

Confronting Gender Imbalance in High School History Textbooks Through the C3 Framework

Kay A. Chick
Penn State Altoona

Stacey Corle
Penn State Altoona

This study analyzed gender balance in the texts and illustrations of three recently published, high school US history textbooks and one alternate volume of American history. In all of the American history texts analyzed there were significantly more males than females in text content and illustrations. These textbooks focused on the contributions of those famous Americans who have been a part of the historical record. The record is skewed with regard to gender, leaving teachers and students with the arduous task of acknowledging the absence of women while attempting to fill in the gaps through their own research and resources. Standards committees and textbook publishers should change their focus and teachers and students should confront gender imbalance by integrating high quality women's history resources into the classroom with web-based resources, family and community history projects, young adult literature, history textbook analysis, and the vision of the C3 Framework.

Key words: gender equity, history, textbooks, women's history, inquiry, C3 Framework

In an education program at a four-year public university in the Northeast, students are asked to list as many male historical figures as they can think of, omitting sports figures and entertainers. The exercise is then replicated, with students listing female historical figures. The lists of male historical figures are always significantly longer. In another class at this same university, students are asked to draw a scientist. Approximately 95% of students, in one class, draw a male scientist; no female scientists are drawn in the others. When questioned, in many cases, students cannot name a famous female scientist. If these students are unaware of famous women in history, are they uninformed, also, of the roles and experiences of ordinary women in our nation's history? Why is it that students who have just completed four years of high school, including classes in American history, are so unaware of the contributions of women? Do current high school American history textbooks not present gender equity and accentuate the contributions of females?

This study is designed to analyze gender balance in the text and illustrations of recently published high school American history textbooks and an alternate volume of American history. No current data on gender balance in high school history textbooks exists. No studies have analyzed the inclusion of women in these texts since the release of the 2010 social studies standards (National Council for the Social Studies [NCSS], 2010) and the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework (NCSS, 2013). No data exist on alternate volumes of American history told from the viewpoint of the American people. Recommendations are included to assist

teachers in integrating women's history via a variety of strategies based on the vision of the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013).

This study examined, first, the content, coverage, and inaccuracies of social studies and history textbooks and second, the inadequacies of content analysis studies. The National Standards for History in Grades K-4 (National Center for History in the Schools, 1994) and the National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment (National Council for the Social Studies, 2010) and the vision of the C3 Framework and its relationship to this study were presented. With a gender balance focus, an analysis of standard American history textbooks and an alternate volume of American history were outlined. Recommendations for standards committees and textbook publishers were offered, along with specific instructional strategies that teachers can use to confront gender inequities, support inquiry, and highlight the contributions of women in history.

Social Studies Textbooks Content

Studies have examined the importance of textbooks to the school experience. Textbooks help teachers and students define what knowledge is important, legitimate, and socially acceptable (Bromley, 2009); textbooks characterize the political and social mores of the time (Barnard, 2001). Students are engaged with school textbooks 80% to 95% of the time they are in classes (Blumberg, 2008; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007), and most teachers plan classroom experiences based on the textbook (Sadker & Zittleman). Textbooks govern United States history courses more than any other high school subject according to Loewen, (2007). They are typically written from the perspective of the winners of history, rarely providing insight into the experiences of minority cultures, the poor, and women, (Zinn, 1995). The impact of textbook publishers is great, given the industry currently is dominated by three major companies, Pearson, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, and McGraw-Hill (*The Week*, 2010).

In content analysis studies of social studies textbooks, almost all researchers found textbook topics were presented with inadequate coverage and a range of biases, stereotypes, and inaccuracies (Wade, 1993; Roberts & Butler, 2012). According to Rahima Wade (1993), little attention has been centered on the inclusion of cultural groups such as Latinos and women. The same holds true in history textbooks, which were discovered to have "startling errors of omission and distortion" (Loewen, 2007, p. 7). Heroification of people in our history textbooks is defined by Loewen as, a "Disney version of history" (2007p. 28), by which "flesh-and-blood individuals" become "pious, perfect creatures without conflicts, pain, credibility, or human interest" (p. 11). While "emotion is the glue that causes history to stick," history textbooks are boring and sanitized, leaving most Americans without the most basic knowledge of historical events (p. 342).

