From Man-the-Hunter to Ladies-in-Waiting

Mainstream Archaeology and Gender Bias in Dutch Elementary School Books

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Table of Contents

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine gender bias and stereotypes in history books used in group 5 of Dutch elementary schools. Nine books from six different publishers were sampled that have been used during the school year 2015-2016. Activities of each character from these books are examined individually by looking at the type of activity, the posture of the individual, the position in the frame and the locality. The time frame of the images are from the periods of “hunters and farmers”, “Greeks and Romans”, “monks and knights” up to and including “cities and states”, as defined by the Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon. Men are overrepresented in general, portrayed in diverse, active and public roles. Women, children and the elderly are underrepresented, and often in gender stereotypical manners. After establishing male bias in the reconstructions, ample archaeological evidence is provided for alternative gender representations in the past. Despite more than thirty years of feminist inspired archaeological research, reconstructions are still androcentric and reinforce current socio-cultural defined gender norms that disadvantages the representation of women and minorities, but men as well. It is imperative that gender archaeology is incorporated in archaeological epistemology, whereby different constituents involved in writing historic curriculum are informed of relevant developments within our science.

Samenvatting

Het doel van deze studie is om de aanwezigheid van gendervooroordelen en stereotypen te onderzoeken in geschiedenisboeken die worden gebruikt in groep 5 van Nederlandse basisscholen. Een steekproef werd genomen van negen boeken van zes verschillende uitgeverijen, die werden gebruikt tijdens het schooljaar 2015-2016. De figuren in de afbeeldingen in deze boeken zijn apart onderzocht op de uitgebeelde activiteit, door te kijken naar de soort activiteit, de lichaamshouding van het individu, de positie binnen het kader van de afbeelding en de locatie. De afbeeldingen beslaan de periodes van de “jagers en boeren”, “Grieken en Romeinen”, “monniken en ridders” tot aan de “steden en staten”, zoals vastgesteld door de commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon. In het algemeen zijn mannen oververtegenwoordigd en worden afgebeeld in diverse, actieve en publieke rollen. Vrouwen, kinderen en ouderen zijn ondervertegenwoordigd, en worden vaak voorgesteld op een gender-stereotyperende wijze. Na te hebben vastgesteld dat de reconstructies in het voordeel van de mannen vallen, worden er op basis van uitvoerig archeologisch bewijs alternatieve vormen van genderrepresentatie in het verleden gegeven die een ander perspectief bieden. Ondanks meer dan dertig jaar archeologisch onderzoek ingegeven door feminisme, zijn reconstructies nog altijd androcentrisch en bevestigen ze de huidige socio-culturele gendernormen die de representatie van vrouwen en minderheden, maar ook van mannen geen recht doen. Het is van belang dat genderarcheologie wordt opgenomen in de archeologische epistemologie, waarbij de verschillende partijen die betrokken zijn bij het schrijven van geschiedkundig lesmateriaal geïnformeerd worden over relevante ontwikkelingen in ons vakgebied.

1. Introduction

> *"Cartoon cave men drag women around by their hair. Fred Flintstone and prehistoric pals cavort with dinosaurs. They shape our children's ideas about their remote ancestors."*
> – Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley (1998, 4)

Reconstructive images of the ancient past convey a wealth of information about the daily lives of our ancestors. The artist must conjoin archaeological evidence – even "rival hypotheses" (Solometo and Moss 2013, 124), with a dash of imagination to make a detailed and compelling scene which communicates to the present audience what life could have been like in antiquity. So realistically and successfully is the information transmitted in much detail, that the viewer may find it hard to "distinguish fact from fiction" (Solometo and Moss 2013, 125). How difficult would it be for children to be aware of the balance between factual data and creativity? What else is conveyed between the lines? Several studies have shown how persistently contemporary bias and stereotypes permeate throughout archaeological interpretations in children's archaeology books (Burtt 1987), in palaeolithic dioramas (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993) and in science magazines (Solometo and Moss 2013). All conclude that our current gender norms and values are incorporated into these reconstructive images about the past, leading to gender socialization in the present. Archaeology is not bias-free and is no exception.

Every day, we are exposed to media that are made to make the most impact in the least amount of time. Even as adults, we do not escape gender socialization and are complicit in the continuation of gender norms. Women's magazines are an example of how women's behavior is regulated. Empowered women with careers covered magazine front pages before and during WWII, only to be replaced by the "Devoted Housewife", whose ambitions were making a happy family (Kearney 2012, 1), not unlike those of Wilma Flintstone. Masculine, heterosexual men come out as winners in this power structure. Men are considered the norm, and individuals who deviate from this standard are assigned lower status positions in this structure (Turner-Bowker 1996, 462).

