The SEP intends to create essential conditions to ensure the access of all Mexicans to quality education in the required levels and modalities where demanded" (sep.gob.mx 2010). Along with providing quality education, one of the key values of the SEP is to guarantee gender equity environments for girls and boys; the same opportunities, conditions, and ways of treatment, without leaving aside the distinctiveness of one another in safeguarding their rights as Mexican citizens (sep.gob.mx 2010). Another main function is to provide free textbooks to schools in order to safeguard education's equality and quality. Mexico's Constitution, under the third and twenty-fourth articles, guarantees free education to all of its constituents. The Comisión Nacional de los Libros de Texto Gratuitos (CONALITEG), national commission of free textbooks, is responsible for providing free textbooks to its constituents and for the context provided within the textbooks (conaliteg.gob.mx 2010).

2.3.1 Historical Overview

This first Ministry of Education, the Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, 1917, was not successful due to municipalities' limitations of resources, but most importantly because the ministry only oversaw the Distrito Federal (Federal District) and its federal territories, leaving behind the rest of the population. As previously stated, Mexico's federation of states was not able to provide quality education, "The root of profound educational inequalities among different states, which is at present one of the principal educational problems in the country" (Schmelkes 1997, 150). In 1921, former Mexican President Lic. Adolfo de la Huerta allowed for the creation of positive and key educational changes. To safeguard what the third article of the Constitution offered to Mexico's population (free, required, and neutral education) it was necessary for the government to take complete control. It was this notion that paved the way for the creation of the SEP. There were three main departments created within the
ministry: the school department, the library department, and the Bellas Artes (liberal arts) department. Later, other departments were added (indigenous education and illiteracy programs). Technical and vocational schools were also created under the SEP. To further understand the role of the SEP, particularly in elementary school, it is important to describe its structure and curriculum.

2.3.2 Structure and Curricula

The structure of the SEP is rooted in the Ley General de Educación (General Law of Education). In accordance with this general educational act, the federation must take responsibility for the function of basic education. In addition, it should define guidelines, plans and programs, in concurrence with the local education authorities; shape the school calendar and develop the production of free textbooks, as well as plan the national evaluations of education (sep.gob.mx 2010, 7). This act has established 3 types of education: basic, middle superior and superior (sep.gob.mx 2010, 5). Basic education embodies preschool, elementary school, and high school. Since this thesis analyzes the textbooks pertaining to grades first through sixth, the focus of this section will be on basic education type at the elementary level.

Nationally, 75.5 percent of the school population is located in basic education, 71.9 percent of students attend schools operated by the state governments, 10.4 percent attend federal schools, and 12.9 percent attend private schools (sep.gob.mx 2010, 11). Specifically, there are 14.9 million of children who attend elementary school. There is a percentage of 85.9 of those students who attend state schools, 5.9 percent who attend federal schools, and 8.2 percent that attend private schools. The SEP provides an overall curriculum for all three types of school. This means that federal, state, and private schools must follow the curriculum so that their school projects can be federally validated. Thus, even though state and private schools may choose complimentary curriculums or additional material, they still have to abide to the centralization of the SEP.
The curriculum is developed by the Dirección General de Formación Continua de Maestros en Servicio (DGFCMS), a sub-educational ministry of the SEP. The guidelines of the curriculum dictates what teachers are expected to teach students, according to school subjects. The school subjects that embody the SEP's curriculum are the following: Spanish, Math, Exploration of Nature and Society, Construction of Civic and Ethics, Physical Education, and, Art; all of the subjects focus on a didactic approach (sep.gob.mx 2011).

According to the Civic and Ethic Construction curriculum, students should learn the following: self-knowledge and self-care, self-regulation and responsible exercise of authority, respect and appreciation of diversity, sense of belonging to the community, the nation, and humanity, management and conflict resolution, social and political participation, adherence to the law and sense of justice, and finally, understanding and appreciation for democracy (SEP 2011, 126-127). All of these concepts are learned through various and different methods of educational tools, including textbooks. These themes do acknowledge respect and admiration for one another and convey gender issues (as further described in Chapter 5). The SEP has taken interest in the progress of gender equality. Currently, the SEP's progress relies on its work within textbooks for prevention of violence against women.

2.4 PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

As an institution, whose primary task is to provide educational equality to Mexico's constituents, the SEP also contributes to the achievement of greater gender equality in the fight for prevention of violence against women. The SEP provides a section for gender equality and prevention of violence against women. In 2008, the SEP received funds from Cámara de Diputados (House of Representatives) to implement a gender equality perspective within educational activities and programs. The purpose of such programs is to deconstruct the stereotypes and traditional social roles that perpetuate gender
inequality. In 1998, as a result of this new subject implementation, a revision of the SEP textbooks was conducted in order to eliminate elements and concepts that condone discrimination and violence against women. The analysis was also conducted in order to propose modifications from a gender equality perspective. According to the SEP's website, and under the Gender Equality section, "The final report of 2010 highlights the visible improvement of the materials discussed in the issue of gender, number and distribution of male and female images, descriptions and gender relations, and unfair practices, discrimination or violence" (sep.gob.mx 2010).

Even though the SEP tries to achieve progress with gender equality, its centralized government and hidden agenda do not actually provide the atmosphere for rapid and successful changes. As a result of these limitations, the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres was created in 2001 to deal with women's issues, particularly the following: civil society, life without violence, entrepreneurs and businesswomen, and women's local development among others.

2.5 INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE LAS MUJERES

The Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES) specifically dedicates itself to the progress and development of a culture that embarks gender equality. Its development dates back to the 1947 reform, under article 4 of the Mexican Constitution. However, it was not until the Fourth World Conference of Women, held in Beijing in 1995, that Mexico began to provide women with benefits based on gender equality, such as human dignity, and the empowerment and advancement of women (UN-documents.net 1985). The conference was the last push for Congress to approve the development of the Ley del Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (Law of Women's National Institution), which made INMUJERES a public institution, decentralized from the federal administration, serving as a women's machinery, central coordinating unit for women's affairs within national governments, in Mexico
Before INMUJERES, the establishment in place was the National Commission for Women (CONMUJER), created by former Mexican president Lic. Ernesto Zedillo in 1998. It was the first women's machinery to produce successful results, such as the development of the *Sistema de Indicadores del Seguimiento de la Condición de las Mujeres*. This statistical system generated sex disaggregated data, which served for planning public policy aimed specifically at the advancement of women (CNDH.org.mx 2009, 88).

INMUJERE'S main objective constitutes the following, "Ensure legal equality, women's human rights and non-discrimination, women's access to justice, security and civil protection, as well as access to a life free of violence...In addition, strengthening the capacity of women to expand their opportunities and reduce gender inequality" (inmujeres.gob 2010). One of the most important pieces of information that INMUJERES provides are statistical reports dealing with various women's issues, including information on gender inequality in the workplace. Since this thesis looks at the representation of women's and men's occupational roles in the SEP textbooks, it is imperative to illustrate the current inequality and stereotyping of workforce occupations that currently exists. To examine the representation of women, I will look at the dual role of working women over the last 30 years. A recent trend shows women have become the breadwinners of their households, yet they have also managed to keep their imposed traditional roles as domestic caregivers. Therefore, because women have to manage both spheres, gender inequality in the workplace easily targets women, "It is precisely the increased time women spend on domestic work, restricting their work and their participation in other areas, such as politics, placing them at a disadvantage in relation to men and limiting economic autonomy" (inmujeres.gob 2008, 2).
Given that one of the components of this thesis examines gender stereotypes, it is important to dive into the statistical reports of Mexico’s labor market. This evidence will further cultivate my thesis, insofar as that teaching children about gender stereotyped occupations at a young age results in them fulfilling gender stereotypes as adults.

Although gender inequality exists in many tiers of the social hierarchy, it is within the labor market that these stereotypes constantly resurface. This is due to the following reasons: women working without pay (administrative household work), women having less time to spend in the labor market due to domestic responsibilities, and women facing wage discrimination, regardless of performance and capabilities (INMUJERES 2008, 2). Non-paid household (domestic) work embodies 44 percent of the female population whereas men only make up 21 percent (INMUJERES 2008, 14). The following data sources, Encuesta Nacional de Empleo (ENE) and Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE) provided by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), were used in this particular report (Desigualdad de género en el trabajo) to demonstrate the following representative national and federal entities from 1993 to 2007. The labor markets where gender inequality wage levels are highest are the following: industrial, trade, restaurant, personal, social and productive services. Personal services include housekeeping related services, repair and maintenance, hairdressers, massage therapists, and all services that can be performed at home. Productive services and social services entail the following: financial, banking, real state, professional and technical specialists, educational, medical, infirmaries, and health in general (see Figure 2) (INMUJERES 2008, 6). At an aggregated level, there is more participation from women in construction, transportation and government work and their wages are higher than men's. Women's involvement in these areas are in the administrative aspect (professional level), and do not necessarily involve labor. It is important to mention that these statistics are based upon
the PEA, *Población Económicamente Activa* (Economically Active Population), which includes those who are currently employed, with and without pay, and those temporarily absent with disabilities (INMUJERES 2008, 3).

Even though women may not be permitted to work as full time employees because of their required domestic activities, it is imperative that they are given the same opportunities as men to engage in the labor market, and more specifically, to be given the opportunity to work in whatever occupation they desire. According to INMUJERES’S study, *Ocupaciones femeninas no tradicionales Situacion en el año 2000*, since 1970, the participation rate of women in nontraditional occupations, such as carpenters, cops, and traffic officers, has been increasing (INMUJERES 2004, 1). There are multiple variables that affect women going into these nontraditional female occupations, but the most salient variable is the benefits received from maternal leave. Therefore, the limitations that supposedly do not allow for women to enter into these nontraditional occupations do not rely on the capabilities or certain physical strengths that a person needs to have in order to perform these jobs, but rather, women chose these occupations for the sake of their family's well being. This study showed that women are not limited by the lack of masculine features needed for certain jobs, but rather by the socioeconomic, marital, and matriarchal status that allow or prevent their engagement in these occupations (INMUJERES 2004, 7). Gender is not the root of women's participation in nontraditional roles. Rather it is a mixture of family responsibilities, physical capabilities, and acquired work benefits. Therefore, the representation of men and women should be carefully crafted, specifically in textbooks, for gender does not dictate the capabilities or reasons for engaging in a particular occupation.
2.6 SUMMARY

Mexico is currently trying to achieve a decentralized educational system, but ultimately the political parties dictate the amount of time it will take to achieve this. Conceivably, this will not happen if the government does not opt for a complete transition to decentralization. Therefore, the government should focus on decentralizing itself from many other social areas, and not just from education. There is historical evidence, as this chapter has shown, that educational decentralization does not work unless other social areas are decentralized as well. Once this takes place, soft curricula can limit educational decentralization to nationalistic views and focus on factual historical scrutiny, rather than ideological learning. The SEP is showing progress in dealing with social issues, including the prevention of violence against women, but could also further reflect on the curricula behind the government issued textbooks and the subjectivity that they embody. Through the implementation of INMUJERES, Mexico is declaring itself a country who fights for its constituents' well-being, but it will be up to the parties’ agendas to allow for more progress, to prevent progress, or as is currently being done, to stall the democratic consolidation process.
Chapter 3: Gender Construction and Gender Stereotyping in Political Socialization

Gender construction and gender stereotyping are two social components embedded in every society. These two concepts are threaded in people's lives through various social norms that are accepted and rarely ever questioned. Because society is not always aware of these two important components that begin to shape their social preconceptions at an early age, researchers have dedicated themselves to dissecting the inner structure and influence that each contributes to societies. Therefore, it is important to learn about the primary agents that hold the capacity to channel them in different directions, resulting in the construction of normative gender behavior and the stereotypes associated within. Schools are one of the primary agents responsible for constructing gender and conceptualizing stereotypes. Through political socialization, transmission of political ideologies (particularly by schools), students are able to learn political phenomena, and although not always recognized nor parallel to this, gender construction and gender stereotyping takes place within this type of socialization. This chapter provides an overview on the literature of political socialization, gender construction, and gender stereotyping. As a contribution to the literature, chapter 3 will link the concepts of gender construction and gender stereotyping and their role within political socialization in students' textbooks.

3.1 Political Socialization

Political socialization is the process by which political beliefs are passed from one generation unto the other through various educational tools. Political socialization can be envisioned as an umbrella enveloping a country's nationalistic identity and beliefs. This process results in patriotic sentiments, including the following: loyalty, rituals, pledges and pride in knowledge of one's own culture, heroes, and historical events. Scholars have formally defined political socialization as a phenomenon that, "Asserts that what is learned early 'carries over' and significantly shapes adult political orientations and participations" (Somit and Peterson 1987, 205). Susan J. Rippberger and Kathleen Staudt (2003, 72) reiterate this in their study, Pledging Alliance [on the U.S.-Mexico border], by stating that, “Civic and
values education can prepare children for adult interaction and engagement in democracy” (72). The main components that contribute to political socialization are known as agents of socialization (individuals, groups, organizations, etc.) (Handel 2006). They are in charge of teaching incoming generations the following: what to believe in, who to trust, the access and limitations of laws, religious philosophies, gender identification, and other cultural and social norms and traditions that are part of an individual's character. The following sections address political socialization studies conducted in the United States and in Mexico.

3.1.1 Political socialization studies in the United States

One of the most influential agents of political socialization in a child's life is school, specifically elementary school. Within the apprenticeship of gender roles in social and workforce environments, elementary schools provide and limit the foundation for children's own personal and career goals. The gendered language and pictures exposed to children have a subconscious impact on how they will perceive gender in their minds. According to Carol Lynn Martin and Diane Ruble, "By age 5, children develop an impressive constellation of stereotypes about gender (often amusing and incorrect) that they apply to themselves and to others” (2004, 67). The following sections describe why and how political socialization has been analyzed in the academic sphere.

The purpose of political socialization is to transmit a particular set of political beliefs to its constituents. Most importantly, "The study of the process of political socialization in a nation can help explain, in some measure, the operation of that (particular) political system"(Marsh 1971, 454). Political socialization begins at home, but ultimately transfers to become part of the education system. Typically, school education begins at an early age and thus political socialization is mostly studied through children (from early education to middle and high school, and college). According to Peri Kedem and Mordechai Bar-Lev, "Early formative years are the most important and have a lifelong influence on
political attitudes and behavior” (1989, 392). Therefore, researchers have tackled political socialization through different political phenomena used by schools to teach children about the political environment.

Roberta S. Sigel’s (1970) anthology on political socialization embodies early studies of the different variables and methodologies scholars have used to measure, evaluate and analyze political socialization in the classroom. Most researchers featured in Sigel's anthology used surveys containing images to measure children’s knowledge on different political issues. These studies are important since they contributed to political socialization control variables (family, culture and the media) that scholars continue to utilize today to further explore political socialization.

In 1965, David Easton and Jack Dennis measured children's perception; thoughts and feelings on government and authority through the use of interviews and imagery questionnaires. Their findings suggest that children, because of their untainted adulthood political psyche, perceive government as good; protecting them and caring for them (Easton and Dennis 1965, 34). The results conclude that, at a young age, children are able to easily trust government (because of the authoritative symbolic associations with it) and thus governments need to maintain this trust by delivering effective social and political solutions to its constituents (Easton and Dennis 1965, 45).

Another way to measure political socialization in the classroom is through the variable of adults' influence over political crisis knowledge. The rumors of political crisis reach not only adults who are politically sophisticated, but also children who are vulnerable to their parents' and teachers' feelings and ideas towards them. Political crisis tests children's dense political knowledge (Sigel 1970, 152). For instance, Sigel's (1970) use of questionnaires to examine children's early assimilation of presidents as political leading figures, by looking at the reflection former U.S. president John F. Kennedy's murder, found that children were influenced by adult reactions. She found that children's response to the event involved revenge, slight regard for due process of law, and mourning; these were influenced by adults' reactions as well as the media's view of the event. Most importantly, this study shows that children
mimic adult reactions to political events. Therefore, because children are greatly influenced by the responses of adults, such as teachers and family members, these adults must be aware of the projection of feelings and perspectives that children may acquire from them. Whether negative or positive, children will mimic political attitudes and will carry that behavior to adulthood.