Many content analysis studies themselves have been flawed, relying on researchers' perceptions and opinions (Wade, 1993; Roberts, 2014). Some studies lacked data quantification or analyzed only select passages that supported desirable findings (Wade). Most researchers recommended teachers enhance deficient textbooks with supplementary materials and innovative pedagogy, but few provided specific suggestions on what teachers might do differently (Wade, 1993). A replication of Wade's study analyzing social studies content research published between 2002 and 2012 revealed very little change. Limited coverage, factual errors, and avoidance of controversy were all cited by researchers, although less bias was reported than in previous studies (Roberts, 2014). These findings are striking, given that textbooks have the potential to mold students' identities, attitudes, biases, and behaviors (Cornbleth & Waugh,

1993). Although gender bias in textbooks is consistent, widespread, and nearly universal, it is considered to be a “low-profile education issue” (Blumberg, 2008, p. 345), as myriad number of educational issues are of great consequence in our schools. Gender bias can be so subtle that it is nearly invisible, and gender stereotypes are frequently “taken-for-granted” (Blumberg, 2008, p. 347), with little thought given to the constraints and negative influences they might have on male and female students.

Since the 1960s, studies have revealed gender imbalance in American history textbooks (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Tetreault, 1986; Trecker, 1971). Women were essentially invisible in these books, with a 1994 study (Sadker & Sadker, 1994) exposing data which indicated only 3% of one history textbook was dedicated to women. In that study, information about women was very limited with only eight women having as much as a paragraph written about them (Sadker & Sadker). In the last two decades, a limited number of studies have been done on gender balance in history textbooks (Chick, 2006a; Clark, Allard, & Mahoney, 2004). The 2004 study by Clark et al. of 18 United States history textbooks, indicated an emphasis on male dominated political and military history overshadowed information on social history, which was assumed to focus more on the contributions of women. In a 2006 study, one elementary, one middle, and one high school American history textbook was evaluated for gender balance (Chick, 2006a). Significantly more males than females were found in both text content and illustrations. In the high school textbook, 86.5% of historical figures were male and 13.5% were female. Although the differences between males and females in history textbooks continued to remain significant, the author concluded women were present in higher percentages than in previous studies (Chick, 2006a). In a study focused specifically on African American history textbooks, Black women did not appear in greater percentages than in conventional United States history textbooks (Schocker & Woyshner, 2013).

While women are not well represented in textbooks and their narratives are often inaccurate, one study revealed high school students consider women to play a prominent role when they identify historical figures who made history. Researchers surveyed 11th and 12th graders throughout the United States asking students to list the top 10 most famous historical figures (excluding presidents) in United States history. Students consistently named Rosa Parks and Harriet Tubman among their top three, giving distinction to both women and African Americans (Wineberg & Monte-Sano, 2008).

National Standards and the C3 Framework

The debate over gender balance in American history has extended to the national history standards. The National Standards for History (Kindergarten-Grade 4) and the National Standards for U.S. History (grades 5-12) were first published in 1994 (National Center for History in the Schools, 1994). At that time, the standards were controversial, with charges of an incomplete historical record, bias, and an anti-European slant. Scholars also contended that the standards did not adequately address women’s history (Harriman, 1997). In 2010, the National Council for the Social Studies published new social studies curriculum standards, and as of 2016, secondary social studies programs are expected to align their curricula with these new standards by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) (2010-2012). An analysis of *National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment* (NCSS, 2010), reveals what one author terms “another missed opportunity” (Engebretson, 2014, p. 21). The standards have not been attentive to the contributions of women, nor are they represented as valued members of society. “Gender balance

and equitable representation does not exist” in the content and curricular recommendations of the standards (Engebretson, 2014, p. 31.) As a result, Engebretson concludes that:

The reader would need to fill-in a considerable amount of information if a world where women and men are equal was to be advanced... Leaving this responsibility to the reader to notice the absence, to fill-in the gender gap, and to enact a vision of a more equal, just world is simply leaving too much up to chance. The political implication of their absence is that a discourse of women as less than is reified, and indeed these standards resulted in another missed opportunity to advance the idea of a gender-balanced world (2014, p. 31).

