

Research Paper

Horizontal Segregation as a Consequence of Hidden Curriculum in Primary School

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Abstract

Much of the special literature deals with examining textbooks, and during their analyses the underrepresentation of women in the world of teaching aids always comes out. The National Curricula (1995, 2003, 2007, 2012, and the new draft of the NC) serve as the basis for writing textbooks, thus it would be worth starting the examination of horizontal segregation according to gender here. In the current study, the goal is to identify and to map theoretical dimensions. This research introduces female education and stereotypes of women in Hungary, their theoretical background as regards horizontal segregation according to gender, and also introduces „hidden curriculum”. Horizontal segregation according to gender in higher education is easily seen, the goal of this study, however, is to examine its presence in primary school education through the teaching of three subjects: music, history, and physics. This dissertation is the first step in the research which furthers the mapping of the theoretical background.

Keywords: hidden curriculum; horizontal segregation; female education; stereotypical images of women; gender

Introduction

My study bears the title Horizontal segregation according to gender as appears in primary school education. Throughout my university studies I covered the English suffragette movement and the life and work of the English female composer Ethel Smyth, who also happened to be a member of the movement. In my thesis, The shortage of female composers in music education, which I wrote while studying for my master's, I with examining the National Curriculum was able to shed light on how, here at home, female composers are completely ignored in the area of music education. This work was the beginning of other further studies, my goal being to fully examine the underrepresentation of women in the teaching of these subjects. Music is a subject typically taught by women, while physics remains a „manly” subject. History, in contrast to the other two, has a divided of ratio of both genders. I attempted to select such subjects that were in stark contrast to each other, and represent some of the subject categories – music being a skill subject, history one of humanities, and physics a natural science subject (in higher education, men continue to be the overwhelming majority in this area). The expression in the title „horizontal segregation according to gender” examines the career choices of men and women, and the so-called „traditional” orientation of their occupational choices. The goal of this study is to look at: when this phenomenon is first identifiable, how much the textbooks and other teaching aids introducing traditional stereotypes affect those standing at the crossroads of career, and to what extent the „hidden curriculum” put out by the school and teachers develops their views.

Regarding textbook content, women only appear in a negligible amount (Kereszty, 2015; Czachesz, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996; H. Sas, Háber, 1980). In the case of several subjects, we can meet with women during the course of teaching and learning, yet men are overwhelmingly overrepresented, and traditionally masculine attributes are preferred in teaching material. This presents an interesting duality that the teaching career has since the 1940s been racing toward feminization (Buda, 1996), while this is not typical of education's textbooks or curricula. Many scientists and researchers have already dealt with examining teaching aids (Kereszty, 2015;

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Czachesz, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996; H. Sas, Háber, 1980; Dálnokiné, 2001; Turcsán, 1998), however, no one has yet approached from the perspective of the National Curriculum's requirements and changes regarding gender for some subjects.

In the first phase of the research it is necessary to look through the abundance of special literature, which is indispensable when seeking to know the topic well and to be well versed in it. In the current paper, to examine the theoretical background, I will examine three dimensions: female education in Hungary, horizontal segregation according to gender in education, and the „*hidden curriculum*”.

„A silent woman is beautiful”

The female stereotype and female education in Hungary

From the 18th century on increasing interest was turned toward the topic of female education in Hungary. Many articles appeared on this topic (Kéri, 2015), yet their opinions were nowhere near unanimous: The majority overlooked the topic of men and women teaching on equal footing. As an opposing reason, medical opinions also appeared as „undergirding”, saying, „women's excessive study leads to barrenness, and women involved in advanced studies can go mad” (Kéri, 2015, 220.). The first decades of the 19th century did not bring any changes either, instead the dominant train of thought was that girls must learn in such a way that would later help them become excellent homemaker, wife, and mother. This traditional perception triad (Pukánszky, 2013) continued to rule the spirit of the age and to influence the instruction of girls. Girls' elementary school education at the beginning of the 19th century was in the same boat as that of the boys, however, an initiative was started that called for the erection of girls' schools (Pukánszky, 2013.). The work *On our daughters' education and upbringing* written by Elek Kerékgyártó (Kerékgyártó, 1895) sharply criticizes what the upbringing of girls was at the time, warning them against excessive mental strain, and calling attention to the dangers of a woman who is too interested in the sciences. According to Vilmos Szuppán (quoted by Pukánszky, 2013, 132), „*The most fervent apostles of female emancipation could not deny that a woman's natural calling must be found in family life*”. In other words, it is pointless and unnecessary for girls to teach in high schools. It is enough if they have enough knowledge to be conversation partners to their husbands, but not to bother them with their „pedantry”.