Children who were exposed to more gender bias, tend to develop a stronger stereotypical attitude, e.g. in their choice of toys, and both sexes are taught that girls are inferior to boys (Hamilton *et al.* 2006, 758). Gooden and Gooden (2001) explain how children's books have played an important role in transmitting traditional social norms and values from one generation to the next, socializing boys and girls on how to behave "correctly". Especially illustrations are "a powerful vehicle for the socialization of gender roles" (Gooden and Gooden 2001, 91).

While archaeological representations have come a long way since the 1960's male-centric "Man the Hunter" model thanks to the women's liberation movement, how much of a gender bias is still present in Dutch publications for the child audience?

My research question is: To what extend do illustrative reconstructions of peoples from the past provide elementary school children with archaeologically corroborated images, or might they still reinforce socio-cultural defined ideas about gender in the Netherlands?

For this research, a sample of nine history books were selected. These books were used nationally for group 5 children, aged eight and nine years old, during the school year 2015-2016.

In the subsequent chapter I will discuss the definitions of gender-specific terminology used in this thesis. In chapter three, the birth, development, the need for and application of gender theory within the discipline of archaeology will be outlined. In chapter four, I will elaborate on the research method used, followed by an analysis on archaeological evidence per time period. I will largely refer to cases from Dutch and European prehistory to investigate gender stereotyping and marginalization of women and other demographic groups, due to constraints of my expertise. However, I will include a few examples from gender archaeologists well-versed in classical and medieval periods to illustrate gender biases in the early historic periods. In conclusion, I will discuss my findings and suggest how archaeologists can commit to a more comprehensive representation of past peoples.

2. Definitions

> *"In Short, human behaviors and personality attributes should cease to have gender, and society should stop projecting gender into situations irrelevant to genitalia."*
>
> – Sandra L. Bem, (1981, 363)

Firstly, it is important to understand the difference between sex and gender, as these terms are often used randomly when pertaining to men and women.

Sex refers to the biological distinction between male and female, based on hormonal, anatomical and physiological markers, like reproductive organs and the configuration of X and/or Y chromosomes (Walker and Cook 1998). Important to note is that not all people fit within the binary XX and XY sex categories, known as intersex, or differences or disorders of sexual development (DSDs) manifest in chromosomal, hormonal or genital variances (Ainsworth 2015; Fausto-Sterling 2000). Whilst acknowledging the real difference between male and female chromosomes and functions for reproduction, as well as recognizing the broader sex spectrum from a biological perspective, the focus of this paper is on illustrations of people, not of actual people whose DNA can be examined. Therefore, I will focus on the social construction of biological sex, understood as gender.

Gender is the social meaning that is given to what masculinity and femininity and the variations in between entails. In other words, a masculine gender is often attributed to biological males, and a feminine gender to biological females. However, there is no consensus on how to define masculinity and femininity, since the meaning can vary from one society, culture or time period to another (Jackson and Scott 2002, 9). It is therefore a learned behavior, not fixed by birth. Gender is constructed by a person's environment, or socio-economic factors, or by their psychology or sexuality. Gender is expressed in a gender identity, communicated interpersonally through behavior, appearance, language and culture. Gender is also a product of the asymmetrical and hierarchical relationship between men, women and other genders (as in terms of *gender inequality* or *gender issues*), structured in social institutions, both in the past and the present (Jackson and Scott 2002, 1). For archaeologists, it is this social construction of gender that is important, conveyed through tangible artefacts.

Gender stereotyping is another definition worth elaborating. Everyone categorizes, often unconsciously, the world around us in simplified groups or types. This process is called stereotyping, where general attributes, characteristics or roles of those groups are labeled onto individuals, which produces generalizations and preconceptions (Cook and Cusack 2010, 1). While gender stereotyping involves all genders and are not always problematic, they have a more devastating effect on women, especially when human rights are infringed upon, or when hierarchies are created. Stereotypes are degrading when women's roles are not valued, when their needs and wishes are not considered and when they are made inferior and subordinate. An example of a constraining and pervasive stereotype is that of the woman as a mother and housewife. This limits her activities to a reproductive and domestic life, restricting her participation in the public sphere. In archaeological context, a critical stance is needed when attributing gender to labor and artefacts that perpetuate essentialist perspectives.