The C3 Framework for social studies standards challenges teachers to reinvent instructional planning and integrate inquiry as the central focus. Inquiries help students ask their own questions and determine the content about which they are the most curious. The Inquiry Arc of the C3 Framework calls for teachers to develop compelling questions that comprise the framework of their instruction and supporting questions that enable students to gain the knowledge and skills needed to address compelling questions (Grant, 2013; Herczog, 2014; NCSS, 2013). The C3 Framework is presented through four dimensions encouraging students to develop questions and plan inquiries, apply disciplinary concepts and tools, evaluate sources and use evidence, and communicate conclusions and take informed action (NCSS). The ultimate goal of the C3 Framework is to develop “knowledgeable, thinking and active citizens” (NCSS, p. 5).

History is one of the four core disciplines of social studies integrated into the C3 Framework. Compelling questions can be written through the lens of historical thinking requiring students to locate and evaluate historical sources, understand the context of historical events, and appreciate the perspectives of historical figures. The English Language Arts/Literacy Common Core Standards also are embedded into the C3 Framework, providing teachers with valuable insight into the relationship between Kindergarten-12 literacy standards and social studies inquiry (NCSS, 2013).

Method

Three high school American history textbooks and one alternate volume of American history were evaluated for gender balance. The three high school American history textbooks were from three different publishing companies with publication dates of 2012, 2013, and 2014, the most current editions available from each company. The textbooks, *United States History & Geography: Modern Times* (McGraw Hill, 2014), *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Holt McDougal/Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt, 2012), and *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013), were all written for students in grades 9-12. The textbooks for this study were chosen because they are in wide circulation and were published by these three major textbook publishing companies.

The fourth book, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (Zinn, 2003), was considered a landmark publication when it was first published in 1980. It was nominated for the American Book Award in 1981, and has since sold more than two million copies. This book was chosen because it represents views very different from those in standard textbooks. It was written using the viewpoints and words of both famous and ordinary people throughout history. According to the book's author, “Whenever injustices have been remedied, wars halted, women and blacks and Native Americans given their due, it has been because ‘unimportant’ people spoke up, organized, protested, and brought democracy alive” (Zinn & Arnove, 2004, p. 24). This book (Zinn) is different from standard textbooks as it is not inclusive of all events

throughout the history of the United States, but instead is based on themes such as *The Intimately Oppressed* (p. 103) and *The Clinton Presidency* (p. 643).

Content analysis procedures were performed on each of the four books (Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1985). The index of each text was used for data collection purposes. Each historical figure's name was recorded as either male or female. If the gender of an individual was uncertain, illustrations, pronouns, and internet searches were used as gender identifiers. Each person was counted only once, even if included multiple times in text content. Groups of people, such as the Tuskegee Airmen, were not included unless members of the group were named individually. For each text, the number of males and females was calculated. A chi-square analysis was performed to determine if there was a significant difference between the number of males and females.

For each textbook, the number of pages on which each name appeared was recorded. A name was counted only once per page, even if the individual was named multiple times on a page. From this data, the range of pages was determined for males and females in each text. Across textbooks, the total number of different males and females was counted and percentages were calculated. This count included each person only once, even if that person was mentioned in multiple books. In addition, the total number of males and females who were included on only one page was calculated. Percentages were computed and a two proportion z-test was done to determine whether the difference was significant. An analysis of the table of contents of each text was completed. References to women were noted and calculated for each text.

The number of identified males and females in illustrations was documented for each of the three standard American history textbooks. Each individual's name was recorded only once, even if that person appeared in multiple illustrations. The index of each text was used for data collection purposes. For each historical figure, an "i" or a "p" was used by publishers to delineate that a particular page included an illustration (McGraw-Hill, 2014; Holt McDougal/Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt, 2012; Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013), which included both photographs and drawings. A chi-square analysis was executed to determine whether the number of males and females in the illustrations of each text was significantly different. There were no illustrations in the alternate volume of American history.

The total number of males and females in text and illustrations across the three standard American history books was calculated. The ratio of males to females was determined To compare the total number of males and females in the three textbooks to the number of males and females in the alternate volume of American history z-tests were used. .

Results and Discussion

All three standard high school American history textbooks analyzed contained significantly more males than females in text content.