Other scholars have measured political socialization primarily using the family's influence as a variable. Similar to the way Sigel measured political socialization using political crisis, Karen Orren and Paul Peterson (1967) also measured children's political socialization by means of presidential assassinations. These scholars focused on the communication between parents and children, not just on children's reactions to the events, "Distinguishing between parents who said they explained the assassination from those who said they did not may reveal what factors help determine whether a parent conveys to the child an increased understanding of political events" (Orren and Peterson 1967, 218). There were several findings, but one important one is that the parents who were more politically sophisticated, political knowledgeable, produced effective political socialization within their children. Thus, better preparing children for civic participation in the adult political world (1967, 226). However, the study also concluded that parents choose what political issues or events children would hear from them (1967, 226), and thus children only learned biased political information. Biased points of views are infiltrated into children's minds, and that biased information is what they learn and store for future reference.

Many other scholars have also focused on family members, but Frank A. Pinner has taken a different direction by merging the variable of culture as measurement of political socialization. Pinner states that, "The long-term objective of any student of political socialization is to specify how experiences account of personality orientations, and in what way the latter explain specifically political dispositions and actions" (1965, 204). He acknowledges the limitations of previous research in trying to bridge the gap between political orientation to individual experience (methodological limitations), and
thus proposes to analyze the relationship between parental overprotection and political distrust. Pinner hypothesizes that overprotection affects children's political socialization in a negative manner (1965, 205). Pinner utilized questionnaires in order to measure the role of parental overprotection among high school students. He concluded that despite the weak correlation between parents' overprotection and children's political distrust, it is the culture that ultimately dictates the terms of this relationship. Just as family is a significant variable in political socialization, so is the silent culture embedded in those who pass political beliefs to younger generations.

Other scholars focused on the influence of patriotism as a variable to measure political socialization. Edwin W. Lawson created a research study based on Horowitz and Newcomb's developmental study of children's patriotism attitudes in elementary school. Lawson mirrored the same procedure by showing kindergarten, middle and high school students’ different flags from different countries and asked the children to rank them on the basis of 'most attractive' (Lawson 1963, 321). The findings demonstrated that the United States flag was ranked the highest, whereas the Soviet flag was ranked as the lowest. Lawson acknowledges that flags cannot be objectively rated because of their nationalistic representation, however, "Flags are important symbols of patriotic feelings and often emote emotional responses" (Lawson 1963, 325). The study also notes that although not every student, at the time of the study, was learning and/or memorizing countries' flags, the media's role could have been an influential variable.

These U.S. studies have used nationalism symbols, including: recognition of presidents, crises, and flags, to measure children's engagement in the process of political socialization. By providing methodological approaches and variables, these studies are significant because they paved the way for future perspectives on U.S. political socialization studies. It is important to investigate and compare other countries' approach, for political socialization posits governments' ideologies in citizens who are later able to make political decisions that can affect many.
3.1.2 Political Socialization Studies in Mexico

The studies of political socialization described above have been conducted in the United States. Since this thesis deals particularly with Mexico, as seen in Chapter 2, it is also important to dive into the literature produced by Mexico. The review of Mexican studies conducted in Mexico will aid in understanding methodological trends catering to the study of political socialization as well as the recognition of studying these important concepts.

Political socialization studies conducted in Mexico boast the same methodologies that scholars from the U.S. have used. The similar methodology, comprising surveys and interviews, has also aided scholars in analyzing political socialization in Mexico. ³“Estos trabajos se realizan mediante encuestas o cuestionarios aplicados a nivel masivo, apoyados con entrevistas que tratan de comprobar la validez de los mismos” (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 63). The studies in Mexico have been challenged by addressing the participation and testimony of its main subject, children. Focusing on the 1989 Children’s Rights Convention, Yolanda Corona Caraveo and Anna M. Fernández Poncela investigated the issue of promoting children’s rights by compiling studies dealing with children's current civic engagement conducted in Mexico. Since the convention, Latin American countries, including Mexico, have instilled civic programs to aid children in political knowledge and participation, ⁴“La necesidad de crear espacios para la participación infantil, ámbito en el que se puede ubicar la relevancia de los estudios sobre infancia y política” (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 61). Since children are not capable of deciphering between group and individuals' interests, they adhere to the laws and regulations taught by teachers, through the subject matter of civics (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 64). This can ultimately result in limited to nonexistent civic participation. Therefore,

³ (Unless otherwise noted, all translations have been conducted by the author)
"These works are done through surveys or questionnaires on a massive scale, supported by interviews trying to check their validity" (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 63)
⁴ “The need to create spaces for children's participation, a field in which you can locate the relevance of policy on childhood and politics” (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 61)
scholars have focused their attention on the literature catering to children's participation. Such participation is seen in activities ranging from elections to street protests. In Mexico, children’s elections are hosted by UNICEF (United Nations Children’s Fund) and IFE (Instituto Federal Electoral/Federal Electoral Institution) (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 64). Street protests, by working and/or poor children dictate that children hold the capacity to transform their political and social reality (Corona Caraveo and Fernández Poncela 2000, 65); whether or not through formal institutions or civic leadership, children still engage in politics. Therefore, children should not be ignored and should be taught as current civic participants. One of the main variables used to measure political socialization is civic participation and one of the ways in which political socialization happens is through the teachings of civic participation within Mexico’s SEP textbooks.

In 1994, based on the results of the Programa para la Modernizacion Educativa (Plan for Educational Modernization) the Mexican government decided to change the content of history textbooks. Through a pedagogic contest, Mexico would choose new content for its history textbooks. Ma. del Carmen de la Peza Casares and Sarah Corona Berkin analyzed the content of two textbooks, the chosen SEP history textbook from 1994 and its contender Mi libro de historia (1994). However, the actual winner, Mi libro de historia developed by Professor Ana Maria Prieto Hernandez, was not adopted by the SEP. The monetary gains from the contest allowed Prieto Hernandez to publish her work as complimentary material to the obligatory and free history textbook provided to students by the SEP. Both textbooks had different approaches on the topics of the study and content of political history and civic education. It is evident that the exclusion of Prieto Hernandez's textbook demonstrated the control held by Mexico's government in terms of textbook content. The analysis of both history textbooks focused on the description of Mexico's historical and cultural traditions as a way to promote civic participation. It also focused on determining the validity of universal and objective truths about the country's foundational historical events. It was noted that the selected history textbooks by the SEP
prioritized historical content over civic engagement, thus making civic engagement a secondary concern. In Prieto Hernandez's textbook, civic participation is the priority lesson. The textbook provides students tools to help them become active citizens (i.e., historical stories directly dealing with the consequences of civic participation). This example demonstrates that the SEP deliberately ignored the importance of students’ learning of civic participation activities, thus, limiting students' capabilities to engage in their rights and duties as citizens.

Another recent study by Juan Enrique Huerta (2009) portrays the awareness of the lack of civics in Mexico. He asserts that various Mexican scholars (Ibarra 2003; López 2003, Tapia 2003; Fernández 2005; Nateras 2007) have dedicated their research to the analyses of political socialization in Mexico (Huerta 2009, 2). Huerta conducted his research in northeastern Mexico. He addresses the issue of citizens' lack of interest in politics and the political limitations set by the elites. Democratic participation, he claims, is the best indicator to measure political socialization (Huerta 2009, 3). He also, like the aforementioned scholars, agrees that the media is a significant agent of political socialization.

5[In Mexico] "What is known is that television is the media citizens use most to obtain information about what is happening in politics...television at the national level attains from 62% to 74% of the reported preferences for the media used to obtain political information" (Huerta 2009, 4). Huerta focuses on political participation attitudes (willingness to exercise their given civil rights) as a proxy to future political participation. Through the use of 2006 and 2007 surveys from a larger mixed methods investigation, and a structural model of variance, Huerta obtained a sample of 180 surveys. He interviewed his test subjects, sixth grade students from Mexico's northeastern region. The study concluded that these students' attitudes were favorable to future political participation and this was due to certain variables: families own active political socialization, exposure to media (television), and

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5 [En México] "Lo que se sabe es que la televisión es el medio de comunicación que más usan los ciudadanos para obtener información sobre lo que está sucediendo en la política ... la televisión a nivel nacional alcanza del 62% al 74% de las preferencias reportadas por los medios utilizados para obtener información política" (Huerta 2009, 4)
parental willingness to exercise their civil rights. The study was successful in providing data for future curricula development. “It will lead the way, for example, for the Federal Electoral Institute to finish its design of civic education, a crucial part of its 2000-2010 development plan, before becoming entrapped in the designation of advisors” (Huerta 2009, 14). Although scholars have identified the following variables of political socialization such as family, culture, and more recently, the media, new variables of political socialization have emerged as a result of societal evolution.

3.2 Emerging Variables

Recent studies portray media as a significant variable in the political socialization of children. Caridad Hernández (1986) analyzes advertisements and the impact they have on children's creation of reality. In other words, the study aims to answer the following question, are social values, through the medium of communication tools, representing actual reality for children? Although there are many variables that influence political socialization, Hernández uses advertisement as the social variable for which children learn to abide to social norms. She conclude that the more knowledge children gain about the realities of the environment they live in, the better they will be able to adapt and thrive in society (Hernández 1986, 109). Another emerging variable in the studies of political socialization is immigrant families.

The fluctuation of immigration in the United States has awakened the interest of scholars to the analysis of immigrant families and the roles they play within the process of political socialization. Studies on the influence of immigrant families are now being conducted by political socialization scholars (García 1972; Mathis 1973; Bass and Casper 1999; Cain 2005; Terríquez 2013). These studies focus on the influence that Mexican-American immigrant families have on their children's political socialization. Even though this thesis does not deal with the influence of immigrant families, it is important to note that the variables in political socialization studies are shifting due to evolving societies.
In conclusion, political socialization is the transferring of political values from an older generation to a younger one, where the older generation has been molded by the pre-established values of the government. Additionally, it guides children's perspectives on their country's political ideologies. Since political socialization usually takes place at a young age (through school), researchers have focused on children's reactions to nationalistic variables, including the variables of family, culture and, the media. The literature review of Mexican studies showed methodological similarities to the U.S. and questions the same issues about civic engagement and participation. It also described how Mexican political socialization studies have focused primarily on showing Mexico's limiting space for children's civic participation. The future of political socialization studies are relying on emerging variables such as the media and immigrant families. Parallel to political socialization, through the already mentioned agents and variables, concepts such as gender construction and gender stereotypes are also developed. They are embedded in the gendered language, narratives, and pictures that are part of the process of political socialization. The following sections demonstrate how gender construction and gender stereotyping are embedded within the process of political socialization.

3.3 Gender Role Construction through Education

Gender construction begins alongside the development of socialization, "For the individual, gender construction starts with assignment to a sex category on the basis of what the genitalia looks like at birth" (Lorber 2009, 53). Socialization is, according to Dalton Conley, "The process by which you learn how to become a functioning member of society" (2008, p. 113). A functioning member of society is someone who adheres to the already established norms posed by past generations. As with the process of socialization, gender is shaped in an individual's life by either allowing or limiting female and male exposure; we are socialized to attach meaning to socially constructed gender differences. There are many variables that coexist in gender construction, including: culture, media, family, religion, and education. Although all of these variables influence gender role construction, education is the main
variable that serves as the direct venue for political influence over a society (Conley 2008, 281). Through education, schools are able to directly and indirectly influence students' values, beliefs and attitudes that are important to that particular society. Schools become children's second home, where teachers provide rules and expectations that must be met. While students must adhere to these guidelines, gender construction develops as children learn about the different, and expected, roles for women and men. Some of these expected roles are emphasized in textbooks. In order to begin deciphering gender construction, the following section will focus on its internal components, biology and gender.

3.3.1 Biology versus Gender

Women and men differ biologically and socially. Sex and gender are the primary characteristics that distinguish 6women/female and men/male. The consensus reached by many academics, doctors, psychologists and sociologists who study these two interrelated concepts have concluded that the term sex is used to biologically distinguish women from men and the term gender is used to identify the social construction of differences between women and men” (Marini 1990, 95). The classic work by Simone de Beauvoir entails the role and characteristics of the 'second sex': gender. She focuses on the definition of femininity and its contrast to masculinity concurring that gender is created rather than biologically inherited. de Beauvoir states that, “Only the intervention of someone else can establish an individual as an Other…the child would hardly be able to think for himself as sexually differentiated” (de Beauvoir 1952, 249). The differences that gender marks in an individual transcend to adulthood, especially to the capacity one is able to uphold in social and workforce roles.

The classic work by Candace West and Don Zimmerman asserts that, “Gender is not a set of traits, nor a variable, nor a role, but the product of social doings of some sort” (1987, 129). For instance,

6 These are the two dominant, binary categories used in our society. So, although gender is complex and dynamic, this thesis will focus on women and men as the continuum for gender representation.
their study focused on how individuals ‘do’ gender, that is how they learn the ‘appropriate roles’ that create their identities through, “creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not normal, essential, or biological. Once their differences have been constructed, they are used to reinforce the ‘essentials’ of gender” (West and Zimmerman 1987, 137). Based on this disclosure, that is, gender is learned and not biologically inherited, it is imperative that one looks at how societies are constructing gender. Since this thesis focuses on textbooks as the mean by which political socialization actions, the following section describes gender construction and gender stereotypes, along with the development of sexism within textbooks.

One of the ways in which people/society differentiate expected gender roles are in the labor force. According to research on the social roles of men and women (Lambert and Edgington 2002), labor skills have clearly divided social roles at the beginning of civilizations. The creation of separate spheres, women in the domestic or private sphere and men in the public sphere seize different expectations. Pregnancy and the interdependence it creates between mother and child posits women as main caregivers, and thus limits their availability to explore other social roles. Of course, women do not spend their entire lives in a state of pregnancy, and some women choose not to become mothers or are infertile. Currently, the total fertility rate in Mexico is less than three, 2.2 (The World Bank 2013). Historically, men had therefore been assigned as the breadwinners with the flexibility to explore and dominate social areas. Thus, biology can influence (but not dictate) the separation and limitations for gender roles. This established sex and gender differentiation allowed for researchers to further explore the dynamics of gender.

3.4 Gender Role Construction in Textbooks

This section will analyze how gender and gender roles are constructed through textbook narratives and pictures. However, we must acknowledge that the construction of gender is initially based on biological sex differences, and thus these natural sex differences guide gender construction (Conley
2008, 451). In other words, immediate gender identifications are based on the biological differences that differentiate one sex from the other. These natural sex differences exemplify the content of illustrations and concepts of gendered language found within textbooks. Thus, the content selection of illustrations and language is extremely important as it serves as the primary indicator for gender identification and, very importantly, can lead to the problem of sexism that is, the discrimination based on a person’s sex, specifically the female sex (Bruegillès and Cromer 2009, 8).

3.4.1 The role of textbooks

Textbooks are tools teachers use to help students learn about different subject matters, including the expected social and workforce roles as they “Have economic and ideological implications. It has long been understood that textbooks are a basic vehicle of socialization, conveying knowledge and values” (Bruegillès and Cromer 2009, 7). Students learn more than standard subject related information, they also learn how to interact and communicate with society (Bruegillès and Cromer 2009, 14). This section portrays examples of how textbooks construct gender and gender roles through images and narratives, and how sexism develops.

