Gender and Literature Didactics

How Does the Choice of Texts Affect Reading Competence?

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Abstract

After the first shock of unexpectedly poor performance of German students during the PISA assessment in 2000, especially at the area of reading comprehension, a long-lasting discussion about possible solutions has started. One of the general findings, namely the (at first sight) significantly lower reading competence of male students compared to female ones sparked a special dispute about the German school system being a female domain where not only most teachers are female, but in literature classes both the text selection and methods used would seem to favor only girls’ interests and therefore boys’ motivation to read is (supposedly) significantly decreasing. The general reading motivation is – according to relevant studies – greatly linked to the level of text comprehension, so this issue certainly needs special attention.

One of the suggested solutions in this context was to allow girls and boys reading different texts that might rather suit their reading preferences. It can be argued that such an approach does not only fail in the sense of not necessarily meeting the individual student’s reading interest but, above all, this way one can generate an unwanted effect that Gender Studies would describe as doing gender. Such a creation and determination of typical gender roles and stereotypes should be avoided according to education principles and curricula in Germany in order to guarantee every individual the freedom of developing their personality in the best possible way. The existence and dissemination of gender stereotypes at schools are despite of efforts for their prevention evident. Therefore such an obvious relapse, that even increases the unwanted effects instead of minimizing them, can certainly not be considered as the answer to this problem.

This paper suggests different didactical and methodical solutions that account for the individual needs of every student (male or female) and might especially encourage male students to discover reading as a rewarding and significant cultural technique. The strategies critically discussed in this paper include selecting texts that might potentially be interesting for both genders, allowing a wider range of texts that can be chosen from individually without an obvious gender attribution, and implementing methodical steps that could potentially spark higher interest of male students without discouraging female ones.

The article focuses on presenting the relevant German research context of the last decade and argues in favor of reflecting and differentiating gender roles in literature and education instead of (willingly or unwillingly) supporting stereotypes.

Keywords: Gender, literature didactics, text selection, reading motivation, text comprehension
Introduction

There is a long tradition of research concerning gender issues and literature didactics in Germany. From the 1960s on a strong critique was raised addressing the lack of equal treatment of male and female students and the deficietary representation of female experiences at the level of class communication and literary texts chosen. Textbooks and gender patterns represented in them were placed under special scrutiny (Kliewer, 2004). Also today a textbook can be taken off the market if it is proven to distribute a conservative image of women (Kliewer, 2012: 394-395).

However, since the 1990s a „boy turn“ (Weaver-Higtower, 2003) can be observed in literature didactics and education in general. The shockwaves after the first PISA assessment in 2000 (OECD, 2001) and of all of the following PISA tests (OECD, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013) are still being felt in the German system of education. The fact that according to this assessment 15-year-old boys on average in Germany, just as well as in other OECD countries, have a significantly lower level of reading competence, alarmed not just experts on education, but also a popular debate was sparked about the „boy crisis“ potentially putting Germany’s status as one of the leading industrial nations at risk (Philipp, 2012).

In this context boys are being described as victims of a female world of education where not only most teachers are female, but – when it comes to literature didactics – also the texts chosen and the methods used seem to favor girls' interests. If one neglects the polemics of some of these debates and applying double standards when it comes to judging the (alleged) underachievement of boys and girls historically and at different subjects at present, an attempt to identify possible reasons and solutions can be made.

This article will first address empirical findings connected to differences between boys and girls when it comes to quantity, preferred subjects and modalities of reading, just as well as the level of delight and competence achieved in this context. Also possible reasons for these findings will be discussed.

As a central issue, possible solutions to minimize the gap between male and female students and achieve a high level of reading competence irrespective of gender, are to be presented and critically discussed. Special attention will be paid to the possibility of choosing different texts for boys and girls in order to ensure a high level of motivation with both sexes.