Table 1: Males and Females in Text Content

	United States History & Geography: Modern Times (2014)	The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century (2012)	United States History: Reconstruction to the Present (2013)	A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present
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Publisher	McGraw Hill	Holt McDougal/ Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt	Pearson/ Prentice Hall	HarperCollins
Number of Males	564	662	539	723
Number of Females	94	127	82	110
Chi-Square	335.71, $p < 0.01$	362.8, $p < 0.01$	336.3, $p < 0.01$	451.1, $p < 0.01$
df	1	1	1	1
Percentage of Males	85.70%	83.90%	86.80%	86.80%
Percentages of Females	14.30%	16.10%	13.20%	13.20%
Range of Pages for Males	1-47	1-36	1-39	1-24
Range of Pages for Females	1-7	1-7	1-6	1-5
Number of References to Women in Table of Contents	1	3	2	0

Table 1 delineates, for each book, the number of males and females in text content, the percentages of males to females in text content, the chi-square results and significance levels, the range of pages for each gender, and the number of references to women in the table of contents.

In all texts, the differences were significant at the .001 level. The number of males ranged from 539 to 662, while the number of females ranged from 82 to 127. There were 5.2 to 6.5 times as many males as females represented, with males making up 83% to 86% of the historical figures included in each text. Across textbooks, 1094 males (84.5%) and 199 females (15.4%) were identified. . When compared to the most recent studies (Clark, Allard, & Mahoney, 2004; Chick, 2006a), we conclude there has been no significant change in the ratios of men to women in high school American history textbooks.

In the alternate volume of American history (Zinn, 2003), there were 723 males (86.8%) and 110 females (13.2%). Comparing the number of males and females in this book to the number of males and females in the standard American history textbooks using z-tests revealed a p -value of 0.3125 for males and a p -value of 0.3215 for females. Neither of these p -values was statistically significant, indicating that *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (Zinn, 2003) did not include significantly more women than did the three standard textbooks. In the three standard textbooks, the range of pages on which males were included was significantly higher with a p value of XXX than the range of pages on which females were included. In *United States History & Geography: Modern Times* (McGraw Hill, 2014), Franklin D. Roosevelt was mentioned on 47 pages while Jane Addams was mentioned on 7 pages. These findings are consistent with those found in an earlier study (Chick, 2006a). The number of references to

women in the textbook's tables of contents ranged from one to three, depending on the text. References included lesson or section titles such as: The Feminist Movement, The Women's Rights Movement, and Women in Public Life. None of the texts mentioned specific women in the table of contents, although there were references to particular men, including John F. Kennedy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Dwight Eisenhower.

There were few differences in the alternate volume of American history. Two chapters out of 25 were dedicated primarily to women's history but no specific women were named in the table of contents, although Columbus, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton were included. In the chapter, *The Intimately Oppressed*, not only was there discussion of the history of the servitude and domination of women, but also no details were provided of Native American cultures where women had equal rights and in some tribes, special status as healers (Zinn, 2003).

All three standard textbooks also contained significantly more illustrations of males than females. In all texts the differences were significant at the $p > .001$ level. The number of males in illustrations ranged from 110 to 199 while the number of females in illustrations ranged from 22-68. There were 2.9 to 5 times as many males in illustrations as females with males making up 74.5% to 83.3% of individuals in illustrations. Table 2 contains the number of males and females in illustrations, percentage of males to females in illustrations, and the chi-square results and significance levels for each text.

Table 2: Males and Females in Illustrations

Textbook	United States History & Geography: Modern Times (2014)	The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century (2012)	United States History: Reconstruction to the Present (2013)
Publisher	McGraw Hill	Holt McDougal/ Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt	Prentice Hall
Number of Males	110	199	145
Number of Females	22	68	32
Chi-Square	58.7, $p < 0.01$	64.3, $p < 0.01$	72.1, $p < 0.01$
df	1	1	1
Percentage of Males	83.30%	74.50%	81.90%
Percentage of Females	16.70%	25.50%	18.10%

Further analysis of the three standard textbooks substantiated the results of an earlier study (Clark, Allard, J., & Mahoney, 2004) and suggested major history textbook themes include politics and military action, which are historically dominated by men. American presidents such as Franklin D. Roosevelt (range from 33-47 pages), Richard Nixon (range from

23-31 pages), and Lyndon Johnson (range from 23-30 pages), represented the emphasis on the contributions of male leaders on the history of the United States. These textbooks covered all military action from the Civil War through the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (McGraw Hill, 2014; Holt McDougal/Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt, 2012; Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013). With a focus on military action and politics, textbook content centered on famous Americans, primarily men, with only rare instances of the stories of everyday male citizens or females.