Textbooks construct gender and gender roles through images and narratives by portraying and embedding the normative female and male social behavior and workforce roles into a society. For example, textbooks contain pictures of characters and their narratives in order to visually and conceptually portray a lesson to readers about a specific subject matter. The content of the characters and language used in textbooks entails male and female characters (i.e., humans and animals) whose role is "to bring about a specific set of educational outcomes...for facilitating sequences of learning activities" (Bruegillès and Cromer 2009, 14). Studies on the content of narratives and illustrations within textbooks led scholars' attention to the prevalent problem of sexism. Bruegillès and Cromer state that, "Gendered representations are embodied in characters, and it is therefore through these [characters] that gender equality must be promoted" (Bruegillès and Cromer 2009, 29). It is by reading and viewing
characters' behavioral interactions with other characters that children learn how to construct gender (Brugeilles and Cromer 2009, 29). As reviewed in the section of Political Socialization studies, this section also provides U.S. and Mexico studies dealing with the problem of sexism and stereotypes found in the process of gender role construction.

3.5 GENDER ROLE CONSTRUCTION: SEXISM

This section will discuss gender role construction through sexist language. Hortensia Moreno briefs her audience on various language analyses concerning gender construction and gender roles found in the book titled ¿Iguales o Diferentes? (Equal or Different?) by Carlos Lomas (1999). She emphasizes the importance of analyzing the sexist language that degrades women in the influential institution of education, "Todo parece indicar que el sistema educativo tiende a reproducir el sistema social existente y las posiciones de poder y de jerarquía vigente en cada sociedad" (Moreno 2000, 297). Since the 1960s there have been changes in the sexist language found in textbooks to reflect gender equality. While there are criticisms about the language used in textbooks scholars also offer solutions for the unresolved matters of sexist language, "Hace falta introducir transformaciones de fondo en orden simbólico predominante; esto significa cambiar el significado, el orden de la representación simbólica...en resumen, la modificación del lenguaje y la creación de un simbólico" (Moreno 2000, 298). Another solution is to change the language to express symbolic motherly words and feelings, that is, language taught by mothers who prioritize women's existing before any patriarchal perpetuation (Muraro, 1994). Other solutions focus on the root of sexist language: traditional gendered communication, culture, and power behind words. Perhaps if these techniques are implemented, societies can take one more step into

7 "It appears that the educational system tends to reproduce the existing social system and power postures of hierarchy in each vigilant society" (Moreno 2000, p. 297)
8 "We need to introduce fundamental changes in prevailing symbolic order, which means changing the meaning, the order of the symbolic representation ... in short, the change of language and the creation of a symbolic” (Moreno 2000, p. 298).
avoiding sexist language, resulting in an avoidance of biased gender construction and gender stereotyping. However, these scholars have focused on storybooks, not textbooks.

In a review of Elizabeth Badinter’s book by Hortensia Moreno (1993), the creation of masculinity is investigated. "En efecto, la masculinidad 'se adquiere', 'se aprende', 'se gana'/ Antes de estar definida por valores positivos-fuerza, valentía, destrezas manuales, acceso al conocimiento, camaradería...se define por oponerse a la feminidad" (Moreno 1993, 300). Moreno argues that institutions who only cater to men are problematic because it is within these institutions that masculinity is created and empowered, minimizing the role of femininity. "Por eso es tan importante las instituciones sociales encargadas de retirar a los niños y a los jóvenes del mundo femenino; es en ellas donde se les enseña a ser hombres con métodos más o menos peligrosos, violentos o aterradores" (Moreno 1993, 300). Therefore, institutions such as Boy Scouts, fraternities, and boarding schools for boys, remain problematic since they gender segregate. Thus, one must wonder how the construction of problematic masculinity exists in institutions such as co-ed schools. In other words, how is it that co-ed schools still manage to empower and create harsh masculinity at the same time diminishing the characteristics of femininity?

An important study conducted by Mexican scholars, Diana Carolina Nava Saucedo and Maria Guadalupe Lopez Alvarez, analyzed sexism in an elementary school found in Cd. Juárez, CHI, MX. The analysis included first through sixth graders, their respective teachers, and the school’s principal. The methodology consisted of observational behavior, including classroom interaction, recess routine, and teachers’ meetings. In their findings, sexism was observed all throughout the students’ and the teachers’

9 “Indeed, masculinity is 'acquired', 'learned', 'earned' / Before its defined by positive values, strength, courage, manual skills, access to knowledge, camaraderie... is defined by opposition to femininity” (Moreno 1993, p. 300)
10 “Therefore it is very important social institutions responsible for taking children and young women in the world, it is in them that teach them to be men in ways more or less dangerous, violent or frightening” (Moreno 1993, p. 300)
11 The techniques used in their methodology consisted of the following: the application of the Masculinity and Femininity Inventory, Human Figure Test, the generational analysis concerning Spanish and math grades (school file information), the observation of the school’s routine, the different interviews conducted to boys and girls, teachers, and the school’s principal, and the follow up questionnaires given to elementary graduates (Nava-Saucedo and Lopez-Alvarez 2010, 84).
behavior and activities in the classroom. Examples of this include: teachers' preference for boys when grading assignments, participation level of boys due to constant class interruption, teachers communication with boys in an aggressive manner and towards girls in a tender manner, in group projects, boys grouped with other boys because “that was the right thing to do”, yet in interviews, teachers and the principal ignored the existence of sexism (Nava-Saucedo and Lopez-Alvarez 2010, 109-110). The findings conclude that the existence of sexism is invisible to teachers. Therefore, it is important for teachers to recognize that sexism exists in the classroom environment because of pedagogic influence perpetuates sexist behaviors. Thus, a way to eradicate sexism, specifically in the classroom, is to understand its automatic presence within teachers' response to students. Ultimately the thought process, as observed in the findings of this article, is rooted in automatic, albeit sexist, responses.

Karen L. Porreca (1984) analyzed 15 ESL (English as a Second Language) textbooks because of the concern that sexist language can drive novice apprentices to a sexist understanding and learning, not only of a foreign language, but a foreign culture and its societal norms. She describes the attributes of sexism: omission, order of mention, the portrayal of males and females in occupational roles, nouns to describe women and men, and masculine as generic. Porreca (1984, 706) states that omission is the biggest symptom of sexism by explaining that, "When females do not appear as often as males in the text (as well as in the illustrations which serve to reinforce the text), the implicit message is that women's accomplishments, or that they themselves as human beings, are not important enough to be included".

Similar studies (Hartmann and Judd's 1978 study) found that ESL materials reflected sexist attitudes and values. With few exceptions women were underrepresented in the textbooks (Porreca 1984, 711). Porreca writes that Hartmann and Judd's 1978 study found problems with gender nouns and terminology, for example, use of the term girl for an adult woman (where boy would not be the parallel
form) was common (Porreca 1984, 712). Five years after their study, Porreca conducted a similar study on new versions of ESL textbooks. Her methodology consisted of a content analysis through the lens of the mentioned sexism attributes. She found that women were mostly omitted in sentence structure, (Porreca 1984, 714). Within the characteristics of sexist language, Porreca found that the ratio of female to male representation was balanced (Porreca 1984, 714). While female and male occupations obtained the most unbalanced ratios. As for the use of nouns, there were more female than male’s nouns (Porreca 1984, 716). Within the masculine generic construction, both genders ran into a lot of problems because of its audience and speaker; "Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the masculine gender problem is the occurrence of what seems to be a referent for all people, but which later turns out to refer to males only" (Porreca 1984, 717).

Her conclusions address the following problem, student’s limited experience, with the language, gives them no foundation to ask about the readings’ content (Porreca 1984, 723). Her recommendation, similar to Rifkin's conclusion that I will explore later in this chapter, is that teachers and students need to be aware of the sexist language conveyed in textbooks and should change this by not using the same textbooks every time they teach a subject and use more egalitarian language while teaching ESL courses. "ESL teachers have a clear and challenging choice to make. Other scholars have focused on the representation of women in literature and the mirroring of society through them. Sexism is not the only problem encountered along the process of gender role construction; stereotypes can also easily become part of this process.

3.6 Gender Role Construction: Stereotypes in Literature

Olivia D. Heathcote investigated Mexican sex role stereotypes found in eight textbooks, focusing on stories and poems provided by the Mexican Ministry of Education. She emphasized the consequences sex role stereotypes can have on Mexican children living in Mexico as well as those residing in other countries. Heathcote (1982, 161) used analytical surveys and a two part instrument in order to compare
reading primers between 1960 and 1972 by examining: the absolute numbers of male and female characters, the major characters, the careers, and the traditional male and female roles. The findings rest on the fact that, in both reading primers, more than two-thirds of all characters were male and less than one third were females, most importantly, “Both editions presented a distorted view of reality to the Mexican children who read them” (Heathcote 1982, 162). Also, narratives were told from a male point of view and women were portrayed as passive and emotional characters, while men were active and relentless leaders. These findings present a problem, as boys and girls learn inaccurate facts about career roles. Boys think that more careers opportunities exist for them than they do for girls, and thus a limited perspective on what boys and girls can do begins to develop.

Sue Wharton analyzed gender construction in children’s textbooks by using two complementary discourse analyses, and two different linguistic perspectives based on the questions of what actions were performed and who performed them. The choice of texts for Wharton’s study was official school reading textbooks for kindergarteners, from the United Kingdom. The findings showed more frequent portrayal of males than of females, although in a less flattery manner, offering a different perspective on the traditional representation of men, authoritative; “Yet an analysis of the interaction between gender and narrative suggests that all this representation is not necessarily advantageous, males were portrayed as incompetent, dependent, and as the butt of jokes” (Wharton 2008, 248). However, the study states that just because males are represented as impractical, it does not translate into a positive (active and capable) and higher representation of women. Wharton concludes two important reflections. First, is that although there are still textbooks encompassing sexism and are gradually trying to eradicate it, it is ultimately up to educators how gender is constructed in children’s minds. Second, it is not enough for men to be presented in a weaker manner, butt of jokes, if women are not given equal frequency appearances, whether in narratives or images, and very importantly given characteristics that celebrate
and position them into a level of competiveness and authoritative power over their social and career roles.

In Latin America, gender content analysis studies have mainly focused on the connection between curriculum and its representation in textbooks. Scholars Nelly P. Stromquist et al. (1998) have investigated gender content, narratives and illustrations, in textbooks found in different studies from: Peru, Brazil, Colombia, and Argentina. These studies show that women are represented in domestic and submissive roles, while men are illustrated as active characters. In an Argentinean study by Catalina Wainerman and R. Raijman (1984), their findings show that textbooks, from three different time periods, emphasized traditional sexual division of labor and practice for men and women (cited in Stromquist et al. 1984, 399). In Columbia, a study by Elsy Bonilla (1978) found that the main theme was the traditional family, in where the mother stayed at home while the father engaged in the workforce (cited in Stromquist et al. 1984, 399). In Peru, Jeanine Anderson and Cristina Herencia (1983) found that textbooks portrayed more illustrations of men than women as the grade advanced (cited in Stromquist et al. 1984, 399). Bradley Levinson (1997), in his Mexican ethnographic study, concluded that textbooks contain more illustrations of men than women. Although these studies provide evidence for the underrepresentation of women, higher frequency of men portrayal, and stereotypes of gender roles and traditional gender characteristics, women in the domestic sphere, men in the workforce, there is little progress/motion in changing textbooks’ content, “There has been little work in Latin America on the questions of rewriting the textbooks and providing gender sensitive training to teachers” (Stromquist et al. 1998, 399). However, Stromquist et al. (1998, 399) note that Argentina and Costa Rica have progressed in the implementation of textbook gender policies by providing teachers gender sensitive trainings and promoting women in the male dominated areas of technical education. The implementation of gender awareness in the classroom is also very important for the progress of gender equality. Many feminists' work on Latin American countries supports the creation of coeducational schools. This
environment allows children to identify gender through the process of socialization rather than identification of differentiation between sex roles, “So that they learn to appreciate men and women as individuals and move away from social representation that link the genders to romance and sex” (Stromquist et al. 1998, 399).

These results are not new to the social world. The studies conducted by Jane S. Jaquette (1973) and Cornelia Butler Flora (1971) analyzed the relationship, through images, between women’s representation in literature and their actual social behavior. Jaquette's study focused on the representation of women in Peruvian literature in order to explore sex role images and how Latin American literature influences women's roles in societies. The findings include a pattern of female fictional characters, the depravation of social reality to women, and a lack of imagery depicting a historical behavior female pattern. She concludes that the analyzed Latin American literature, according to North American feminist standards, still posits women in traditional stereotypes. Butler Flora’s cross cultural imagery comparison study explored the relationship between magazines’ and novels representation of fictional women to women’s actual behavior within social change. The findings showed that women were portrayed as the most passive gender, however, “Even in the least passive images present in the U.S. working class fiction did not mean totally active, free women” (Butler Flora 1971, 83). Her findings suggest that the analyzed literature (magazines and novels) represented women in traditional stereotypes (mothers, witches, and wives/concubines) and as more passive than men, something that is transferrable to society's construction of women's roles.

With these authors' studies in mind one can see the influence of literature in shaping children's perception of gender. Stereotypes in literature have limited women to roles of passivity and submissiveness by using characters to represent traditional stereotypes such as the mother, the witch, and the wife/concubine. Conversely, the role of men is constructed in active characters that experience few restrictions. Children perceive the limited or unlimited gender role they are expected to play in
adulthood, thus the engagement of literature is highly influential in shaping children's construction of gender roles. In addition to the influence of literature, a more determined influence exists in textbooks, governments' control over textbook content.

3.7 Global Surveillance on Governmental Textbooks

In order to better comprehend governments' ideologies and attitudes over world events, there are global institutions that brief content of textbooks from around the world. Organizations, such as the Georg Eckert Institute, a German organization, and The Institute for Gulf Affairs, a U.S. think-tank, analyze the content of textbooks from different countries in order to decipher countries' posture on historical, geographical, and most recently, religious events (The Economist.com 2012). This section will provide examples of divisive historical and political, including its omission of such, events that exist in many textbooks around the world.

Examples of events that contentiously exist within textbooks around the world include the attacks of 9/11 in the U.S. and the linkage to Saudi Arabia's intolerance teachings (inferring al Qaeda's emergence). Another example, found within Saudi Arabia's textbooks, is the continuous fight between the Jews and the Muslims. Even though this particular issue was brought up, change is yet to happen, "Because the state would be putting its survival at risk. The purpose of education is to ensure social obedience to the ruler" (The Economist.com 2012). Other textbooks have been found to omit crucial information. For example, China's textbooks do not provide contentious content, but rather omit historically significant events; the famine that followed the Great Leap Forward in 1958 (The Economist.com 2012).

Protestors asking for inclusion of significant historical events, such as the Cultural Revolution and the suppression in Tiananmen Square, have the Hong Kong government pause their actions to infiltrate new national education within curriculum, where the result would be the omission of such significant events, resulting in guidance towards a nationalistic one-party system ideology (The
Economist.com 2012). Japan has also omitted its war crimes within their 'government approved' textbooks. In the U.S., textbook content is disputed internally. The liberal versus the conservative views has divided states (i.e., Texas and California). Religious views have also played a huge role in textbook content. It is particularly in the U.S. that sex education and the study of evolution have become debatable subjects in their insertion within textbooks. French textbooks have, for many years, catered to unreconstructed Marxism, and have shied away from the notion that, "the idea of rampant economic liberalism was responsible for France's weakness in the run-up to the second world war" (The Economist.com 2012) still, this does not completely embrace capitalism (The Economist.com 2012).