The main concern of this article is to underline the relapse the cultivation of gender stereotypes in different ways could mean, and argue that a reflected and differentiated analysis of gender roles, also in literary texts, rather fulfills the educational mandate of schools in Germany.

Empirical Findings

Garbe (2007) argues that there are significant differences between male and female students and identifies five different dimensions of reading in this context:
1. The quantity of texts read
2. The type of texts chosen
3. Reading modalities/motivation
4. The level of delight associated with reading as an activity
5. Reading competence

Can these findings be empirically verified and what possible reasons can be identified?

Studies related to media use of children and youth in Germany do, indeed, suggest that there is a gap between girls and boys when it comes to the quantity of texts read. The KIM study, conducted by the Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest with a frequency of every second year, shows for 2014 that 41% boys at the age group of 6-13 read on a regular basis, whereas 61% of girls rank among frequent readers. In addition to this, the percentage of non-readers among boys is twice as high as among girls – 22%, respectively 11%. (KIM, 2014: 26) The JIM study, conducted in a similar way among the age groups of 12-19, shows an even deeper gap at a higher age. Every second girl of this age group said that she reads on a regular basis whilst this statement was true only for about every fourth boy. The percentage of non-readers is quite similar like in the KIM study: 26% among boys and 11% among girls (JIM, 2014: 18).

When it comes to the type of texts chosen, there seems to be a clear difference between male and female interests. Women and girls tend to prefer fictional texts, biographies, texts that show a clear reference to real life and personal relationships – texts with “inner action” in general. The preferences of boys include in contrast texts focusing “outside action” like fantasy, adventure or battles and fights. Also they seem to enjoy non-fiction, newspapers and magazines. (Pieper, 2012: 282)

The findings above are strongly related to different reading modalities between the sexes. According to different studies, girls and women tend to cultivate an intimate way of reading where identification, emotions and empathy are central. Whereas boys and men seem to seek for action, tension and/or information and intellectual challenge. With the latter findings corresponds the abovementioned preference of boys regarding non-fiction. Still, this doesn’t exclude the possibility of emotional involvement: Graf finds an almost intimate reading mode connected to non-fiction and learning about fascinating, new facts (Graf, 2004). Kliewer argues, based on results of the empirical study Lesen in Deutschland (Reading in Germany) conducted by the German Reading Foundation (Stiftung Lesen) in 2009, that boys don’t wish to “find themselves” in the texts they read like girls, but tend to transfer own ideas to their environment. (Kliewer 2012, 397)

The significance of reading seems to be different in the life of boys and girls in general. In connection with an intimate way of reading, girls tend to feel more joy and delight originating from reading as a leisure activity. Also they tend to establish a social dimension by sharing reading experiences with their friends which is certainly less characteristic for boys. (Pieper, 2012: 285)
The abovementioned differences at the areas of reading motivation seem to show a strong correlation with reading competence. The results of PISA have been already referred to. The gap between boys and girls was especially large when it comes to continuous texts and more demanding areas of text comprehension (text interpretation, evaluation and reflection, Garbe, 2007). Girls’ score was according to PISA results in Germany 35 to 44 points ahead of boys’ (OECD, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010 and 2013), which means more than half a competence level. At the same time other tests, for example PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study – in Germany known as IGLU) show a significantly smaller difference between male and female students (13 points in 2001, 7 in 2006 and 8 in 2011) (Bos et al., 2012: 126-130).

**Possible Reasons**

There are different approaches to explain the empirical findings above, none of them is entirely convincing.

Biologistic explanations\(^1\) include traditional prejudices, creating “natural differences” appealing to parts of the public looking for simple solutions for a complex problem. Scholars from Simone de Beauvoir (1997) to Judith Butler (2006) have argued that such a simple connection between a biological basis and the social role of the individual cannot be established. Still, this seems to be a wide-spread opinion, despite of well-known discrepancies between biological sex and social gender, and typical gender roles being essentially a construct, culturally and historically variable.