Zinn's (2003) alternate volume of American history includes some themes beyond politics and military action. Chapter headings such as *Or Does It Explode?*, (p. 443) referring to the racial tension of the 1950s and 1960s, and *As Long As Grass Grows or Water Runs*, (p. 125) highlighting the Indian Removal program that made way for "white occupancy between the Appalachians and the Mississippi," (p. 125) provide readers with verifiable details of American history rarely explored in standard history textbooks.

Some prominent women, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, were given considerable representation in standard textbooks. She was characterized as a humanitarian and social reformer who was willing to take a stand for children, women, and minorities. Mrs. Roosevelt traveled the country documenting social conditions and frequently urged President Roosevelt to make positive changes for the people, even in the face of controversy (Holt McDougal/Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt, 2012). Also portrayed as a caring First Lady, she "corresponded with thousands of citizens" (Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013, p. 412).

Other renowned women, such as Sandra Day O'Connor, were described in detail in some texts, (Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013), while in others Day O'Connor was mentioned in one lone sentence (Holt McDougal/Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt, 2012). All of the three standard texts acknowledged Day O'Connor as the first female United States Supreme Court judge, she also was depicted as an example of the challenges women faced in the 1950s, since she had few job offers after graduating at the top of her class at Stanford Law School (Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013).

Many notable women were only briefly mentioned in standard textbooks. Harriet Tubman, recently voted by the American people to be the first woman to be depicted on United States currency, (National Public Radio, 2015) was discussed in a short paragraph in each of the texts, and described simply as a guide for slaves along the Underground Railroad (McGraw Hill, 2014, Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2013, Holt McDougal/Houghton Mifflin/Harcourt, 2012).

Conclusions and Recommendations

Women have and still do make up 50% Americans, but are represented in only a small fraction of the historical record. In the three standard high school American history textbooks we analyzed, there were significantly more males than females in text content and illustrations. Themes included politics, military action, and war,. These textbooks focused on the contributions of those famous male Americans who have been a part of the historical record. As long as textbook publishers focus on military and political history over social history, men will be highlighted in American history textbooks and the number of women portrayed will not see significant change.

There was little difference in Zinn's (2003) alternate volume of American history. Although the author provided readers with insight into issues such as: suffrage, subordination, educational inequality, abortion, sexuality, and gay and lesbian rights these topics were overshadowed by the overwhelming patriarchal nature of the majority of text content. Serious oversights were also present in *A People's History* (Zinn). Elizabeth Sanford and Eleanor

Roosevelt are listed in the index as “Mrs. John Sanford,” and “Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,” which may be interpreted as these women making no significant contribution to the historical record beyond marrying prominent men. While Zinn notes in the afterword that he wanted “to awaken a greater consciousness of class conflict, racial injustice, sexual inequality, and national arrogance,” there are shortcomings with regard to this goal. The historical record, consequently, remains imbalanced with regard to gender, leaving teachers and students with the arduous task of acknowledging the absence of women and attempting to fill in the gaps through their own research and resources.

If American history is not just the story of famous heroes, presidents, and military leaders, but the story of other individuals of prominence, then the historical record can become more equitable with regard to gender. Are there ways of bringing overlooked and undervalued women into our history classrooms? Should high school students analyze the experiences of women who immigrated to America, traveled westward with their families, or worked long hours in factories? If the answer to these questions is yes, then educators may use their time and expertise to involve students in inquiries related to gender stereotypes in their textbooks, bringing the invisibility of gender bias into the light-of-day. If “historical practice is very much determined by the things that people are concerned about” (Stille, 2002, p. 1), then alerting students to bias and involving them in planned inquiries on the social problem of gender bias and inequities must be the first step.