Although the surveillance of textbooks from around the world helps countries understand others' feeling and insights against others and about themselves, content analysis of other countries' textbooks have also provided evidence against myths. Investigation by the U.S. State Department demonstrated, that contrary to politicians beliefs, "that Palestinian textbooks merely showed 'imbalance, bias, and inaccuracy'...they did not incite violence against Jews"(The Economist.com 2012). Even though governments may dictate curricula and the content of textbooks, and whether the content is objective or subjective, omitted or exaggerated, it is ultimately the teachers' influence that shapes children's views over historical events. Jane Sunderland et al. (2001) write about the responsibility of teachers' dialogue in dealing with textbooks' gender content. They focus on teachers' gender discourses when talking about gender in foreign textbooks. In other words, how do teachers' language, in explaining foreign textbooks containing gender matter, influence the way children perceive gender. The methodology consisted of observational 'telling cases', in where the scholars observed teachers talk about gender matter. They conclude that, in the teaching process, stereotypical ways of thinking can potentially be sustained or undermined through teachers' language.
3.8 Global Studies on Gender Role Construction through Language and Illustrations

As seen above, the work involving gender role representation in language and imagery within textbooks has been tackled by other countries. It is important to learn about these analysis and methods in order to uncover patterns, as seen in the Political Socialization section, involving global gender representation. This section focuses on three countries that have conducted studies entailing social, national and gender representation. By providing the analysis and findings of these studies, we learn that social, national, and gender representation are all components of gender role construction and their level of priority, in terms of gender components, differs by country.

3.8.1 Basque: Gendered Language and Imagery

Begoña Echeverría (2003) wrote about the influence of Basque's strong nationalist ideology presented in textbooks, through language and imagery, used in Spain. These textbooks are used to teach about the Basque culture and society. Specifically, the Basque nationalist pedagogy tries to further the male gender by illustrating men as the figure with the most understanding of the Basque culture and proper use of language; completely eradicating women's contribution to it (Echeverría 2003, 383). The study primarily focuses on gendered language (found in Basque's language called Euskara) content analysis based on the following, "At its inception about a century ago, Basque nationalism advocated a definition of Basque identity based on descent rather than on language" (Echeverría 2003, 384). However, Echeverría's research showed that identifying with the term Basque is based on linguistic characteristics rather than ethnicity. Thus, this study focuses more on gendered language and a little bit less on imagery. The main point of her research was to show how men have dominated the language and thus the results are textbooks filled with biased gender words, portraying men as the only contributors while women obtained no credit at all.

Echeverría's study also was able to capture, qualitatively, gender biased imagery by analyzing the roles assigned to men and women in the textbooks' lectures; "textbooks portray men as the primary
linguistic resources" (387). Textbooks frequently represent men displaying their *indarra* (Euskara word meaning physical strength) in the public sphere, for example, in activities such as rock-lifting (387). The illustrations did not necessarily portray women in a degrading manner. However, traditional roles such as dancing, where we mostly posit women, in the Basque culture are dominated by men. It is interesting to see how when men dominate a 'women's role', such as dancing, it is not perceived as being a "gender intruder", but rather men are praised for conquering and dominating a unusual role for them. Whereas, when women cross over to a male role, their character is seen as abnormal or as someone with masculine traits and they are rarely given the credit for dominating that area.

It is important to acknowledge the languages' distinctive grammatical foundations and the fact that these might play a big role in the biased representation of gender. Pronouns play an important role in determining the gender of a word, thus just like in the Spanish language where pronouns are restraint by gender, *Euskara* suggests that *hika* (a pronoun) usage is also constrained by gender. In Spanish, the gender-neutral words are also masculine and thus it is accepted as the proper way to describe both genders. Thus, masculinity dominates the gender-neutral form. Other scholars have opted for comparative content analysis dealing with the underrepresentation of women's roles in textbooks.

### 3.8.2 Pahlavi and Islamic Republic

Patricia J. Higgins and Pirouz Shoar-Ghaffari (1991) analyzed Persian textbooks used in 1969-1970 during the late Pahlavi era and compared them to the textbooks used in school in 1986-1987 after the establishment of the Islamic Republic. The decision behind the content analysis for these textbooks relied in the traditional knowledge of women's underrepresentation in the public sphere within both governments. Therefore, the purpose of their study was to learn about the changes within women's roles in the textbooks (provided by each respective government) because of their division. "Despite the rhetoric and several good studies of women's position in Iran, very little research on sex-role socialization has been carried out with respect to either the Pahlavi or the Islamic Republican state"
Within the Islamic Republic, the ideology that Islamic values needed to get re-established produced radical changes in education: conversion of all coeducational schools into single-sex institutions, the establishment of Islamic dress codes in schools, the purging of teachers, the encouragement of Arabic (rather than English) as a second language, the elimination of private schools, including those of the religious minorities, and the revision of textbooks (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 219). Despite these radical changes, the Islamic Republic did not daunt girls from attending schools (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 219).

Although the Pahlavi educational system’s goals, socioeconomic development and modernization (largely along Western lines) utilized textbooks as vehicles for the transmission of culture, the use of textbooks was for the purpose of mere memorization, not critical thinking. Thus, "The content of the textbooks, therefore, was the curriculum, and it was by far the major portion of the culture formally and consciously transmitted in the schools" (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 216).

Elementary textbooks were revised and changed, specifically subjects in the illustrations, but not completely redesigned. Both, Pahlavi and Islamic Republic, used the same textbooks (different eras), the only major difference was the religious book added by the Islamic Republic. “Whereas coeducation and unveiled women were regularly portrayed in the texts of the late Pahlavi era…Islamic modesty in dress and associations are portrayed in the new texts” (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, p. 218-219).

Based on Pahlavi Westernized ideologies, they had adopted an essentially Western definition of sexual equality that of equal access to a wide range of social roles, and they had attempted to deemphasize sex segregation in Iranian society (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 219). Whereas the Islamic Republic's anti-progressive ideology had reemphasized the distinctiveness of male and female

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12 “With respect to the revision of textbooks-and by extension, the curriculum itself—even cursory examination confirms that at the elementary level these were indeed revisions rather than a total redesign” (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 218). Perhaps if a similar comparison study is to be conducted with the 1998 revision of the SEP textbooks, I would be able to answer if the textbooks had small changes rather than a radical redesign.
roles, the desirability of sex segregation in public places, and the necessity of modesty in dress and demeanor (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 220). Thus, the researchers hypothesized that the textbooks' illustrations and language would resemble their respective government's ideologies.

Their findings showed that women did lose visibility in the textbooks used in the Islamic Republic. While women were included in pictures and/or text in 68 percent of the 161 Pahlavi era lessons that included people, they were found in only 46 percent of the 144 Islamic Republican era lessons that include people (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 224).

Language biases also played an important role in determining the level of gender representation in both eras. Also, the lack of distinction between "he" and "she" in the Persian language and the grammatical gender neutrality of words such as "student," "teacher," "worker," and "doctor" help to account for the large number of gender neutral characters. This feature of the language also helps to prevent some of the other problems associated with the use of sexist language in English, Hindi, and Spanish school texts (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 226). Here we can see that gender-neutral words alleviate the hazards of sexist language, but are they really balancing the representation of genders? When in fact languages such as Spanish, with gender-neutral words, can also be used to describe men but never women.

Another important finding dealing with the representation of the female gender is seen within the pictures of sex-integration (Pahlavi) and sex-segregation (Islamic Republic). Interestingly, the Islamic Republican textbooks portrayed sex integration by only including adults but not children, whereas for Pahlavi's textbooks sex integration always included children. While for sex-segregation, Pahlavi hardly ever separated females from males, whereas Islamic Republican texts emphasized sex-segregation within their illustrations.

Also, it is important to note that there was no significant change of women's social roles within either era and that contrary to their hypothesis, Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari (1991, 227) "Found no
significant difference with respect to women's occupations in the texts of the two eras". Within leadership roles, Pahlavi did not portrayed women as leaders and the Islamic Republican textbooks only portrayed male religious leaders. Since the atmosphere of a family is important within both governments' ideologies, a comparison between both eras on family stereotypical roles was conducted. Authors found that both eras adhered to the traditional family roles, where women are the caregivers and men are the providers (1991, 229). Professions that traditionally have been 'acceptable' for women to hold is in part because these professions carry out the tasks that women do at home, in the same manner that women take care of children and cater to their needs at home, schools provide the same environment for women to do the same by bringing the home-schooling to the school.

The conclusion follows that the textbooks focused on the more symbolic features of sex role ideologies (i.e. dress and degree of sex segregation), and not on women's and men's economic and family roles (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 230). In other words, the changes in Iranian textbooks are the result of, "Western feminist thinking with the assumption that equality for women is only possible within a sexually-integrated and individualistic society" (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 1991, 230).

3.8.3 India

Narendra N. Kalia (1986) focused on the damages that sexist language can pose on children's perspectives over women's social roles. She analyzed 41 Indian textbooks to illustrate the problem of gender-based discrimination. She states the following, "What I found was damnable. Not only was the majority of characters male, but in 75 percent of the lesson plots men also emerged as dominant figures" (1986, 794). She also mentions that in many of the textbook lessons, women would be portrayed as victims of abuse, due to their roles, by men; many of Indian editors excluded women from social generalizations by their use of nouns and pronouns (Kalia 1986, 794).
Kalina mainly concentrated on the language rather than on the imagery of gender representation. If society thinks about women in an unfavorable manner and speaks out about it, then others will believe that women are inferior (Kalina 1986, 794). In the same manner as Echeverria (2003) did, Kalina acknowledged the limitations of pronouns within languages, "By legitimizing the ambiguity of the masculine pronoun (he may mean a man or it may mean a man or woman) referential genderisation ignores the fact that for every 'he' in the language there is a reciprocal 'she' (Kalina 1986, 795). Thus, enabling the usage of masculine pronouns supports women's inferiority. Kalina's main objective for her audience was to become aware of the dangers of sexist language and of neutral gender words, which in fact are not neutral but male dominated.

3.8.4 Russia

Benjamin Rifkin (1998) has also explored gender representation content analysis in Russian textbooks. His concern with textbooks teaching foreign languages arose out of the textbooks' lack of proper gender representation and the dangers of it, "Research has shown that the non-inclusion of women and girls in materials used to teach them seriously impairs their ability to learn" (1998, 218). Also, he chose to analyze textbooks used to teach Russian because there had been some concern from previous scholars regarding gender representation due to the difficulties of language grammatical barriers found in pronouns. Even though his main focus is on understanding how teaching a foreign language can cause improper gender representation, he posed similar questions that I have within my own research: "to what extent are women portrayed in professional settings, to what extent are men depicted in domestic roles in a given textbook...[to what] degree are females included or excluded from instructional materials, as well as the degree to which women's roles are depicted as equal or as valued as men's roles or whether women's roles are subordinated, distorted, or degraded" (Rifkin 1998, 218-219). Similarly to Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari 's study (1991), he also did a comparison of second and third editions of the textbook Making Progress in Russian (used to teach Russian). As for the language
usage, Rifkin discovered the following, "It is interesting also that the first-person singular pronoun, when used with a clearly defined human antecedent or with an adjective or verb form marked for gender, is far more frequently male than female" (Rifkin 1998, 228); a trend that exists in all of the already mentioned studies where gender-neutral words are not neutral but rather male dominated.

Rifkin's main objective was to analyze how gender biased narrative and sexism is sometimes not noticed by authors or teachers, but this does not mean that the consequences will not be there. Therefore it is crucial that educators, as well as students and others involved in the teaching process, become aware of providing a balanced representation of gender, in narratives and illustrations, to their constituents in order to assure an equal gender perspective on social roles for future generations.

The study demonstrated the importance of combining multiple methods of analysis in the examination of gender representation within the chosen textbooks. In the qualitative approach, Rifkin was able to analyze the pictures, specifically the roles in sports. As it has been traditionally known, men engage in sports more than women. However, this traditional knowledge can no longer be portrayed as a male dominated area for, "The overall effect of this imbalance is to convey the message that the topic of "sports" does not concern females, an argument which cannot be made successfully with reference to either American or Russian athletes" (Rifkin 1998, 228), thus women's progress needs to be conveyed in new versions of textbooks. Finally, his study demonstrated that when comparing gender representation in new and old textbooks, new versions are not necessarily more equitable (Rifkin 1998, 232). Thus, newer versions of textbooks, according to the already mentioned studies, have showed that women are still not equally represented.

A trend seen within these studies is that the scholars have compared different editions of textbooks to illustrate the changes of gender representation. In the case of Mexico, given that there was a revision conducted in 1998 for the SEP textbooks, it would be useful to conduct a content analysis comparison between the textbooks from before 1998 and the ones afterwards. This would portray the
level of changes regarding gender representation in textbooks. Also, the limitations of pronouns and difficulties of expressing gender properly play a huge role in the representation of gender. As we have discovered, even textbooks teaching foreign language have difficulties conveying the proper gender because of language barriers. Overall, these studies demonstrate that gender representation within textbooks is a global problem that still needs to be fixed and most importantly, it needs to be resolved so that children can (at an early stage) have a clear perceptions of both genders and grow up to believe that that sexist language is acceptable.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has provided a literature review on three concepts, political socialization, gender role construction and the problems that are embedded within them, gender stereotyping and sexism. Political socialization, transmission of political knowledge from one generation to another (through school), monopolizes children’s construction of gender roles and gender stereotypes. Scholars have measured the impact of political socialization through civics. Civics, the process of citizenship in terms of rights and duties, is a learnable concept or subject. Students learn about civics through historical figures and events (presidents, war heroes, political leaders, wars, etc.) and governmental concepts (patriotism, voting, laws, etc.) as well as other nationalistic values. It is within this political socialization process, through civics, that children gain political knowledge for future civic involvement. At the same time that this process is taking place, gender social and career roles, through gender construction, also takes place. The manner, in which political socialization is imprinted in students, uses women and men to represent many areas of civics. These include portrayals of leading figures, language used to describe high ranking positions, and teachers' language in describing women's and men's social and career roles.

The main finding of this literature review is that, the social and political roles that civics presents to students, through images and language, constructs children's perspectives of the roles women and men should play, not just in politics/careers but in society as a whole. It is from this theoretical approach,
reviewed literature guiding this analysis, that Chapter 4 will provide a content analysis of the
government issued SEP Civic and Ethic Construction (first through sixth grade) textbooks. The mixed
methods analysis will decipher the amount representation of women and men based on the illustrations
and narrative found within the textbooks’ units.

It is important to mention that this literature review does not provide any studies dealing with
Mexico’s indigenous population and their interaction with the mentioned concepts. Mexican studies tend
to separate the indigenous population from the rest of the populace. Although los Estados Unidos
Mexicanos (the United Mexican States) proudly proclaim constituent unity, it is known that indigenous
groups have been victims of marginalization, segregation, and discrimination. According to the OPHI
(Oxford Poverty and Human Development) presentation, "indigenous [groups from Mexico] are more
deprived in all dimensions, and double the poor compared to non-indigenous" (González de Alba 2012).
It is important that studies pertaining to social issues such as gender construction, gender stereotyping,
and political socialization include these groups and differentiate among them in order to capture the
historical value of their experiences as the primitive groups of Mexico’s origins. This also includes the
historical value of their different dialects, "The ten largest indigenous language groups are Náhuatl
(22.7% of indigenous language speakers), Maya (13.5%), Zapoteco (7.6%), Mixteco (7.3%) Otomí
(5.3%), Tzeltal (5.3%), Tzotzil (4.3%), Totonaca (3.9%), Mazateco (3.2%) and Chol (2.4%)" (González
de Alba 2012). The Instituto de Estudios Indígenas (Institute for Indigenous Studies) caters to these
indigenous groups by promoting research based over the following categories: urban studies, population
movements and cultural changes, anthropology, strategies for the development of life systems, and,
social and historical organizations (iei.unach.mx 2009). Therefore, future research needs to review
studies pertaining to indigenous groups’ reactions to the analyzed concepts in order to be able to
generalize conclusions about the entire population of Mexico. Also, studies dealing with Mexico’s
indigenous populations will better this research by contemplating their views on these social issues.
Chapter 4: Gender Occupations in Civic and Ethic Construction Textbooks: Findings and Content Analysis

Denise Dresser, Mexican political professor and analyst, writes in her article called Macho Mexico, that, "The evolution of Mexican democracy it's about a way... of educating a girl so she knows that she can be president of Mexico, although one hopes she may aspire to something better" (Proceso 2013). Mexico's democratic progression depends on firmly establishing the significance of educating all constituents so that they know about options, variances and achievements they can engage in. Occupations should not be automatically attributed to a specific individual based on their sex, or their gender, but rather on merit induced by a competing education. However, historically, literature has conveyed and attributed certain occupations for women and for men. As reviewed in Chapter 3, these historical occupations have been difficult to change due to social issues, such as gender inequality and discrimination that still exist today. This chapter analyses the portrayal of civic occupations, serving as indicators for future careers that elementary students could and should engage in as adults. The portrayals of such occupations are found within the governmental issued elementary textbooks of Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks authored by the SEP. It is in this chapter that we will find out the kind of civic occupations these textbooks are presenting to students and consequently influence their decision as well as their acceptance of occupations for women and men. This chapter will provide the findings and analysis of the selected textbooks.