There are numerous attempts to explain the empirical findings at a sociological and/or psychological level as well. These explanations note that in occidental cultures reading as a cultural practice was strongly feminized during the last centuries (whereas until the 19\(^{th}\) century it was seen as an intellectual practice only men were able to achieve, whilst female reading was associated with a lower level emotional approach, Nieberle, 2013). Authors like Garbe or Schilcher (Garbe, 2007; Schilcher, 2010), who support a strongly differentiating approach between male and female reading habits, argue that the social context of reading socialization is marked by a mother reading bedtime stories and is being continued by a female teacher at elementary school. The strong feminization of the education system in Germany during the last decades (71\% of all teachers in the Federal Republic are female, at elementary schools the percentage is even higher: 87\%, Baar, 2012: 371) had led to a perception of reading as an exclusively female media practice. According to Steitz-Kallenbach (2006) this has both a direct and an indirect influence on male students. As a direct impact, they tend to associate reading with femininity and reject it as part of creating a male gender role. The indirect influence concerns mostly the choice of topics and texts by mothers,

\(^1\) Garbe (2007: 291) cites Baron-Cohen’s theory of male and female brains and findings of hormonal research regarding changes of prenatal hormone levels that (supposedly) affect cognitive skills.
kindergarten and elementary school teachers that clearly reflects female interests, favoring girls and leaving boys without adequate literary role models. Schilcher (2003: 367) argues that especially modern children’s literature lacks male protagonists demonstrating courage, self-reliance, physical strength and skills or love of adventure. One could find strong female characters instead, whilst boys were presented as sensitive and weak. Garbe (2007: 295) deduces that such developments significantly contribute to boys choosing video games over printed media because games seem to support both their thematic interests (adventure, heroism, challenge, exotic worlds) and were constructed in a way that players are able to choose the right amount of challenge without being overstrained.

Even if the findings above cannot be entirely dismissed, they clearly oversimplify the problem, not mentioning that they operate by confirming and disseminating gender stereotypes. First of all, reading is a gender-neutral practice, and that is how it is perceived especially in families with a higher level of literacy where both parents are equally involved in intellectual practices (Pieper, 2012). Increasing the number of male teachers does not automatically lead to higher achievements of boys either: “Stylizing the absent male teacher as a potential advocate of boys and savior of the education system cannot be substantiated by any international comparison.” (Baar, 2012: 372, translated by the author, J.K.) Helbig (2010) has conducted a study about the connection between reading competence and grades in German language on the one hand, and teachers’ and students’ sex on the other, and was not able to find a significant correlation between the two factors, neither related to boys nor to girls. An oversimplification of male and female reading interests and of the alleged (im)possibility of meeting them by reading (children’s) literature is not helpful either. First of all, an individual approach is necessary as there is no such thing as the male or the female reading interest; also children’s books certainly do offer more complex narrative structures and protagonists than suggested by Schilcher (2003). I shall elaborate on this question in the next section.

Possible Solutions

Before I come to the central point of the article, namely possible solutions to the problem of enhancing reading motivation and competence of both male and female students, I would like to briefly outline the importance and correlation of these two components. Both German (Stanat & Kunter, 2001 or Artelt, Naumann & Schneider, 2010) and international studies (Chiu & McBride-Chang, 2006) seem to indicate that there are no significant differences between the sexes if the level of intrinsic, habitual and activity-specific reading motivation is at a similarly high level. This implies that the main challenge for the didactics of reading is to create learning environments

2 The study has, however, not determined if an individual student has attended a class taught by a male or female teacher, but relied on data about the proportion of male teachers at each school.
that stimulate developing a high level of motivation (where extrinsic motivation is not necessarily negative, Philipp, 2012: 300) for the reception of written texts. This includes both the aesthetic component of understanding and enjoying a literary text and the general mandate of enabling students to participate in public life by understanding written texts at a relatively high level.