The inferno of the Second World War was a change in the life of women. In these times, men's mandatory military service meant that women had to take over some jobs. Here the image of the „modern women” is taking shape (Pukánszky, 2013), which merges with the ideal image of the „*faithful wife*” – the woman simultaneously mans her post in place of her warfighter husband, whilst faithfully and prayerfully awaiting his return home. Science very quickly confronted this new, modern type, and judged women's masculinity, which it promptly painted as a sort of nightmare in front of the country's populace.

Though the increasing number of women in education gave the appearance that equality between the two sexes was finally becoming a reality, this did not really happen – with jobs splitting asunder into female and male occupations. Professions that were typically female lost their prestige when men were excluded, and this came together with a decrease in wages (Pukánszky, 2013). Despite getting jobs, the traditionally female roles of caring for and raising children, along with the chores of a housewife still remained the job of women. The more children she bore, the harder it was for her to return to the world of work. It was not, however, negligible momentum that Act VIII of 1945, Section 4 paragraph 1 states, „*Every Hungary citizen, who is twenty years of age, shall possess the right to vote in the National Assembly...(...)*” From the time of this law's enforcement women were also counted voters, which raised their status in the eyes of society. It can thus be concluded that their role in politics also started as a result, and many women got into parliament in the years to follow (Schadt, 2002). Even though the constitution passed August 18th of 1949 secured the framework of their equality and put an end to the opportunities to legally discriminate against women, still the legal background was not enough to abolish the old, stuck social stereotypes in everyday life (Pukánszky, 2013).

From the second part of the 20th century, the cult of being a mother emphasized, having a children and the sanctity of family became important, but the socialism tried to force to represent that there is an equality between women and men (Pukánszky, 2013), so the differences are about to end. They tried to propagate this “image of women” on that way, that they tried to recruit women to the jobs that are difficult, strenuous physical –typically masculine–, good examples for this are the women working in mines or the socialism urging on a propagandist way which said, “Come girls, go to the tractor!” (Farkas, 2003). Neither the first, nor the second succeed – among other thing, because of the hygiene effects of these manual works. (Pukánszky, 2013)

The curriculums of the fifties and sixties was not make differences between the education of girls and boys according to Kéri (Kéri, 2004), for the person who admit socialistic moral, this ideal image was mostly asexual. The socialism tries to force that *“our student-youth should be educate for the People’s Republic, in which they become assertive, controlled citizen, faithful men of the worker nation, the builders of the socialism – they serve the community, the nation, the homeland, they bravely self-sacrifice themselves for the love and respect of the work, the national independence, the international fight of the workers.”* (quotes from Pukánszky, 2013, 203.) I should highlight that in this context, the “faithful men” denomination referring to girl students too.

Around the millennial turn, it can be seen, that women appeared in higher ratio in the upper education, except some of the faculties (technical, natural science) (Fényes, 2011). Men had better financial stability to enroll to university, however it is noticeable, that their employment at the labor market is much more fortunate than women. (Fényes, 2011).

The history and research of women has a lot of literature, although their participation and roles in the area of learning tools still underrepresented – notwithstanding they participate in the education in a higher number than men.

The horizontal segregation

According to the theory of horizontal segregation, women and men enter different careers and occupations, due to drive to comply with gender socialization and roles. Multiple professions are mentionable which according to social norms are typically “manly” (masculinized) jobs (engineer, soldier, physicist), and typically “womanly” (feminized) jobs (kindergarten teacher, elementary or high school teacher, nurse). Although, in the current season already numerous initiatives launched, in light of the fact that they free up these “frames”, the task of removing fixed social traditions is not easy, and the majority of women still choose “womanly” occupations. *“The reflection of the established practice of dividing up work as a difference of ability even today powerfully reigns in public thought.”* (Fülöp-László, 2016, 26.)