4.1 Mixed Methodology

The content analysis will be based on the textbooks’ units (chapters). As stated in Chapter 1, the mixed methodology of quantitative and qualititative methods will allow for the content analysis to examine the numbers of illustrations comprising women/girls and men/boys as well analyzing the narratives talking about their corresponding illustrations. Also, in taking a qualitative method approach, I will be looking for stereotyped language, resulting in evidence for culturally accepted anti-feminist
wording. The mixed methods approach will help further my research into providing quantitative and qualitative evidence for the problem of gender stereotyping occupations in Mexico's governmental issued elementary textbooks. The findings will provide valuable information for the purpose of reform in the educational system.

4.1.1 Data Collection and Organization

In this chapter, I will first describe the very important symbol found on the cover of the Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks, La Patria or The Motherland. Then, I will examine the Civic and Ethic Construction first through sixth grade textbooks, dividing each accordingly and addressing the quantitative content found in each of their 5 units. In examining all 6 textbooks, I will be looking, through different categories, at the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented within illustrations. I will mention the findings and provide an analysis for the narratives behind the visually shown and narrated occupations. It is important to mention that I will be counting every illustration, not every character within the illustration. Also, in counting biographies, I will be counting those illustrations that simply have a caption about the historical figure. All findings will be provided within tables, but only significant findings will be analyzed. To fully capture the representation of women and men in each textbook there is a table showcasing the following categories: biographies featuring women or men, occupations shown for women or men, fables featuring women/girls or men/boys, illustrations featuring girls or boys, illustrations featuring boys and girls, illustrations of adult women or adult men, illustrations of adult women and adult men, illustrations featuring women's traditional occupations or men's traditional occupations, and finally, illustrations where neither women nor men can be identified. These categories will indicate how many times women/girls and men/boys are represented and the occupations portrayed. This will ultimately serve as an indicator of students' future perception of what occupations girls and boys can hold as adults. In other words, which civic occupations (i.e. president, delegates, congressman, firefighters, nurses, teacher, etc.) are presented in these textbooks so that girls...
and boys can begin thinking about engaging in as adults? More importantly, are civic occupations being presented in a non-stereotyped manner?

4.2 La Patria

It is important to note that the illustration on the covers for the Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks (Formación Cívica y Ética) is an allegory to Mexico's past, present and futuristic nationalistic views. In 1962, La Patria, or The Motherland, was created by Mexican artist Jorge Gonzalez Camarena. The SEP re-took the cover in 1996. From that year on, the Civics and Ethics Construction textbooks included this image on its cover. His artistic style supported the movement against the educational system of the 19th century (Carreño 2013). It is a memoir to Mexico's nationalist education. The cover portrays the cultural, agricultural, and industrial opulence conveyed in books, flags, and the serpent in the eagle's mouth. Gonzales Camarena consolidates the meaning of La Patria with the symbolic representation conveyed by the indigenous women wearing a white robe (See Illustration 4.1). According to Maria Teresa Favela Fierro, an art historian, "She is monumental, physically and symbolically, with a dignity of the goddesses of Olympus. It symbolizes the origin of the people, the country where their ancestors were born and their descendants live under the protection of the protective mother" (2009). La Patria has become a classical symbolic memoriam to Mexico's education. Even before elementary students begin to read and view the content of the textbook, the symbol reinforces Mexico's nationalism splendor by having this illustration on the cover. La Patria, The Homeland, is a woman possessing Mexico's past and present nationalistic characteristics while at the same time birthing the future characteristics that make up Mexico's national identities.

4.3 Civic and Ethic Construction: 1st - 6th Grade

In an effort to consolidate the main subjects found in all of the 6 Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks that will be analyzed in this chapter, the reoccurring themes will be mentioned in this section
so that significant findings can be analyzed. Major differences found among the textbooks is that, as the grade increases, the units get longer, the vocabulary gets more sophisticated, the size of the illustrations get smaller and the narrative increases. However, all 6 textbooks provide information on the following civic and ethic construction subjects: knowledge, care, and responsibility of ourselves and others, appropriate manner to express emotions, the establishment and completion of goals, environmental care and appreciation of cultural diversity, laws for the protection of human rights and regulation of coexistence, and finally, organization and problem solving skills.

4.3.1 Civic and Ethic Construction: First Grade Textbook

The SEP first grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbook has larger illustrations and less narrative than the other textbooks. The instruction given to teachers is to read the textbook to students as a storybook rather than as a textbook. Table 1 embodies the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented throughout each category.

The following sections will demonstrats significant findings throughout all 5 units and the content analysis will be performed on the significant narratives behind every illustration. The most significant finding, as can be observed in Table 4.1 is that of the category featuring biographies.

Illustration 4.1 La Patria
### Table 4.1 Civic and Ethic Construction: First Grade Textbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic and Ethic Construction/Formación Cívica y Ética</th>
<th>First Grade/Primer Grado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number of Units</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Units Featuring Girls</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Units Featuring Boys</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Units Featuring Adult Women</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Units Featuring Adult Men</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unit</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unit 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Unit 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Unit 3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Unit 4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Unit 5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biography Featuring Women</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biography Featuring Men</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupations Shown for Women</strong></td>
<td>Madre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madre de Casa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ama de Casa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupations Shown for Men</strong></td>
<td>Arqueólogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vendedor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Líder Ceremonial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revolucionario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pintor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biography Featuring Women</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biography Featuring Men</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupations Shown for Women</strong></td>
<td>Agricultor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presidente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revolucionario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guerrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Escritor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Padre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupations Shown for Men</strong></td>
<td>Hombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estudiante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trabajador de Fábrica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Girls</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Boys</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Girls</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Boys</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Girls and Boys</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations of Adult Women</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations of Adult Men</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations of Adult Women and Adult Men</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Women’s Traditional Occupations</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations Featuring Men’s Traditional Occupations</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illustrations of Unidentified Characters</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Significant Findings

In all 5 units, there are no biographies featuring women, whereas there are 9 biographies featuring men. Two of these biographies include the following historical characters, Alberto Ruz, archeologist who found a tomb and Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, proclaimed Mexico's freedom via the *Grito de Independencia*, the Cry of Independence. The remaining 7 biographies tell the story of the following national heroes: Cuauhtémoc, founder of the homeland, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, whose biography is repeated twice in the textbook, Indian protector, Benito Juárez, hero during La Reforma/Reformation movement, Francisco I. Madero, established democracy, Venustiano Carranza, secured education and rights for workers and farmers, Emiliano Zapata, restituted farmers’ lands, and
Lázaro Cárdenas, expropriated petroleum (p. 38-39). In units 1 and 3 the illustration ratio of adult women to adult men varies significantly, 1:8 and 1:14. Also, in unit 2, although there is only 1 point difference in the illustrations featuring adult women (7) to the illustrations featuring adult men (8), out of those 7 illustrations featuring adult women there are 6 illustrations where adult women are featured together with adult men. Unit 3 contains 9 illustrations featuring men's traditional occupations, while only 1 illustration features women's traditional occupations. Finally, there are 14 occupations shown for men, whereas there are only 6 occupations shown for women.

**Content Analysis**

It is important to mention that the first and second grade textbooks instruct teachers to utilize them as readers, storytelling books, rather than as instructional materials. The foundation that the process of storytelling embeds in students' mind is significant because it lays out ideological positions; ideologies that also dictate women's and men's occupational positions in the realm of Civics. In my content analysis of the first grade textbook, within the category of occupations, the discrepancy of women's versus men's representation is highly recognizable. There are 6 occupations featuring women, whereas there are 13 occupations featuring men (See Table 4.1). Since these textbooks are required and are also used as the primary school materials for students' textual engagement, introductory subjects pertaining to the subject of Civics, it is crucial that these textbooks provide gender balanced paradigms. However, the 'Skinner Box' approach, "behavior which is reinforced tends to be repeated (strengthen)" (McLeod 2007), is seen in this particular textbook. The material presented in the textbook reinforces occupational stereotypes in the private and public sphere for women and men. In this case, these textbooks, throughout their story telling approach, are laying out a disproportionate representation of women and men; nonetheless reinforcing stereotype behavior and occupations that students will perceive as normative social and work related characteristics. As student move up to higher grades, they
will use these gender unbalanced foundational paradigms for future perspectives on women's and men's representational occupations in Civic textbooks.

Biographies

The ratio of biographies featuring women in opposition to biographies featuring men is significant, 0:7. If there are only biographies featuring men and none featuring women, students are being averted from women who were part of Mexico’s history. Women primarily utilized newspapers to voice the concerns of not only women's issues, but issues that affected society as a whole. Laureana Wright de Kleinhans, founder of the first feminist Mexican feminist newspaper, wrote about women's suffrage. Other women protected laborers, such as Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza who defended miners’ livelihood. Isabel Díaz de Pensamiento, Anselma Sierra, Carmen Cruz, Margarita Guadalupe Martínez, and Lucrecia O. Toriz formed a union on behalf of the men who had been protesting at the Río Blanco factory in Orizaba, Veracruz. Other women were key members of political movements, Isabel Vargas Urquidi and María Arias Bernal aided Francisco I. Madero in the beginnings of Mexico’s democratic movement. There are about 2,000 women who led protagonist roles in the revolutionary movement (Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, de la Secretaría de Gobernación, and the Instituto de Investigaciones Legislativas de la H. Cámara de Diputados 1992). Elementary textbooks need to include their biographies so that students can learn about the heroic actions taken by women and how they too are significant historical Mexican figures that students can look up to and feel proud of having as part of their history.

Pre-historic Illustrations

Unit 2 and unit 3 distinguish themselves from the other units due to the primeval illustrations embodying women and men. In these particular units, the traditional roles and occupations shown for adult women and adult men (mother, father, salesmen, saleswomen, workers, farmer, etc.) are said to be traditional due to the era depicted in the illustrations. "Social solidarity may have been particularly
necessary at Teotihuacán since a large percentage of male and female residents were foreigners" (De Lucia 2008, p. 17). This is significant because it is only within these pre-historic illustrations that these units illustrate women and men engaging in the same kind of domestic and labor work. Since the pre-historic era is well emphasized throughout the amount of illustrations in each of the units, students then may view these illustrations as outdated occupations that, because of the current domestic and labor divisions, do not apply to their current society. These illustrations are also significant because there are a high number of illustrations (6), portraying both, adult men and adult women, engaging in the same type of domestic and labor work. Illustrations featuring both, adult women and adult men, engaging in the same type of domestic and labor work should be of our current time period, so that students can identify their reality with that of the illustrations.

*Occupations*

The occupations shown for adult men are traditional occupations historically attributed to men: archeologist, farmer, salesmen, religious ceremonial leader, revolutionary, painter, president, warrior, male student, and factory worker. As for illustrations featuring adult women, they are also portrayed in a historical traditional manner: mother, housewife, and, factory worker. The significance of this particular finding is that students, first graders, are being introduced to civic textbooks for the first time. Learning about themselves and others is crucial for their development as first-class citizens who will be able to vote and make political decisions on occupational restrictions and/or liberties for women and men. If they do not observe a variety of occupations and only historical traditional occupations, that currently do not represent women’s and men’s occupations, and then they are very likely to develop a stereotype view on gender occupations. This can later translate to their personal views over not only what they can personally achieve, but on what the opposite sex can or should be able to perform.

In unit 1, the only example of a labor force occupation is that of an adult man archeologist who found a tomb. This is significant because it is the only illustration of a character, a relatable image to
students, and it is found under the section of 'identifying ourselves through our culture'. If students are only presented with this illustration, their mind will capture the concept of culture as being male dominated. More importantly, if the section is asking students to identify themselves through culture, could they really do that when there is only 1 illustration of an adult man? Another significant finding is that the first illustration of the unit embodies an antique sculpture of an adult men and the caption asks students the following question, what were the physical traits of our ancestors? If students only see this picture, they will immediately begin to describe male features, completely leaving the fact that ancestors also include women. This interpretation of what an ancestor looks like will become a memory in students' minds, that at the time of recollection an automatic male dominated perspective of ancestry will be the foundation for building and understanding of the subject. Under the section of 'personal information', next to the illustration of the only adult woman shown in the unit, after giving birth to her baby, there is a picture of a birth certificate where the father's name appears before the mother's name, as well as the paternal grandfather's name before the maternal grandfather's name. Students are taught that legal documents embodying basic human rights (i.e. name and nationality) are led by men; however, it is the non-legal concept of birth that is linked to women, as it is represented in the illustration. This is significant for students are starting to learn about their rights and their social position in society and thus begin to construct normative occupations and establish a chain of command for women and men.

4.3.2 Civic and Ethic Construction: Second Grade Textbook

The SEP second grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbook also instructs teachers to treat the textbook as a storybook, rather than as a textbook. There are still a lot of illustrations and little narrative. Table 2 embodies the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented throughout each category.
Table 4.2 Civic and Ethic Construction: Second Grade Textbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic and Ethic Construction/Formación Cívica y Ética</th>
<th>Second Grade/Segundo Grado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Units</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Girls</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Boys</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Women</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Men</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unit 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unit 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Women</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Men</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Women's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Men's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Unidentified Characters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unit 4</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unit 5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Women</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Men</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Women's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Men's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Unidentified Characters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Significant Findings**

Throughout the entire second grade textbook there is only 1 biography featuring men and none featuring women. There are 9 occupations shown for men and 4 occupations featuring women. There are 10 illustrations featuring adult women, whereas there are 23 illustrations featuring adult men. Specifically in unit 4, the ratio of women to men is of 2:9. Also, there are 6 illustrations featuring women's traditional occupations and only 1 illustration featuring men's traditional occupations. Finally, there are 7 illustrations of unidentified characters.

**Content Analysis**

**Biographies**

The only biography features Francisco Coronel Navarro, winner of the Premio Nacional de Ciencias y Artes 2007, Science and Art National Award 2007. The same award was given to nahuas del
Alto Balsas Guerrero painters. Their names and biographies are completely ignored, Ameyaltepec, San Agustín Oapan, Xalitla y Maxela (eluniversal.com 2008). This omission does not only cause gender stereotypes (a man winning a science and art award) but it also diminishes the indigenous population that thrives in Mexico. Students will link achievement with non-indigenous population and more importantly, they will undermine an important group of their society. However the lack of biographical information behind those illustrations, the narrative dictates the development of indigenous towns, but leaves out important historical figures.