If elementary grade students were highly motivated and naturally curious about gender bias in textbooks (Brugar, Halvorsen, & Hernandez, 2014), then certainly secondary students could be equally enthused about such a project. What remains after that is a twofold process. This first is to persuade standards committees and textbook publishers to change their focus. The second is to assist teachers in locating and integrating high quality women’s history resources into the classroom through the use of web-based resources, family and community history projects, young adult literature, history textbook analysis, and the vision of the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013).

Standards Committees and Textbooks Publishers

Based on the results of Engebretson’s 2014 study, teachers who adhere to the *NCSS National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* (2010) will include very few women in their teaching. Coupled with the lack of women in high school American history textbooks, it is quite likely that students will leave high school with a gravely imbalanced view of women’s contributions to the history of our country. What might it take for students and educators to convince standards committees and textbook publishers of the importance of a more gender-balanced view of American history, and the consequences if imbalance continues? This is a difficult question to answer, but it is imperative to raise our collective voices. Students who are evaluating gender bias in their textbooks, such as one class of fourth graders who insisted that publishers “put more women in the book” (Brugar, Halvorsen, & Hernandez, 2014, p. 30), might be heard, above even educators, in this opportunity to advance a gender-balanced historical record. Until that time comes, teachers have opportunities to integrate and bring value to the contributions of women through the vision of the C3 Framework.

The C3 Framework and Women in History

The Inquiry Arc of the C3 Framework provides teachers and students with the ideal vision for achieving intellectual rigor in the teaching of history. The Framework allows students the opportunity to address questions and curiosities, consider conceptual content, evaluate

sources, communicate conclusions, and respond as well-informed citizens (NCSS, 2013). Compelling questions such as, “Should history textbooks have 50/50 gender balance?” and “Is gender bias unaffected by time and place, or is it dependent on historical context and circumstance?” promote higher level thinking as students consider the perspectives of historical figures and textbook authors and the context in which events took place. The following instructional strategies and planned inquiries help students to address social problems related to gender equity, women’s rights, and women’s place in history through the use of web-based resources, family and community history projects, young adult literature, and history textbook analysis.

Web-based Resources

An almost infinite number of web-based resources related to American history are available to teachers and students. These online resources can supplement United States history textbooks by filling in the gender gaps and helping students to envision a more gender balanced world. In an examination of the Library of Congress website, a search for women’s history brought up 22,221 entries (2015). The collections include: audio, video, maps, primary source documents, newspaper articles, periodicals, and photographs. Other promising sources include: the National Women’s History Museum’s (2015) online collections, resources from the National Women’s History Project (2015), History Matters (2015), and the Zinn Education Project (2015).

In the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies Standards, Dimension 3 calls for students to evaluate sources and use evidence (NCSS, 2013). Web-based resources can be used to encourage students to locate pertinent information and evaluate its usefulness when participating in inquiries. If the compelling question is “Do we have gender equity in public education in the United States?,” a supporting question might be “What percentage of public schools in the United States are named for men and for women?” Students can use The National Center for Education Statistics database to search the names of public schools in their city, county, or state (U. S. Department of Education Institute for Education Sciences, 2014). After the information is collected students can evaluate their data, determine how the results help to address the compelling question, create additional supporting questions, make decisions on how to communicate their conclusions, and take informed action to address gender inequity in public education.

Family and Community History Projects

Family and community history projects encourage students to realize we are all a part of history. Students can personalize their studies of the past through the use of historical inquiry. They can access census records, local government records, and court proceedings to address questions related to women’s history. Historical societies, churches, and libraries might provide students access to diaries, letters, and marriage records. Students can conduct personal interviews with family or community members to learn about the contributions of women and the challenges they experienced (Chick, 2006c; Hickey & Kolterman, 2006). The family history stories emerging “give students an intimate view of the human experience during a particular period in history, in a way that textbooks cannot” (Chick, 2006c, p. 234). The following stories were a result of a personal interview conducted in 2006 with an 81 year-old man. He was asked to recall stories about his mother and her life prior to and during the Great Depression.

Early Married Life

My parents were married Nov. 24, 1918. My mother was 18, and my dad was 27. They had three children, Dorothy, Pauline, and me. Since my mother was of age, she got to vote in the first Presidential election open to women voters (Chick, 2006c, p.237).