It can be stated that women already, in many ways, reached equality in education, however, horizontal segregation is still creating disadvantage for them (Fényes, 2009). The many socialization backgrounds can be seen as the cause of the phenomenon. Both parents and teachers have different expectations of boys and girls, and this leads to the creation of the Pygmalion effect (Fényes, 2009). Already in higher education, female students have drastically overtaken male students in ratio of participation, but in some faculties (e.g. technical / engineering and natural sciences) their presence continues to be infinitesimal (Halász, Lanner, 2006). *“The girls in the school system’s vertical system have gained an advantage over the boys, but in the horizontal structure the traditional choices proved stronger”* (Förrey, Hegedűs 1987, 234.). What occupation the parents have and what degree they possess both play a critical role in the career trajectory of students. If they work gender-atypical jobs, their children have a greater chance of choosing this sort of occupation for themselves too – this correlation was only spotted among the boys, not among girls (Dryler, 1998; quoted by Fényes, 2009).

Gender segregation puts up boundaries for job opportunities, it strengthens gender stereotypes, and leads to an unequal balance of power in every arena. The traditional female role triad felt in the past still stands, though somewhat modified – being positioned in such sectors which are similar to the triad’s pattern, like kindergarten teacher, elementary or high school teacher, nurse, etc. It can be seen that these jobs which women more characteristically fill lose their prestige and their pay is far less. *“The most influential organizational positions are almost exclusively filled by men, apart from those who are biologically female, but behave like their societal gender was male.”* (Acker 1990, 139.). Many member state and union initiatives are being processed to handle gender segregation, among others the ET 2020, or the EU’s strategic participation for equality between the sexes (2016-2019). Some studies also showed that horizontal segregation by gender is greater in lower-status student circles (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

A lot of literature deals with the appearance of horizontal segregation in higher education (Halpern et al, 2007, Hyde et al, 2008, Turner–Bowen, 1999, Wai et al, 2010, Spelke, 2005, Goldin et al, 2006), and their results are explained and interpreted in countless ways. The question arises, when and from where do the reasons for segregation appear? It can be surmised that we can look back all the way back to study at a young age. It is conceivable that female and male stereotypes and roles suggested through curricula – and thus teaching aids – influence the future career choices of students. The goal of school learning and textbooks, beside cognitive skills, is personality improvement and formation of identity awareness (Chachez, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996). Teaching aids play a paramount role in what sort of picture they paint of a given subject for boys and girls (Chachez, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996). In Chachez, Lesznyák and Molnár’s study, they noticed, in the majority

of reading books a larger proportion of men work on the *work and calling* theme than women, who in most cases remain at home with the children. Men do higher prestige masculine jobs, while women do feminine ones that are less exciting than the aforementioned (Chachez, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996). The stereotypes however prove dangerous since they reproduce social inequalities (Kereszty, 2007). Naturally no one is to blame, not even in the fields of assumption, for this phenomenon's development except schools, curricula, and teaching aids. This much is sure, however, that they affirm the deepening of these stereotypes in the students (Háber, H.Sas, 1980).

Girls' career orientation remained traditional not only in Hungary, but also in the developed and still developing countries as well (Fényes, 2009). According to the "employee-ideal" that developed during work, we understand to first refer to those who are free from the burdens of home, who can turn their attention to work and who are not distracted by others (Nagy, 2017). This ideal however, without a doubt, pertains to men whose task it is to complete what applies to his job, while the home duties like childrearing are left to the wife (Nagy, 2017). Flowing from this, women are excluded from the ideal employee role as Acker says, "*The image of the universal employee excludes and marginalizes women, who by definition cannot achieve the qualities of a real worker, since that would mean they would need to become like men*" (Acker, 1990, 150.).

Today horizontal segregation according to gender is also present in education, despite the fact that girls have a great participation ratio in education that boys.

Hidden curriculum

"... What sort of covered (or hidden) social values are carried by the open content handed over by schools (spatial arrangement of classes; incentive, reward, punitive procedures; in-school relationships, class material and teachers' occasional manifestations...) which, because they are hidden, sometimes soak into kids as manifest content. These "covered or hidden" meanings do not only deserve attention in as much as they affect the kids (and the teachers), but also in as much as it is possible to deduce from them personal social tensions and crisis phenomena."