In this textbook, women are not being represented through biographies. Once again, students only learn about men's achievements, leaving out important women who have also triumph in the fields of art and science. Women such as Helia Bravo, first Mexican women to become a biologist and, Luz María del Castillo Fregoso, first Mexican woman to receive the science award from the Academia Mexican de Ciencias/ Mexican Science Academy, have successful occupation stories that need to be told in this textbook. Even if there is going to be a limit of biographies, there still needs to be equal representation of both, women and men, so that students can obtain examples of women and men who have triumphed in the area of science and art. These examples serve as future occupation mirrors for both, girls and boys.

*Occupations*

Units 1 and 5 reveal the only occupation featuring men in a political related occupation, warrior. Even though the main action of warriors is to fight, they are fighting for a political reason. In this specific illustration, the men are fighting for their city, Tenochtitlán (p. 17). The other occupations featuring men, scientist, painter, professor, and musician, are traditional occupations for men, whereas the occupations of artisan and dancer are not. However, for the occupation of dancer, it is an occupation that a pre-historic character holds. The dancing figures are leaders of a religious ceremony. As seen in
the first grade textbook, the occupations for this era differ than the occupations from today because of the society's needs.

There are only 4 occupations featuring women: mother, farmer, painter, and, musician. The most prevalent occupation illustrated is that of being a mother. The illustrations depicting women as mothers are also pre-historic illustrations of ancient sculptures. Also, women represented through illustrations of farmers confirm that the era allowed for them to engage in such occupations. However, women farmers are not illustrated by themselves; rather they are always accompanied by a man. Even though both, women and men are depicted in the same labor task, it is always the women who are caring for the children. This is significant because once again the textbook is revealing that shared labor work and domestic tasks were accepted because of society's needs, portraying the idea as outdated. Students learn that engaging in the same labor work and domestic activities are part of history and do not apply to today's society, making occupations be divided between women and men.

Unidentifiable Characters

The 7 illustrations where the characters' sex is unidentifiable are of pre-historic figures during the reign of the Aztecs. The figures have appearances of gods and warriors, but they possess no features which can determine whether they are featuring women or men. This is important because then it is the narrative that dictates the sex of the figures, not the symbolic representation. Students' sex interpretation adheres to the gender narrative. As previously noted, in Spanish the male noun will always dominate the description of the subject and these students will learn that the figure features men and not women representation. Stereotypes of unidentifiable characters begin to develop and later on they become normative.

4.3.3 Civic and Ethic Construction: Third Grade Textbook

The SEP third grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbook does not provide teachers instructions on how to use the textbook. For the first time, students are exposed to a map of Mexico.
This is significant for students are able to geographically understand their national and local location as part of their identity. The textbook also provides students with the national Mexican anthem. Table 3 embodies the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented throughout each category.

**Significant Findings**

There are no biographies featuring women, whereas there are 2 biographies featuring men. There are only 4 illustrations of occupations featuring women, whereas there are 11 illustrations of occupations featuring men. There are no fables featuring women, whereas there is 1 fable featuring men. In unit 4, there is only 1 illustration featuring women and 5 illustrations featuring men. There is 1 illustration featuring women's traditional occupations, whereas there are 11 illustrations featuring men's traditional occupations. Also, there are 8 illustrations in unit 2 where the sex of the character cannot be identified.

**Content Analysis**

*Biographies*

There are not biographies featuring women. The historical figures in the 2 biographies featuring men are of Virgilio Uribe and José Azueta. These two marines defended Mexico's port of Veracruz against North Americans, 13"Lo que valio al plantel reconocimiento Heroico" (p. 36). Although it is important for students to know who these heroes were and their patriotic actions, the lack of heroine women puts students at risk of developing occupation stereotypes.

*Occupations*

Third graders will attribute marines as occupations reserved for only men. However, there is an illustration featuring a women marine. If it had not been for her earring, one would not be able to tell if she was a woman or a man (p. 37). If students are not careful with the scanning of illustrations, they can easily miss the representation of women in the section of Mexico's navy.

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13 “What earned the Heroic recognition of the squad” (p. 36)
Table 4.3 Civic and Ethic Construction: Third Grade Textbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic and Ethic Construction/Formación Cívica y Ética</th>
<th>Third Grade/Tercer Grado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Units</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Girls</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Boys</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Women</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Men</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unit 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unit 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Women</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Men</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations Shown for Women</td>
<td>Enfermera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marinera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations Shown for Men</td>
<td>Professor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fables Featuring Girls/Women</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fables Featuring Boys/Men</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Boys</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Girls and Boys</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Adult Women</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Adult Men</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Adult Women and Adult Men</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Women's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Men's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Unidentified Characters</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are only 4 occupations shown for women throughout the entire textbook, at least they feature professional occupations that are not historically traditional attributed, except for nurse, to women: chemist, marine and traffic controller. Students can hopefully pick up on these occupations and realize that both, girls and boys, can choose these professional careers. However, the limiting amount of illustrations and lack of repetitiveness does not guarantee that children will intensely observe and pick up on them as occupations they and their peers can engage in as adults.

The 11 occupations featuring men are all occupations that have been historically attributed to men: teacher, priest, farmer, welder, marine, worker, miner, geologist, engineer, principal, and firefighter. The illustrations featuring miners, geologists and engineers are part of sections that asks students what occupation they would like to have as adults (p. 51). After viewing the illustrations
featuring men, boys could easily identify themselves with the illustrations and choose one of the provided occupations, but girls may not be able to relate and thus face the obstacle of not feeling they can choose an occupation because the ones offered do not reflect them. One can only wonder if girls will be able to see past the occupational stereotypes and actually choose one of these men dominated careers. The portrayal of such traditional occupations featuring men only solidifies the historical notions that men can participate in these occupations. Although the different occupations embody a variety of professional skills and talents, they cannot just be portrayed by men. Women have to represent them too so that students can begin to eradicate historical stereotypes that have prevailed for a long time and most importantly, have harmed women's and men's perceptions of the capacities the opposite sex possess to thrive and produce successful results out of them.

Fables

The only fable story in the entire textbook featuring men, 14 *El labriego y sus hijos*, not only does it narrate the lives of 3 men, but it also illustrates them. Fables convey life lessons and advice readers on ethical behavior. Presenting only 1 fable featuring male characters, father and sons, ignores the representation of women. Through the example of women, students too can learn about morals and ethical behavior.

4.3.4 Civic and Ethic Construction: Fourth Grade Textbook

The SEP fourth grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbook primarily focuses on distinguishing and celebrating Mexico's culture. It also promotes the various civic and ethic responsibilities that come along with being a citizen of Mexico. Students are encouraged to learn about human rights and respect diversity among themselves and others. Finally, it endeavors to forgo violence by presenting an entire unit with conflict resolution skills. Table 4 embodies the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented throughout each category.

14 The farmer and his sons
Table 4.4 Civic and Ethic Construction: Fourth Grade Textbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic and Ethic Construction/Formación Cívica y Ética</th>
<th>Fourth Grade/ Cuarto Grado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Units</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Girls</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Boys</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Women</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Men</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>Unit 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Women</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Men</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations Shown for Women</td>
<td>0 Madre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations Shown for Men</td>
<td>Profesor Congresista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fables Featuring Girls/Women</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fables Featuring Boys/Men</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Girls</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Boys</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Girls and Boys</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Adult Women</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Adult Men</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Adult Women and Adult Men</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations Featuring Women's Traditional Occupations</td>
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<td>Illustrations Featuring Men's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Unidentified Characters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Significant Findings**

There are 14 biographies featuring men, whereas there are only 2 featuring women. There are 10 occupations shown for men, while there are only 4 featuring women. In unit 1, there are more illustrations of adult men than of adult women, 9:4. There are 17 illustrations featuring men's traditional occupations, whereas there are 8 illustrations featuring women's traditional occupations.

**Content Analysis**

**Biographies: Construction of Sex and Gender**

This textbook focuses on students' being able to distinguish among cultural, economical, and social differences. All of the biographies featuring men are of historical figures that intervened in these issues. A recurrent figure, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, is portrayed yet again as a fierce advocate for
Mexico's independence, "En 1810 Miguel Hidalgo llamó a los mexicanos a luchar por su libertad" (p. 8)/
"In 1810 Miguel Hidalgo called on Mexicans to fight for their freedom" (p. 8). The following section portrays examples of the biographies and the significance of them.

For the purpose of this thesis, construction of gender and construction of gender stereotypes through the process of political socialization, an important element of this textbook is the description of biological and cultural gender differences. 15 "Una diferencia entre los seres humanos que divide a la humanidad en dos partes casi iguales es la del sexo" (p. 10). This quote implies that women and men are not equal because of their biological structure; it almost makes them equal, but not quite. Thus inferring immediate biological hierarchy in where, historically and traditionally, men exceeds women. Unit 1 explores examples of biological (sex) and cultural gender differences, such as various countries considering the occupation of tailor as predominantly a men's occupation. Another example is that currently women and men study, work, and share the same domestic responsibilities (p. 11). It also emphasizes the progress of Mexico's laws in giving the same freedoms to both men and women. During the Virreinato women were not allowed to study, whereas now they compose more than half of the student population in bachelor's programs (p. 11). This section, in unit 1, is very brief and it ends by stating that what really matters is not gender differentiation, but rather knowing ourselves and thus understanding that we are not that different, but rather much similar, to one another (p. 11). No illustrations of the mentioned sex and cultural gender differences examples are shown, rather the illustrations portray Mexico's first president, Guadalupe Victoria, and the signing of Mexico's independence by delegates (all men). Even though the section is talking about biological and cultural differences and provides 2 narrative examples of these, students may not be able to connect the narrative with the illustrations portrayed. The narrative does not mention the illustrations portrayed. What is the conceptual result, in students’ minds, when the illustrations do not represent the narrative? Most

15 "A difference between human beings that divides humanity into two almost equal parts is that of sex" (p. 10)
important, even though the narrative aims to provide students with the differences between sex and gender, while at the same time revealing that women and men are human beings that must be treated equally regardless of their biological or cultural differences, the irony is that the illustrations only feature men, leading historical figures, while women are completely ignored. Students may not be able to fully comprehend the significance of equality if the symbolic representation of such is missing.

Unit 2 also talks about la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos/Political Constitution of the United Mexican States. The unit narrates the freedoms the constitution gives to Mexican citizens, including the right to free education, freedom of religious beliefs, and, freedom to express thoughts without harming anyone. The section talks about right to education and the freedom it entails in choosing an occupation or a career. Yet, the illustrations portrayed in this section are from a book featuring 5 men and 3 women. Illustrations of the book, titled El Pensador Mexicano and written by José Joaquin, represent the freedom, the rights, the equality of all people, the education for children, the national identity, and the sovereignty given to Mexican citizens. It was the first Mexican novel embodying such important issues; however, the 4 pages illustrate more men than women, 14:5. The women featured possess passive characteristics or play non-active characters (playing music, cooking, sitting down, laying sick) while the men are engaged in active actions (dancing, fighting, and standing up). José Joaquin also wrote La Quijotita y su prima, a book focusing on the importance of women’s education, that is, their moral and economic autonomy. The narrative behind the illustrations for this book emphasizes how the clothing denotes the social differences and the characters’ labor and attitudes of that time period. The section wants readers to recognize that these characters and lifestyles have been abated by Mexico, 16“Los mexicanos hemos luchado por abatir las diferencias injustas” (p. 23). This is important for students learn about rights and freedoms, and societal changes that have helped equality progression.

16 “Mexicans have struggled to bring down unjust differences” (p. 23)
Unit 2 features a poem dedicated to the Niños Heroes/ Heroic Children (p. 27). A picture of each of the children, all boys, embellishes the poem. Although they represent a significant historical event, Mexican-American war, there are no poems referencing Mexican women who served during the war. Unit 3 features a section dedicated to Mexican heroes. Out of the 8 biographies of the featured heroes, 2 feature women and 6 feature men. The two women, Juana de Asbaje was a pioneer for women’s education, while Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez (also known as La Corregidora de Querétaro) alerted Mexican warriors about the enemy’s plan of attack before the beginning of the independence fight. The 6 men featured as heroes are: Miguel Hidalgo, recurrent historical figure all throughout the textbooks, Jose Maria Morelos, Ignacio Allende, Nicolas Bravo, Carlos Maria de Bustamante, and Hermenegildo Galeana. The importance of this section is the portrayal of heroes, characters that students can look up to for nationalistic and character development inspiration, but the representation of women and is not the same, thus students are being taught that although women played heroic roles, the number of these heroine women did not amount of the number of heroic men. Unit 5 features a section called “Qué es el trabajo/What is work/labor? And the illustration portrayed is that of a construction worker featuring a man. There are no illustrations featuring women in work occupations. Students could possibly link occupations and work to a function that only men perform, leaving women out not only of the traditional occupations, but of the labor force.

4.3.5 Civic and Ethic Construction: Fifth Grade Textbook

The SEP fifth grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbook has more narratives while still having illustrations. However, the illustrations contain more than one character and are actual pictures of real people, rather than cartoons. Most importantly, it begins to introduce Mexican governmental institutions (La Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación, Cámara de Diputados, and the Instituto Federal Electoral). Table 5 embodies the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented throughout each category.
Table 4.5 Civic and Ethic Construction: Fifth Grade Textbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic and Ethic Construction/Formación Cívica y Ética</th>
<th>Fifth Grade/Quinto Grado</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total Number of Units</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Boys</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Women</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Units Featuring Adult Men</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Women</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Biography Featuring Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations Shown for Women</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupations Shown for Men</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fables Featuring Girls/Women</td>
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<td>Fables Featuring Boys/Men</td>
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<td>Illustrations Featuring Girls</td>
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<td>Illustrations Featuring Boys</td>
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<td>Illustrations of Adult Women and Adult Men</td>
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<td>Illustrations Featuring Women's Traditional Occupations</td>
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<td>Illustrations Featuring Men's Traditional Occupations</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustrations of Unidentified Characters</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Significant Findings

There are 4 biographies featuring women, whereas there are 7 biographies featuring men. There are 4 occupations featuring women, whereas there are 10 occupations featuring men. There are no fables featuring women, while there is 1 featuring men. There are 20 illustrations featuring adult women, whereas there are 33 illustrations featuring men. Specifically in unit 1, there is only 1 illustration featuring women, while there are 12 illustrations featuring men. There are only 4 illustrations featuring women’s traditional occupations, whereas there are 17 illustrations featuring men’s traditional occupations.

### Content Analysis

#### Biographies
Three of the biographies featuring women are all in one section called *Las mujeres y la cultura en el siglo XIX*. Women and culture in the nineteenth century, whereas the biographies featuring men are found within all 5 units. This is significant because it separates women's and men's accomplishments. While the 4 biographies featuring women are consolidated under one specific section, men's biographies (7) are spread all throughout the textbooks, making men's biographies more relatable to other civic and ethic subjects. This division also demonstrates a division of accomplishments between women and men. Students do not only learn that there were more men represented in history, but also that women's biographies may not be related to more civic and ethic subjects, thus minimizing their influence over such subjects.