When I was three-week=old, my sister Pauline was two-yearsold and another sister Dorothy was a couple of weeks short of her fourth birthday. We lived in a small farmhouse heated by two fireplaces that used coal for fuel. My mother had run out of coal and put on her coat to go to the coal house to fill the coal buckets. It was her custom to have Dorothy stand at the doorway within sight until she returned to the house. This particular November day in 1924 the weather was rather cold, so before my mother could fill the buckets, Dorothy said, "I'm cold." My mother said, "If you're cold, go back to the fire." By the time my mother got back to the house, Dorothy had gotten too close to the fire and her clothes were on fire. My mother grabbed off her coat and extinguished the fire, but by this time Dorothy was badly burned. It has always amazed me how they kept her alive at home since she remained unconscious for three weeks, but she finally regained consciousness and most of her sores healed, except one large place on her leg. In the small community of Volga, there was an old Dr. Kerr. Finally, Dorothy was well enough to get on a horse with my dad and ride some 5 miles to the doctor's office. The old doctor looked at the sore and said he could help. At that time, doctors dispensed their own medicines, so the doctor filled a small container with salve. Whatever the salve, it cured the sore, and Dorothy has just had her 79th birthday. When my dad asked the doctor how much he owed him the doctor said, "Salve is awful high now. I'll have to charge you fifteen cents." That was the entire charge for the office call and medicine.

Life During the Great Depression

We were in the midst of the Great Depression in 1933. Herbert Hoover was no longer President and Franklin D. Roosevelt was in office. The stock market crash of October 29, 1929 was long past and the banks were getting ready to close. Mother and Dad and my sisters and I lived on a farm outside of town. I was nine-years-old. We couldn't go into town much in the winter because the roads were so muddy. So, we would stock up with staples that would keep, like flour, meal, and beans. There was no refrigeration, so we had to be careful about what we purchased. My mother didn't drive, so my dad drove her to town to get supplies. They traveled in their new Model A Ford, which cost \$549. My mother debated whether to take the last money they had out of the bank in order to buy a 100 pound bag of navy beans. The beans would cost \$4.00 and there was no sales tax at that time. She decided it was the thing to do with winter coming on. She bought the beans in the A & P Co. store, leaving 27 cents in the bank. After the banks closed, mother and dad never recovered the 27 cents (Chick, 2006c, p. 234).

Students can create compelling questions related to these family history stores, or consider the following: 1) How do you think the life of this woman and others like her effected women's suffrage?; 2) How has the right to vote changed the lives of women like Lucile Anglin in this family history story?; 3) Are banks necessary?; 4) Have automation and new technology been valuable to the women of America?; and 5) Is another "Great Depression" possible?

Young Adult Literature

While perhaps not the most efficient means of teaching history, young adult literature is considered by some to be the most effective (Nawrot, 1996). Historical literature brings a human

element to the study of history, fosters the interest and engagement of young people (Finn & Ravitch, 1988), promotes critical literacy (Wolk, 2003), and is often better written than textbooks. Unlike textbooks, which are “highly politicized, and sanctioned official knowledge” (Wolk, p.101), “trade books foster independent thinking so students can form their own judgments about history” (Chick, 2006b, p. 12). When choosing literature to integrate into history classrooms, teachers must consider factors such as factual accuracy, bias-free text, readability, visual appeal, and historical significance. The biography and instructional strategy that follow, are one example of the way in which young adult literature can make the contributions of women in history visible to young adults, while also fostering critical thinking and problem solving skills.

The Forbidden Schoolhouse: The True and Dramatic Story of Prudence Crandall and Her Students (Jurmain, 2005), is the story of one woman’s attempt to open a school for African-American girls during a period in history when it was illegal to educate Black students in many states. Prudence Crandall successfully operated a boarding school for White girls, until an African-American girl seeking admission approached her. Ms. Crandall allowed the girl to enroll, enraging parents and the community. She refused to back down, as she truly wanted to help girls who were receiving no education. With assistance from William Lloyd Garrison, an abolitionist and newspaper editor, and Arthur Tappan, a wealthy New York businessman, Crandall finally decided to open a school for African-American girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. She had many adversaries, and soon shopkeepers boycotted her, and she was placed in jail. This text, rich with photographs and other primary documents, ends with the civil rights movement which took place long after Crandall’s death. The appendix includes the names and descriptions of the African-American girls who attended the school and facts on the friends and adversaries who were involved in Crandall’s struggles.