Another important component when discussing the problem of gender and literature didactics is that we are, in fact, not talking about gender as a social role, but sex as a biological factor. Namely, most studies conducted at this area are not able to account for gender differences as their determination seems to be a task currently nearly impossible to solve. (Especially if we take into account the possible variations between the rather rigid criteria of male and female, and possibly beyond them, or the cultural and historical instability of gender attributions). It is much easier to rely on biological criteria which don’t necessarily match the social role and image an individual might accept. This already implies that the simple equation of giving boys “boy-like” and girls “girl-like” texts in order to increase their reading motivation cannot hold water.

Advocates of an approach of providing male and female students with different texts according to their biological sex, argue that this way gender-specific interests could be served and a high level of motivation achieved. First of all, there is no guarantee that this way all students would read a text they are interested in because, as we know, individual interests do vary and not every student’s biological sex matches their social gender. So such a strict assignment of texts would, for sure, not reach its primary goal, namely motivating all students.

An even more concerning possibility is that this way the phenomenon of doing gender can be strongly encouraged instead of being limited. Instead of giving every student the possibility to develop their own gender identity freely, this means a strong control of what a student, as a biologically determined member of a gender group, is supposed to read and what characteristics he or she should develop. Judith Butler describes gender (and even sex) as a socially determined phenomenon which implies that individuals internalize characteristics by linguistic invocation (by being identified and addressed as male or female) and build their role by iterative actions (Butler, 2006). There are numerous studies suggesting that teachers tend to interact in a very gender-restrictive way, giving direct and indirect statements about what they believe a proper male or female gender identity and behavior are, and even restrict their students’ access to learning contents accordingly (Faulstich-Wieland, 20133). This is a more or less automatic phenomenon that originates from the traditionally learned gender knowledge of the teachers. Developing gender competence during studies and further trainings is supposed to break such structures wide open and help re-organize them by introducing a reflection capacity connected to questions of gender (similarly as the ability of reflecting intercultural issues is a central element of intercultural competence).

3 Faulstich-Wieland shows in her study an example where female teachers of Technical Education tend to restrict access of female students to some of the theoretical knowledge they provide to boys, and discourage girls from choosing more complex practical projects.
Another solution suggested by Weißenburger (2012) is to offer texts that are potentially interesting for both girls and boys – *gender cross-over literature*. Especially texts containing elements of adventure and action have a high potential in this sense. Empirical findings indicate that girls have a significantly wider range of reading interests, including formerly exclusively male domains as well, whereas boys don’t seem to enjoy typical “girl books”. This is an important finding and it has in the meantime found its way into classrooms in Germany (ibid.). Still, one should take into account that the “boy turn” is not supposed to have the effect of concentrating on boys only when it comes to questions of literature didactics, and assuming that girls are natural readers who don’t need any support. In general, careful consideration is required when addressing this issue because not *all* boys are unmotivated readers and not *all* girls are bookworms. Both PISA and PIRLS results suggest that there are larger discrepancies within the groups of boys and girls than between them (Philipp 2012). In Germany especially issues of school type and social background are relevant (ibid.). It is well-known that the Federal Republic is at the top of the list of countries where the financial and educational background of the parents plays a key role when assessing the achievement of children at school (ibid.). Different types of secondary schools do not only mean a certain level of stigmatization below the level of grammar school (*Gymnasium*), but PISA results show that when it comes to the level of achieved reading competence, differences to students of other secondary schools (*Realschule* and *Hauptschule*) are three times higher than between boys and girls. So the question is not if boys or girls are being discriminated by the education system, but *which* boys and *girls* (ibid.).

What certainly is important – the individualization of education. Choices of different texts should be provided whenever possible, irrespective of the gender of students. That might be a “book exhibition” with a high number of different texts or (more easily practicable on a regular basis) a variety of texts can be provided in connection to each topic where students can choose according to their interests. This implies decidedly more than two texts, especially if they are easily identifiable as “male” or “female” – this would mean only a less direct way of doing gender as students can easily guess which text they are supposed to choose, and the pressure for the individual remains the same. Ideally there should be more than two texts available with a not too direct gender affiliation.