*Occupations*

Students also learn that men can perform in the following occupations: solider, political leader, congressman, lieutenant, president, athlete, artisan, musician, and business man. While the occupations of tailor and artisan are not primarily man's traditional occupations, unit 3 illustrates men as tailors and artisans within indigenous groups. This is significant because only within indigenous groups are the occupation of tailors and artisans accepted for men, but there are no illustrations of tailors and artisans as part of industrialized societies. Women are featured in 4 occupations: professor, public speaker, artisan, and student. Having only those 4 occupations for women in the entire fifth grade textbook does not allow students to perceive equal representation of women and men, and very importantly, it limits women's occupations to 2 professional careers, 1 cultural occupation, and only 1 relatable occupation. Through the process of political socialization, students learn that there are not many occupations for women to hold, while there are a vast variety of occupations traditionally attributed to men. Since the fifth grade textbook posses more narrative than the lower grade textbooks, narratives become extremely important. The narratives coincide with the provided illustrations. It is also important to note that in this textbook, girls were portrayed in the majority of illustrations revealing a civic action. Such as the pledge
of allegiance, participation in the juvenile parliament and flag salute. However the representation of girls in these civic activities, adult women appear much less than adult men in exercising such activities. This is significant for the textbook encourages students, equally girls and boys, to engage in civic participation and provides examples on how to do this through illustrations. However, it does not follow up with the illustrations of adult women and men. The illustrations of adult women and adult men set examples for student's futures and so it is crucial that they too embody equal representation and non-stereotyped occupations.

4.3.6 Civic and Ethic Construction: Sixth Grade Textbook

The SEP sixth grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbook, just as the fifth grade textbook, also has more narratives while still having illustrations. Most importantly, it introduces social problems of gender inequality, poverty and human trafficking. It is a transitional textbook from elementary school to middle school. Table 6 embodies the number of times women/girls and men/boys are represented throughout each category.

Significant Findings

There are 8 biographies featuring women, whereas there are 12 biographies featuring men. There are 4 occupations featuring women, and 10 occupations featuring men. There are 18 illustrations featuring adult women, while there are 17 illustrations featuring adult men. However, even though the difference between the illustration featuring adult women and the illustrations featuring adult men is of 1 point, there is a lot of variance by unit. There are only 2 illustrations featuring women's traditional occupations, whereas there are 10 illustrations featuring men's traditional occupations.

Content Analysis

Biographies
The biographies featuring women are of the following: Maria Lavalle Urbina, first Mexican women to become a lawyer and an advocate for women's rights, Soledad Anaya Solorzano, organized the high school system and authored Spanish textbooks, Bertha von Glümer, university professor, Rosaura Zapata, specialized kindergartener teacher and receiver of awards, Rosario Castellanos, author of poems emphasizing the indigenous population of Chiapas and women, Carmen Serdan, initiator of the revolution, Rosa Bobadilla, Zapatista colonel, and Maria Cristina Salmorán de Tamayo, first women to become supreme court justice in Mexico. Although this is the textbook that hold the most biographies featuring women, there are still more biographies featuring men. Some of the biographies featuring men have already been presented in other textbooks: Frencisco I. Madero, Emiliano Zapata, and Venustiano Carranza. This is significant because more biographies featuring women could take the place of the repetitive biographies that students have already learned about in previous grades.


**Occupations**

The ratio for illustrations of women's occupations to men's occupations is 4:10. The occupations featuring women are the following: teacher, construction worker, revolutionary, and mother. This is significant because students observe not only the limited amount of women representation in occupations, but also that there is only 1 professional occupation and 1 non-traditional occupation. These 2 illustrations are not enough for women to compete with men's 10 illustrations, where they are featured in leading occupations. Students need to observe equal representation of both, women and men, within illustrations and also with the amount of them. It is only then that education will be able to present students with unbiased information that will influence students' decisions over sex occupations. Most importantly, it will increase students’ ability to relate to both, adult women and adult men.

**4.4 Summary**

This chapter analyzed the SEP's first through sixth grade elementary textbooks for the purpose of investigating women and men's representation in the illustrations and narratives provided in the content of the textbooks. Each textbook was analyzed individually and the findings are found in each of their respective tables. The use of quantitative and qualitative methodology, which is the amount of illustrations and the narrative describing the illustrations, allowed furthering exploring the representation of women and men. Even though the results vary per unit, overall the most significant findings are found in the following categories: biographies featuring women, biographies featuring men, occupations featuring women, occupations featuring men, illustrations featuring adult women, and illustrations featuring adult men.

**Biographies**

The categories of biographies featuring women and biographies featuring men vary significantly. Overall there are 44 biographies featuring men and only 13 biographies featuring women. This is significant because not only are the biographies featuring men repeating historical figures, Miguel
Hidalgo y Costilla's biography is shown in more than 1 textbook, but students are being averted from women's important participation throughout history. Students will only learn men's triumphs and ignore women's successful and inspirational stories. At the same time the constructing stereotype occupations for both, women and men, occur in students' minds. The occupations, shown in biographies featuring men, reveal leading figures, revolutionaries, warriors, political leaders, presidents, and lieutenants, reinforcing traditional occupations that have been historically attributed to men. The sixth grade textbook claims that due to the lack of information, names of many women who served in Mexico's main battles are unknown. This is not true, as showed and describe in the first and second grade biographies and content analysis sections where a list is provided of women who were essential during Mexico's revolutionary wars. Thus, the information is available, but the textbook discriminated against these historical leading figures featuring women's triumphs.

**Occupations: Word Cloud**

The categories of occupations featuring men and occupations featuring women also varied significantly. To visually portray the variance of women's and men's occupations, the use of a word cloud will help determine who got the most exposure throughout all 6 textbooks. In other words, are women and men represented equally, through the amounts and types of occupations portrayed in the textbooks? The word cloud exposes the presented occupations, in Spanish due to the gender nouns that exist in the Spanish language. The use of Spanish occupations better represents and differentiates between women's and men's occupations. The following word cloud visually represents the occupations presented in the textbooks. The more frequent the word, the more it is represented throughout the text. The most prominent occupation is *Agricultor*/Men Farmer. Other prominent words featuring men include *Revolucionario*/Revolutionary men, *Profesor*/Professor men and, *Guerrero*/Warrior. As for occupations featuring women, the most prominent is *Madre*/Mother. This is very significant because occupations featuring men are represented through professional occupations, whereas occupations...
featuring women are represented through domestic, non professorial, social roles. Through these illustrations, student perception of professional occupations is immediately attributed to men, while the social roles of being the main caregiver of children are women. The textbook is responsible for the portrayal of all of these occupations and thus create stereotypes for women and men's occupations. The construction of gender, through these occupations, occurs as students learn about which kinds of occupations men and women have as adults. These textbooks need to have more professional occupations featuring women so that girls can have relatable characters to look up too, while boys can grow accustomed to women holding the same occupations adult men have. If there is an equal representation of women and men through the illustrations of occupations then students are likely to develop a normative view of non stereotyped occupations attributed to either, women or men.

**Illustrations Featuring Adult Women and Adult Men**

The categories of illustrations featuring adult women and adult men are significant because of the amount of variance found between them. There are fewer illustrations of adult women than of adult men. As mentioned in the content analysis of the sixth grade textbook, the ratios of illustrations featuring girls to the illustrations featuring boys did not fluctuate significantly, but rather the ratios of adult women to adult men varied throughout each textbook. Civic participation activities are usually represented by illustrations featuring girls. However, there are more civic occupations represented by adult men than by adult women.

The gap between children and adult representation is widely ignored. The textbook focus on elementary students’ civic participation but does not provide follow up techniques on how children can grow up to become active citizens who are able to engage in civic activities. This is significant because students may learn how to participate in civics, but they will not be able to easily follow up as adults, especially if the civic participation is mostly portrayed by only men. Also, students who cannot relate to adult characters are less likely to become inspired by their occupations.
The stereotypes associated with the featured occupations are historical traditional occupations that still present themselves as normative occupations for women and men. Therefore, illustrations featuring adult women need to amount to the illustrations featuring adult men. The purpose of this is to have equal representation of adult women and adult men, but most importantly, so that students can relate to a variety of characters and become inspired to follow their occupational choices.

**Stereotyped Language**

The ongoing narratives throughout all the textbooks speak to students as *niñas y niños*, girls and boys. The manner in which other nouns were addressed to, *hermanos, maestros, amigos*, had the masculine plural ending. This is typical when talking about more than 1 person in Spanish, the use of the plural masculine is acceptable. This is a problem because automatically students begin to learn that the
masculine endings dominate language, an easy step towards believing that men or masculine traits should come surpass women or female traits in other social and educational areas.

The purpose of the Civic and Ethic textbooks is to political socializing children through nationalistic concepts and characters who have shaped Mexico. Through this process, students learn about gender occupations and thus gender construction takes place. Gender construction takes place in the form of historical figures, biographies, and civic occupations held by women and men. The portrayal of women and men, through the mentioned categories, constructs and reassures students' perspective of what to expect from the opposite sex and why they, as individuals, can achieve in relation to what is being presented to them throughout the textbooks. Civic participation is important for democratic development, and thus an important aspect to democracy is equality. The textbooks' narratives explore democratic characteristics, tolerance, equality, discrimination and rights, however, their illustrations do not resemble these traits. Rather, the illustrations still depict stereotyped occupations and do not provide an equal amount of representation for women and men.

4.5 Overall Conclusion

The main result of this analysis is that there are still stereotyped occupations in the first through six grade textbooks and there are fewer illustrations featuring women than illustrations featuring men. The representation of women and men is seen through not only illustrations, but through the presented biographies that allow for important historical figures to become inspirational characters that students can look up too. However, most biographies feature more men than women and thus students are not presented with an equal representation of leading figures that encompass women's important lives and triumphs. It is crucial that a revision of these textbooks takes place in order to provide students with an equal and non-stereotyped representation of women and men so that they can grow up with unbiased perceptions of the occupations women and men should engage in. Most importantly, students need to learn that in order for Mexico to achieve a higher level of democracy, gender equality needs to
predominate in textbooks so that future generations can begin to change their perspectives about women's and men's roles and begin to eradicate traditional stereotypes that have served as obstacles in the democratic progress of their society.
Chapter 5: Elementary Students' Political Socialization and Mexico's Future on Gender Occupation Construction

This thesis rests on the assumption that if the SEP's first through sixth grade Civic and Ethic textbooks are revised for gender occupations stereotypes then future students might be more inclined to reject historically traditional occupations, including political careers, attributed to women and men. Thus, accepting that women and men can not only attain professional careers, but viewing occupations without any fixed stereotypical predispositions. This new belief would strengthen Mexico's democracy in reaching gender equality among its constituents. The objective of this thesis was to analyze Mexico's governmental issued first through sixth grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks by applying the results of the content analysis conducted in Chapter Four. The purpose of the conducted content analysis was to portray, quantitatively and qualitatively, women's and men's representation and the occupational stereotypes associated with them. The following sections summarize Chapters 1-4, provide plausible solutions to the problem of gender stereotypes found in textbooks, and attend to future research designs.

5.1 Chapter 1

Chapter one provides a road map of this thesis. The inspiration for this project was initiated from the classic work of the U.S. study, by Women on Words and Images, Dick and Jane as victims: sex stereotyping in children's readers. Although the study focused on children's readers, its methodic process resulted in it becoming an advocacy book for the problem of gender role and occupational stereotyping. These readers were used in thirty four U.S. elementary schools, however not entirely classified as textbooks, their usability in terms of frequency use and how they were used according to the curriculum could be questioned. In an attempt to investigate how curricula driven textbooks portray gender roles and occupational stereotyping, I analyzed Mexico’s government issued elementary textbooks. These are textbooks published by the government that must be used in Mexico's public schools. Mexico is in a transitional phase to become a practicing democratic country, however there are many factors that have
obstructed its full democratic development (i.e. the ruling of the authoritarian minded Institutional Revolutionary Party- PRI). The centralization of Mexico's education is a significant obstacle to Mexico's democratization process. However, the later attempts to decentralize the educational system have slowly guided the country towards democratic progress. "Education decentralization is particularly important given the historical tradition of education federalization and institutionalization...political significant because it potentially influences the formation of future citizens" (Orozco 1998, 4). Education is a key element for democratic advancement, “Teaches people to interact with others and raises the benefits of civic participation, including voting and organizing” (Glaeser et al. 2007, 77). Therefore, analyzing the content of these textbooks is crucial to learn about the historical and traditional obstacles, i.e. stereotypes, that are impeding Mexico’s education to achieve democratic growth in the realm of gender equality. The literature that was reviewed in this thesis comprises studies of political socialization, gender construction, gender occupations, sexism and stereotypes (See Figure 5.1). The weaving of these concepts results in having the process of political socialization, through sexist narratives and stereotyped illustrations found in the Ethic and Civic Construction textbooks, construct gender biased occupations. The mixed methodology used in this thesis encompasses quantitative and qualitative methods that measure the amount of occupational stereotyping and representation of women versus men in the selected illustrations and narratives from each textbook. The key element, or contribution, of this thesis is that throughout the process of political socialization, gender construction and gender stereotypes for occupations begin to form. The illustrations and narratives behind civic elements pose gender significance. Given that civics entail politics, where traditionally political affairs have been handled by men, the hypothesis for this thesis was that the illustrations and narratives from the SEP's Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks would feature more men than women and also, where more men than women would be represented in political activities.
5.2 Chapter 2

The material discussed in Chapter two reflects Mexico's educational situation. That is, it has attempted to outdistance itself from a centralized educational system to a decentralized one where states have autonomy over educational proceedings. However, the main obstructing element for decentralization is the lack of financial and educational resources in the states. In other words, even though Mexico's first and second Constitutions decentralized the federal government from dictating educational proceedings in the states, the states are not able to achieve an autonomous and competent educational system and thus have had to 'invite' back in the federal government to take over. Political leaders and soft propaganda have also been part of the delay. Leading figures have tried to shape constituents' views over their country's legitimacy and have done so by controlling the ideology found in textbooks. Thus, government issued textbooks are used as tools for the construction of these highly importance foundations that later serve for adults to support federal oriented policies. Former Mexican president, Porfirio Díaz, developed an unrealistic educational model, that because of Mexico's slow
developmental process it did not sustained. His efforts to create a nationalistic future generation, through the implementation of government issued textbooks, ended with the revolutionary war of 1910, where socialist ideologists demanded changes. Various reforms, supported and initiated by teachers' unions, have aimed to decentralize educational proceedings. It is the teacher's persistent actions that have allowed for such reforms to blossom. However, the most influential federal organization, The Secretaría de Educación Pública oversees Mexico's education. Its responsibilities are confined in article 3rd and 24th of Mexico's Constitution. This includes providing free educational to all citizens and safeguard their rights to have a free, required and neutral education. In an effort to prevent violence against women, the SEP has conducted a revision of the textbooks with the purpose to eliminate illustrations, concepts, and narratives that condone discrimination and violence against women. However the efforts of the SEP to eradicate violence against women and gender discrimination, other institutions were created to specifically focus on these issues. The Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres oversees the progress and development of Mexico's culture embarking gender equality.