The next, key part of the research are the gender aspects of the hidden curriculum (heimlicher Lehrplan). (In this chapter, as László Tamás Szabó, I will use for synonyms the terms "latent system of effect" and "implicit curriculum".) What sorts of effects are there (can there be) as a result of the underrepresentation of women in the curriculum? Does it evoke feelings of minority in girl students? How important is the gender of teachers in the course of teaching? Do the teachers behave differently with the girls, than with the boys? Do they have differently with students of the same sex?

Presumably, the phenomenon may have arisen simultaneously with curriculum-like teaching, the research however only began in the 1960s. In Hungary in 1979, László Tamás Szabó wrote his work entitled *The concept and examination of the latent system of effect* which was the first publication, though here the denomination "hidden curriculum" was not yet used (only in his first book, published in 1985). Already in 1986, abroad, Philip Wesley Jackson (first!) dealt with the phenomenon in his book *Life in Classroom*. Defining the concept of hidden curriculum was not a simple task – László Tamás Szabó explains the phenomenon thus: "*The factor resulting from school life's system-specific, personal, inner contradictions and the knowledge produced by their operation, as well as effects coming from the extracurricular environment.*" According to the scientist / researcher, we can speak of hidden curricula rather than just one hidden curriculum, since the phenomenon always appears in some concrete form (knowledge, attitude, behavior) (Szabó, 1988). According to Chachez, Lesznyák and Molnár teaching aids as part of the hidden curriculum help convey society's ideas and its worldview, as well as strengthening this "textbook world", and deepening stereotypes in children (Chachez, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996). With this Tamás Kozma's understanding is also identifiable according to which students, in school, master a role, learn to live with it, and to become a member of a group (class) (Kozma, 1999). László Tamás Szabó says, school teaching material needs to match tempo with the world's accelerating development, and as a result of the extraordinarily rich stimulus environment it must be recognized that the school is not the primary source of information gathering, and that from an educational standpoint, its negative effects are still felt (Szabó, 1988).

Hidden curriculum also has significant amounts of special literature internationally. According to Philip Wesley Jackson the main content of the latent system of effect is learning institutional expectations (Szabó, 1988). Jules Henry already believes that micro-events at school belong in the social learning sphere, and the most significant learning processes at school occur at "noise level". Thus it can almost be said that these are more important than the version "engraved" into institutional documents (Szabó, 1988). Contrary to the

aforementioned, Franz Wellendorf states that the hidden curriculum's main content for students is *"how they live under an authority, which does not respect their personal privacy and individual autonomy."* (Szabó, 1988, 63.). The presence of "hidden curriculum" in teaching aids is also extremely important as it prepares the growing generations for knowledge and integration into society (Háber, H. Sas, 1980). School education plays a major role in the child's perception of knowledge and culture, and may also be a motivational factor. The aim of the teaching aids is to develop the specific skills required for the subjects; but their secondary function is to convey the values and worldview of society, in other words to depict society (Chachez, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996).

"So it seems the two genders are reading the same story differently, interpreting it differently, and coming to a different conclusion. It is also presumed that this difference applies to the stories (told and written) produced by men and women. In other words, not only can girls' experiences in the textbooks and compulsory reading be scarce, but the current "canon" offers the students scant amounts of work from female writers and artists" (Chachez, Lesznyák, Molnár, 1996, 419). We could even expand on what the authors have listed, since there are no prominent female 'actors' in natural science subjects. Women remained invisible and undetectable in educational curricula. (Kereszty, 2007).

The next steps of the research

The following questions are at the center of the research:

1. How does feminism appear in the National Curriculum's Human in nature area of learning (especially in Physics), in its Arts area of learning (especially in Music) and in the Human and society area (in History)? How does it represent the role of women?
2. How does the hidden curriculum appear in the education of primary school? Do the teachers behave differently with the girl and boy students? Do they have different expectations of students of different sexes?
3. How do the graduate students and teachers think about the hidden curriculum? (insights, experiences, opinions)
4. What kind of views do the sophomores and the graduate teaching-major students about the male-oriented curriculum and the horizontal segregation of sexes?