Another point repeatedly addressed in this context is the choice of methods. Traditional text analysis through discussion and even creative tasks that imply emotional involvement and empathy (writing a letter to a character or a different end of a story; dramatic interpretation etc.) are (supposedly) also

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4 The selection of secondary school after the 4th grade is often influenced by the education level of the parents.

5 To be exact: the difference of the level of reading competence between students of a *Gymnasium* and a *Realschule* is on average approximately three times higher than between male and female students in general. The same difference can be observed in the case of a *Realschule* and a *Hauptschule*. (Philipp, 2012: 312)
female domains that contribute to reducing boys’ interest in literature classes. The instant solution seems to be integrating computers and new media in order to motivate boys (Bertschi-Kaufmann 2007). Girls might of course feel motivated as well, as a positive effect. Still, bringing laptops and PCs to the classroom is not an automatic solution to all problems of literature didactics. Their use has to be carefully planned and they can be a useful tool of text reception, presentation, research etc. More important is in my opinion to, whenever possible, offer a variety of different tasks to the students (simultaneously and/or successively). This way it is possible to suit different personalities, interests and learning styles. By offering different media, topics, levels of emotional involvement, possibilities to respect and positively challenge different types of personalities, a high level of individualization and diversification can be reached.

The most important aspect is developing gender competence both among teachers and students, defined as a high level of reflection concerning gender issues and an open-minded, stereotype-critical approach at a theoretical level, accompanied by a similarly open-minded and non-judgemental practice. Taking into account that a segregating approach by assigning boys and girls different texts according to their sex probably leads to the opposite direction and knowing that children’s and young adult’s books have gone through a process of strong gender typification during the last decade in Germany (Stachowiak, 2012), it is even more important to use literature classes as a place of reflection about gender stereotypes. However, developing gender competence among students implies a balancing act between a critical approach and doing gender. Budde (2012) states that discussing gender-related issues at the classroom cannot escape the dichotomy between male and female, and instead of increasing gender competence it may result in reinforcing stereotypical thinking. Nevertheless, this cannot be a reason to avoid relevant topics, but to proceed in a more cautious and reflected manner.

Gender roles are historically and culturally strongly variable and their dynamic character as cultural constructs should be openly discussed at school. Literary texts as aesthetic constructs that create and expose their own gender roles, are especially suitable for a relevant analysis. Theories of Gender Studies can strongly support such a work: Butler describes the process of social construction of both gender and sex (Butler, 2006), Connell explores complex interrelations between the genders, and especially between male individuals (Connell, 2005). Such theoreticians contribute to understanding gender as a dynamic category in its different forms of manifestation and correlations with other categories. Not only patriarchal theories and practices in past and present should be (critically) discussed, but also the different ways of doing gender, in

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6 According to a study conducted by Richter and Plath in 2005, less than 1/3 of boys enjoyed their German classes at the end of 4th grade – the number continuously decreases with the years. (Richter & Plath, 2005)

7 Stachowiak shows how currently popular children’s books in Germany tend to represent gender stereotypes. A similar development can be traced also in the category of learning materials. (Budde, 2012)

8 A specific concentration on masculinity as a literary category can also be helpful when considering measures to increase boys’ reading motivation. (Tholen, 2012)
literature and everyday life. This should contribute to the students’ better understanding of their own, personal role just as well as of the society in past and present. Students should generally be enabled to participate in cultural discourses about gender and identity in the society. (Tholen & Stachowiak, 2012: 108)

Educating young people with a high level of gender competence certainly contributes to creating a society where each individual is able to choose their own (gender) role and respect other people’s choices without prejudices. There is a long way to go, but it is a question that concerns us all.

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