5.3 Chapter 3

Chapter three discusses the literature on the following concepts: political socialization, gender construction, gender stereotypes, and sexism. Political socialization is part of one's own socialization process. It particularly guides one's views on governmental policies. Although this process begins at home, through family members' political preferences and experiences, schools are the ones that provide structured political socialization programs. Political socialization is the process by which political beliefs are passed from one generation unto the other through various educational tools. The process of political socialization usually takes place within the teaching of civics. One way in which elementary students are political socialized is through the content of civics textbooks. Political socialization studies in the United States and in Mexico have tested the process of political socialization, that is, how much do children know about their political surroundings through the methodology of civic questionnaires.
The exposé of U.S. studies defines methodological trends that have transcended over to Mexican studies. Civic education includes the teachings of nationalistic symbols, political leading figures, and definitions of loyalty. The concept of gender occupation construction is also mentioned in Chapter 3. Gender, as opposed to sex, is learned. The Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks teach students gender roles/occupations through the illustrations and narratives found in their content. The textbooks focus on knowledge, care, and responsibility of ourselves and others, appropriate manner to express emotions, the establishment and completion of goals, environmental care and appreciation of cultural diversity, laws for the protection of human rights and regulation of coexistence, and finally, organization and problem solving skills. Throughout all of these themes, the illustrations of characters feature more men than women conducting the themes' activities. Also, more men than women are depicted in traditional and historical, including political, occupations. The significance of this is that textbooks are supposed to mirror societies' reality, and thus it is crucial that they portray a feasible reality. Mexico's path to democratization progress needs to be mirror in these textbooks so that future generations can begin to conceptualize and accept gender equality in occupations. These can then be seen as the norm to accept and follow. Sexism in textbooks is an obstacle for gender equality representation in textbooks and in society. If the language degrading women and men is not changed, then students will not be able to break out from the traditional gendered communication, culture, and power behind sexist words. Solutions to the problem of sexism have been proposed by feminists who wish to change the symbolic order of the presentation of women and men, the underrepresentation of women, and change the hierarchical position of women and men. At the same time that sexism occurs in textbooks, traditional and historical stereotypes emerge. The studies dealing with stereotypes, discussed in the literature review, address the problem of portraying women in domestic, submissive, and passive roles (i.e. mother, caregiver, sitting down, cooking, reading), while men were featured in professional and active occupations (i.e. manual labor, talking, narrators). The significance of stereotypes in literature is that
they have limited women to roles of passivity and submissiveness by using characters to represent traditional stereotypes and this limits readers' own future aspirations. In an effort to surveillance these problematic concepts, there are global institutions whose main purpose is to review textbooks and assess the amount of sexism and stereotypes they each provide to their students. However, the recompilation of every countries' textbooks is not possible since not all countries are willingly to go under such scrutiny.

5.4 Chapter 4

A revision of gender equality portrayal within the SEP elementary textbooks was conducted in Chapter 4 As a starting point for my content analysis, a description of the symbolic meaning of the Civic and Ethic Construction textbook cover was mentioned. La Patria, The Motherland, illustrates the covers of the analyzed textbooks (see Figure 4.2). The symbolism of The Motherland conveys Mexico's strong nationalistic values. However, even though this cover yields a fierce symbolic representation of their cultural beliefs and values (agriculture richness, women's strong protective characteristics, farmers' affluence, and patriotic sentiment), the current reality refutes this. Although Mexico is one of the world's leading agricultural producers, existing domestic and international obstacles limit small producers to survive; these obstacles include: "NAFTA, the U.S. Farm Bill and a dearth of effective economic initiatives in Mexico"(monterreyherald.com). Mexico needs to reconcile with these drawbacks in order to fully transmit their overconfident idealistic views unto their government issued textbooks. Most importantly, Mexico's support would aid small farmers whose families and communities depend on agriculture produce for their sustainability. Not only do these nationalistic symbols cater to Mexico's economic productivity, but also to gender concepts. "Motherland connotes birth and nurturing, while fatherland refers to one's native country" (Maddox 2010). La Patria is a nationalistic symbolic representation conveyed by an indigenous woman wearing a white robe. According to Maria Teresa Favela Fierro, an art historian, "She is monumental, physically and symbolically, with a dignity of the goddesses of Olympus. It symbolizes the origin of the people, the country where their ancestors were
born and their descendants live under the protection of the protective mother” (2009). The portrayal of a country's population origins through an indigenous women caters to Mexico's indigenous population; a population that has been secluded by its own government. According to the United Nations Human Rights report, indigenous individuals "have the rights to self-determination...the right to autonomy, education, infrastructure and no-discrimination" (2011); however, each Mexican states has its own constitution, thus "limiting the provisions recognized in the national constitution" (2011). The cover of La Patria does not reflect Mexico's current reality. It reflects the protective and strong qualities that women have as mothers for their children. However the flamboyant representation of such ideology does not translate into the current state of women in Mexico's society. For example, although there has been a 5.4 percent increase of women in Mexico's Congress (lower house), 183 legislators, there are still more men 317 controlling the rest of the legislative power. Women have yet to eradicate many gender inequality obstacles in both the public and private sphere.

The data discussed in this chapter shows different categories used in government issued elementary textbooks for the purpose of political socialization. This chapter embodies the content analysis of the illustrations and narratives found in each of the first through sixth grade Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks. Each textbook contained 5 units depicting women and men in different occupational scenarios. One of the most significant findings was that adult women were featured less than adult men. Although, some units did have more adult women than adult men featured, overall the variance of adult women underrepresentation in these textbooks is highly observable. The category of biographies primarily reflects this finding, where there are 44 biographies featuring men while there are only 13 biographies featuring women. This is significant because elementary students look up to adult women and men to assimilate their own identity. The underrepresentation of women can lead to identity crisis in that girls who do not relate to the few adult women illustrated in the textbook, can feel abnormal for wanting to engage in an occupation or activity depicted by men. As mentioned in Chapter 4, there
are about 2,000 women who led protagonist roles in Mexico's pivotal historical movements (Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, de la Secretaría de Gobernación, and the Instituto de Investigaciones Legislativas de la H. Cámara de Diputados 1992). The biographies of these women need to be included in these textbooks so that students cannot only appreciate women's historical actions and attitudes towards their country, but can also learn about their capabilities within the demanding historical events. The illustrations' caption need to insert these women's names so that students can view them as historical characters possessing the same heroic characteristic as men. More importantly, women deserve to be recognized and acknowledged; it is only then that these textbooks will be able to produce and provide a gender balanced content in the category of biographies. Another significant finding was that of the represented occupations. The political related occupations had men depict those particular occupations. However girls, and not adult women, were featured as political leaders of various civic activities. This is important because the textbooks present girls in leadership political positions, inspiring girls to engage in these activities at an early age, but do not provide adult women characters engaging in politics. Thus, this discrepancy can motive young girls to participate in civic activities, but the missing adult women political figures cause a gap between childhood civic engagement and adulthood professional civic occupations. While one can say that the same situation applies to boys and adult men, it is not the case because boys are also featured in civic activities and have adult men represent those civic activities as political professionals. The occupations represented throughout the textbooks were depicted mostly by men, and very few by women. As shown in the world cloud, Chapter 4, the most frequent occupation throughout all the textbooks is that of Agricultor (Men Farmer). While for adult women, Madre (Mother) was the most frequent occupation featuring adult women. This demonstrates that occupations featuring men are labor work related, although not necessarily professional, while occupations featuring women rely on domestic roles. This is significant because students, especially those who stay in Mexico's public schools, because they will be exposed to
these limited occupations for both women and men. Thus, decreasing professional occupational options, and most importantly blocking the concept of gender equality in the workforce and in domestic labor. These textbooks need to have more professional occupations featuring women so that girls can have retatable characters to look up too, while boys can grow accustomed to women holding the same occupations adult men have. If there is an equal representation of women and men through the illustrations of occupations then students are likely to develop a normative view of non stereotyped occupations attributed to either women or men.

Table 5.1 Significant Findings

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<td>Occupational Ratios</td>
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<td>4:10</td>
<td>4:10</td>
<td>4:12</td>
<td>4:10</td>
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5.5 Implications for Future Research

This thesis primarily focused on one school subject, Civic and Ethic Construction. The SEP’s educational program for elementary schools’ curriculum requires that six more subjects (Math, Social Sciences, History, Spanish, Physical Education, and Geography) are taught to students. Thus, these additional textbooks also need to be analyzed in order to get a more precise sample of the stereotyped occupations and narratives they too could be presenting as conventional content. It is important to use other proxy tools that can also measure the representation of women and men and the stereotyping of their attributed occupations so that there can be a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods that can attest and support the hypothesis of this thesis, that is, the illustrations and narratives from the SEP's Civic and Ethic Construction textbooks would feature more man than women and also, where more men than women would be represented in political activities.
The reviewed U.S. and Mexico political socialization studies mostly relied on interviews and surveys to measure the level of political knowledge that students hold. Thus, another recommendation for future research is to conduct interviews and questionnaires to Mexican students who use these textbooks in order to measure their personal view of gender occupational construction within political socialization elements. The questionnaires would include questions about gender occupations, such as the following: their parents’ occupations, what they would like to be as grownups, what traditional occupations do they believe Mexican women and men hold, what historical leaders do they know along with their occupations, what governmental occupations can women and men have, etc. These questions will further investigate not only elementary students' view on Mexico's gender occupations, but also it will inform us about the way in which gender occupations are being presented by teachers. This guides into another recommendation, observations of the teacher’s education methods, that is, their implementation of textbooks' material. Teachers may complement the lectures by bringing in supplementary material entailing gender equality portrayal of women and men. The final recommendation is to further investigate the gender language used in the content of the textbooks. Although this thesis aimed to do so, the narratives behind the lectures and illustrations showed no sexism nor stereotyped language. Rather the textbooks addressed the most frequent words (17*ninas, ninos, maestros, maestras, alumnas, alumnos*) did not generalize it to masculine pronouns, which are accepted and used in Mexico’s writings when the subject is plural.

Another implication for future research relies on teachers’ teaching methods. As mentioned in Chapter 4, some of these textbooks (early grades) are used as storytelling books rather than as instructional textbooks. The approach of storytelling could be due in part to students' young age and prior experience with pre-kindergarten as well as kindergarten curricula approach. This is significant because it is in these early textbooks that I found the most discrepancy for the representation of women

17 (girls, boys, teachers, students)
versus men in the category of occupations (See Table 4.1). This storytelling approach guides young students' minds into believing that these stories (lectures) about Civics' subject are the foundational norm for future Civic subject teachings; this includes the representation of women's and men's Civic occupations. Therefore, it is important for teachers to attend their teaching methods with a gender balanced approach, regardless of curricula instruction. To fully understand the significance of gender inequality in textbooks is important to further analyze the approach teachers take on textbooks and their content.

The process of political socialization is not the only social venue in where the construction of gender takes place. Other social areas such as popular culture (i.e. television, movies, and, magazines) also participate as social venues in the process of gender construction. This research could then further analyze if and how popular culture iconic characters and narratives portray gender stereotypes and the influence they have on people's perspectives over gender occupations. It will be important to note how Mexico constructs gender through these social venues, for children are also exposed to media outlets that greatly influence their perception of themselves and others.

It will be also important to research the intersectionality of indigenous/ethnic classes that exist in Mexico. Given that indigenous population in "Mexico is one of the two largest in the Americas and more than one in ten Mexicans speaks an indigenous language" (Fox 1999), it is imperative that their perspective over gender stereotypes is further investigated. The usefulness of Mexican southern studies conveying indigenous communities where scholars observe how students respond to the curricula needs to further be analyzed in order to fully capture Mexico's stand on gender stereotyping. It is important to mention that the SEP provides Mexico's indigenous population with textbooks whose content is in different dialects. Thus, the same type of content analysis could be conducted within the different types of indigenous groups.
5.6 Policy Recommendations

Traditional, historical occupations support inequality portrayal between women and men. It is important that revisions, as described in Chapter 3 by the global surveillance institutions, are conducted in order to review these social impediments for democratic progress. A 1998 revision had the SEP look at the portrayal of violence against women in the illustrations of their textbooks. Perhaps a similar revision can be conducted for stereotypes and sexism content. In order to assess the changes, it would also be important to compare the textbooks before and after the 1998 in order to see what was changed and how much it changed.

Implications for change entail for the following Mexican institutions: INMUJERES, the National Democratic Institute, Instituto Jalisciense de las Mujeres, Asociacion Mexicana Mujeres Executivas, Museo de la Mujer, Lutisuc Asociacion Cultural, and Vida sin Violencia to become part of the SEP's Apoyo Institucional (Instituional Support) system so that the illustrations and narratives cater to a gender balanced equality portrayal of women and men. Although, the textbooks do provide narratives about social issues that affect women (i.e. discrimination, pluralism, tolerance, and violence), the influence of specialized state and federal organisms, who provide support to women with programs and information to dignify their condition in any public and private atmosphere, could provide insightful and specific content to these sections. Emphasizing these social issues can provoke students to prioritize them and not ignore them.

Perhaps the most essential policy that needs to be firmly implemented is the eradication of sexist language in these textbooks. Since the Spanish language deals with gender nouns and as previously stated, narratives use male nouns to describe two or more subjects thus women's representation becomes invisible. According to Pilar Careaga, 18"El lenguaje esta creado por el hombre, para el hombre y tiene como objeto el lenguage del hombre" (2012, 42). There are manuals by different Mexican institutions

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18 "Language is created by men, for men and targets the language for men" (Caragea 2012, 42)
that provide guidelines on how to prevent the use of sexist language in Mexican public sectors, including public schools. These manuals emphasize the importance of addressing female nouns and shy away from the masculine plural nouns that ignore women's presence. Also, the awareness that masculine nouns, even plural ones, are not neutral must be acknowledged. Other guidelines advocate that women should never be addressed as being someone's possession, the use of stereotyped phrases that consolidate traditional roles needs to stop, as well as the use of masculine nouns as the universal norm. An important guideline that fits this thesis is that of providing gender specific endings to occupations, this will immediately transmit an exact idea of reality. 19"Si hablamos de las profesiones en femenino estaremos ajustando nuestra comunicación, se escrita o verbal, a la realidad, al mundo real y diverso en el que vivimos" (Caragea 2012, 42). If this becomes policy for SEP textbooks, then narratives will completely change and adhere to a sexist free content. Consequently shaping young students' vocabulary to evolve from chauvinist to a gender free one where neither women nor men will be the main protagonists, unless they are specifically talked about.

5.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This objective of this thesis was to investigate invisible concepts that create evident social problems for women and men. Political socialization, gender construction, gender occupations, stereotypes and sexism, in textbooks, assemble students' views over women and men's hierarchical aptitudes. These untreated concepts, specifically for women lead to the following social problems: gender discrimination, domestic violence, the obstacle of the glass ceiling, homicides, human trafficking, kidnapping, poverty, obstacles within reproduction rights, among many other human rights' limitations. Since education is the second most influential outlet where ideologies can be transmitted from older to younger generations, it is imperative that educational tools, such are textbooks, provide

19 "If we talk about female professions we adjust our communication, written or verbal, to the real and diverse world in which we live in" (Caragea 2012, 42)
constituents gender equality portrayal. Just as how illustrations need to counterpart the narratives found within these textbooks, Mexico's government needs to also equalize their democratic views to the ideology they are issuing in their textbooks. The occupations that are represented in these textbooks need to be a mirror of the occupations women and men hold in the real world so that students can realistically set personal and career goals. Setting personal and career goals will not only benefit girls' and boys' future lives, but will further Mexico's own goal of democratization.
References


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Terriquez, Veronica. "The Political Socialization of Youth from Immigrant Families and the Role of Community-Based Organizations." Forthcoming.


Glossary

Occupations used for Word Cloud:

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20 M=Men
21 W=Women
Curriculum Vitae

Anna Valeria Haro was born on December 19, 1985 in El Paso, Texas. The first daughter of Ana Fiscal, she graduated from Immanuel Christian School, El Paso, Texas, in the Spring of 2004 and entered The University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) in the fall. While pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, she worked at Adelante Child Development Center. During the summers of 2008 and 2009, she attended the Law School Preparation Institute (LSPI) and interned at Las Americas Immigrant Advocacy Center. During the course of her college education, she was placed on the Dean’s List during the Spring semester of 2006, received the Outstanding Service to the Student Government Association award, was elected Collegiate Liberal Arts Senator, was a member of the UTEP Phi Alpha Delta Pre-law Fraternity and of the UTEP Lions International Club, and volunteered at Centro Comunidad Internacional Church. After graduating, Anna worked in the professional sphere as a Knowledge, Management and Communication Consultant at the Pan American Health Organization in El Paso, Texas for two and a half years before returning to school full time in 2011 to pursue a Master’s Degree in Political Science. While taking on a full time graduate course load, Anna worked part time as a teaching assistant for the Political Science Department under various faculty instructors. In addition, she was one of two students from Texas selected to present this thesis work at the Emerging Scholars conference at the University of Michigan, which showcased up and coming graduate students from across the country.

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