Hypotheses

1. In the development area of Physics women receive no attention, they are fully underrepresented. The teachers there are mainly men. The difference between girls and boys in learning Physics can be traced back to the dissimilarity in their socialization. (Radnóti-Nahalka, 2002, 17.)
2. In the development area of Music women do not appear, - except Erzsébet Szőnyi, a Hungarian composer who passed away in recent days – in reviewing the curriculum of music we can find male orientation. The horizontal segregation is found in learning to play instruments. (Rózsa, 2007) For the evolution of (musical) talent, masculine attributes seem more advantageous. (Révész, 1952); thanks to this tradition, the textbooks are masculine in nature.
3. In the development area of History women appear, but most of the time *„they appear in spheres, untouched by historic changes, isolated in ahistoric context, highlighting their static state and state of being on the fringe."* (Szabó, 2016)
4. Because women are put in the background, the hidden curriculum's effect appears in the course of teaching music, history, and physics, making reaching extraordinary achievements the privilege of men. While teaching teachers differentiate between students of different genders. One examination *"showed that teachers turn more attention toward boys, more often praise them, converse with them twice as much, and twice as much give them detailed instructions on how to do something. At the same time, shockingly more often they help young ladies and do many things for them"* (Newman 2001, 40.) Schnack-Neutzling results prove that (quoted by Rostás, Fodorné), meaning that boys rule the classroom, with the teachers turning two-thirds of their attention toward them.
5. The effect of the hidden curriculum for most students is perceptible, but they cannot name specifically what the problem is, or what it is that is annoying them. The teachers also perceive the effect of the hidden curriculum, but in this phenomenon they see themselves as outsiders. *„Theoretically there is no difference between the sexes as regards the expectations put on students. Moreover, every school clearly tries to guarantee the equality, equal treatment and equal opportunity of students. And yet, the "hidden*

curriculum” proves to be much stronger and more effective than the expressed objectives and methods.” (Thun, 1996, 407.)

6. Supposedly, the male-oriented curriculum does not disturb most pupils, because their attention has not yet been drawn to this phenomenon. It is acceptable to society, as they consider it a natural phenomenon.

Methods of the research

In the research's first and present stage, overview of and acquaintance with the abundant special literature is necessary: we are rich in „background material” both foreign and domestic. Examining, analyzing, and comparing these is our primary goal, which serves as the starting point for the other steps of the research. After explaining the theoretical dimensions, the examination of the National Curricula (1995, 2003, 2007, 2012, and the new draft of the NC) follows in which the research seeks to uncover women's role, positioning, and appearance in teaching the subjects of music, history and physics.

In the next phase of the research, the empirical examinations follow, in which I will examine two target groups, with two different measuring tools.

1st target group:

Sophomore and graduate teaching-major students studying at the three country universities (Debrecen, Szeged, Pécs) will be examined by means of a questionnaire. (n=approx. 240 person – 120 sophomore, 120 graduate students) As a sample, students of both genders, from both majors, represent themselves with proportionate numbers. With the sophomores, I will thoroughly question 40-40 students from each university, in three-three randomly selected seminar groups, from the music, history, and physics majors. With the graduates, I will also question them in three-three randomly selected groups from each university (a total of about 120 persons). Filling out the survey is done both online and in person, with the self-filling method. Our goal is to discover students' views about male-centered subjects, about hidden curriculum, and about horizontal segregation according to gender. For the survey to be successful, it must also examine the respondents' social, demographical, economic, and territorial fragmentation.

2nd target group:

Interviews of teachers that teach Physics, History and Music. (n= 30 person – 10 Music teacher, 10 Physics teacher, 10 History teacher).

As a sample, teachers of both genders represent themselves, the sampling mode being judgment-based, that is experts' sampling method.

The goal of the interview is to uncover the views and experiences of the teachers regarding male-centered subjects, hidden curriculum, and horizontal segregation according to gender, and what solutions they have to address the problems found there. Analysis of the interviews is done via categorization and interpretation.

Summary

The special literature available for usage in the study is abundant, thus their recognition, examination, and comparison take a lot of time. Based on what we have so far, we can surmise that though many have analyzed in multiple ways textbooks and curricula, no one has yet released a publication that summarizes and organizes these things. Much of special literature deals with horizontal segregation, but they mostly focus on higher education, its appearance in elementary school being less explored.

„Hidden curriculum” has since the end of the last century become a widely known expression, thanks to László Tamás Szabó, giving opportunity for interesting examinations on any level of education.

This study's goal continues to be the examination of the National Curricula – with special attention paid to the subjects of music and physics. Our other aims are the following: to prepare interviews with the instructors of the Debrecen, Pécs, and Szeged Universities, to have surveys filled out by their students, and to analyze the aforementioned.

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