After students have read the story of Prudence Crandall and her school, they can discuss how her actions affected the civil rights movement of the 20th century. Students can then participate in a collaborative learning technique called Send-A-Problem (Barkley, Cross, & Major, 2005). The class is divided into three groups and each group is presented with a manila envelope and two index cards. On the outside of each envelope there is a problem or compelling question. Each group must discuss its problem, brainstorm solutions, reach consensus on the best solution for the problem, write the solution on one of the index cards, and place the card in the envelope. When groups are finished with the first problem, they pass their envelope to another group and the process is repeated. These groups consider a new problem, add their index cards to the envelopes, and pass them on. The task of each final group is to review the solutions from the first two groups and determine which is the best solution. They can add any suggestions they believe to be useful, and then report back to the class on their analysis and decision. Figure 1 contains three compelling questions for students to consider in this collaborative extension activity for *The Forbidden Schoolhouse: The True and Dramatic Story of Prudence Crandall and Her Students* (Jurmain, 2005).

Figure 1: Send-A-Problem

Problem #1: What qualities did Prudence Crandall have that led her to fight for the educational rights of African American girls? Who are our modern day Prudence Crandalls and how are they making a difference?
Problem #2: Consider the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• While 20% of white students drop out of school, 40% of African Americans and nearly 40% of Hispanic and American Indian students drop out (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010).• African American and Latino students make up about 16% of the student population but 32% of those in special education (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2009).• African American students are more likely to be retained or suspended from school than other students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007). Do minority students have equal opportunities in public schools today? How can we ensure that minority students benefit from equal educational opportunities and graduate from high school?
Problem #3: Should education be considered a basic civil right? How would your life be different if you were uneducated? How would your beliefs and perspectives on education change if it was something you couldn't have?

History Textbook Analysis

This instructional strategy uses data from this study to engage students in compelling questions related to gender balance in history textbooks. Provide students with copies of Table 1: Males and Females in Text Content and Table 2: Males and Females in Illustrations. If their own history textbook is not among those included in this study, students can analyze their class text for gender balance. After discussion of the research and the research findings, students address the following compelling questions: 1) Should American history textbooks have 50/50 gender balance?; 2) Would bringing gender balance to American history textbooks result in a modified or inaccurate historical record?; 3) What is the relationship between gender balance in current American history textbooks and women's rights in 2015? Students make decisions on how to communicate their responses and take informed action with regard to the issue of gender imbalance in history textbooks. Responses to school district textbook committees, their local board of education, and textbook publishers can be considered.

These recommendations and detailed teaching strategies come in response to Wade's call (1993) for researchers to resist the inclusion of vague, bland suggestions of little use to practicing teachers who want to make a difference. They are offered instead, as examples for educators who wish to locate and integrate high quality women's history into social studies and history classrooms. American history is not just the story of famous heroes, presidents, and military leaders, but also the story of the women who make up 50% of the undocumented historical record.

In combination with the Inquiry Arc of the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013), these instructional strategies promote higher level thinking and literacy learning as students consider the perspectives of historical figures and textbook authors and the context in which past events took place. Strategies integrating web-based resources, family and community history projects, young adult literature, and history textbook analysis, help both students and teachers to develop compelling questions that can frame and enhance essential inquiries into women's history.

The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework (NCSS, 2013) for social studies standards challenges teachers to reinvent instructional planning and integrate inquiry as the central focus of the teaching of history. With the help of researchers and teacher educators, teachers can elevate even the most inadequate of textbooks as students shape their world by confronting what we might view as one of the most important social problems in American history, gender inequity.

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Author Bios

Kay A. Chick is Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at Penn State Altoona. She teaches courses in gender issues in education and family and educational psychology. Her research interests include gender, social studies, and students placed at-risk. Email: kxc19@psu.edu

Stacey Corle is an Instructor of Mathematics Education at Penn State Altoona. She teaches mathematic methods and statistics courses to pre-service teachers.