Androcentrism means that maleness is taken as the norm, the default, the representative – and often equaled to "gender neutral", while other genders are considered deviant, peripheral or exceptional (Conkey and Spector 1984, 4). Also, *biological essentialism*, assumptions that reduce women to their "natural" reproductive roles instead of acknowledging their various productive roles, is a facet of androcentrism (Nelson 1994, 13). Coupled with the belief that women and men are different in essence (*gender polarization*), whereby men possess opposite qualities to women that cannot overlap (i.e. men are tall, rational or aggressive vs. women are small, emotional or passive), exaggerated caricatures are conveyed, justifying unequal treatment of individuals. These three definitions, androcentrism, biological essentialism and gender polarization, are "gender lenses" identified by Bem (1993), and are useful as tools for feminist academics to peruse existing research from a gendered perspective.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 *The barriers women in archaeology face now*

The World Economic Forum's (WEF) *Global Gender Gap Report* of 2016 ranks the Netherlands 16th out of 144 countries. What is measured in this report, is female versus male participation in four important areas: economy, education, health and politics. With a score of 0.756 (1.000 meaning parity), this means that Dutch women are being represented above average (0.683) within these four categories. Life expectancy for women is high, 47% of women are in ministerial positions, and more women than men are enrolled in tertiary education (World Economic Forum 2016). These seemingly optimistic figures can also be observed within the Dutch archaeological sector. There are more women studying archaeology than men (44% male, 56% female registered full-time students), while more women enter the archaeological workforce with 58% being male and 42% female in 2012-2013, nearing parity from 65% male vs. 35% female in 2002-2003 (Van Londen *et al.* 2014, 58-63).

With a decent score card in gender equality on the Gender Gap Index, a growing number of women in archaeology, and the feminist movement maintaining a steady momentum for over fifty years since the 1960s, one would expect that the discipline of archaeology in the Netherlands would change with current trends. However, when looking at different reports and individual indicators, a different picture emerges.

First, there is a wage gap in the disadvantage of women (Van Londen *et al.* 2014, 76-81) mainly attributed to the fact that more women work part-time and in junior positions within the archaeological enterprise. Second, more men are employed in the 40–65+ year age range, dominating senior positions (Van Londen *et al.* 2014, 61-63). From the first woman (Caroline Haspels) to be appointed Professor of Archaeology in 1935 until 2014, only ten women in the Netherlands have received the title full Professors in Archaeology (Lazar *et al.* 2014, 266). The numbers for the archaeological field match the national trend regarding the unequal remuneration and representation of women in senior academic positions (De Goede *et al.* 2016). Furthermore, this national gender bias reflects the gender bias on a global scale as seen in universities across Europe, USA, Canada, Japan, India and Australia, with minority women being disadvantaged the most (Bolger 2013a, 10; Catalyst 2015). There may be slight differences in percentage points, but globally, nationally and within

archaeology, women academics are earning less, and the glass ceiling, while showing signs of fissures, is still in place.

Although general percentages of Dutch women professors have been increasing steadily since 2003 (Landelijk Netwerk Vrouwelijke Hoogleraren 2015, 20), the Netherlands ranks well below the Western European average (Landelijk Netwerk Vrouwelijke Hoogleraren 2015, 17), in 24th place out of 27 EU countries. This rank leaves a bitter aftertaste, when calling to mind the WEF Gender Gap Index score of 16th place out of 144 nations. According to Ellemers *et al*. (2004, 333), the reason why still few women are able to further their academic careers is likely due to the "Queen Bee Syndrome", a phenomenon where women in senior positions hold biased views of women in junior positions, stereotyping them as inadequate or less committed to their work, while seeing themselves as more masculine and accomplished, unlike other women. This is probably related to the personal struggles these senior women had to put in, adapting and surviving a male-dominated work environment which devalues women, often not able to combine career and family (Ellemers *et al*. 2004, 317). This type of social distancing is not uncommon in minority groups, but it does reproduce biased views and legitimizes inequalities (Derks *et al.* 2015, 489-490). Derks *et al.* (2015, 480-481) clarify that when people who show strong group identification – in the case of women identifying as feminine instead of masculine as the "Queen Bee" does – they will feel more united and be more motivated to stand up against bias. That is why it is crucial to have at least 30% female representation at decision-making levels. While the archaeological workforce is becoming more feminized, this is not a promise that more women will attain leadership positions (Lazar *et al.* 2014, 268-269), unless more is done to close the pay gap, fix the leaky pipeline, address gender and racial discrimination in the workplace, and break the glass ceiling in Dutch academia.

3.2 *Why do we need representation?*

Why is it necessary to include more women and minorities in archaeology? Foremost, visibility matters. Role models in the discipline encourage young women to pursue careers within archaeology, reeling in talent instead of repelling them. Moreover, the more diversity there is in ideas and standpoints, the stronger institutions become, for different people contribute unique views to science. Indeed, globally, Anglo-American literature on gender archaeology has been multiplying steadily since the 1990s, and now include postmodern

feminist theories on sexuality, non-binary and multiple gender identities, as well as broader definitions of masculinity. Feminist research on children, the aged, race and class are important additions to archaeology, giving the discipline "more ways to think about the past" (Nelson 2006, 2). The *She Figures* 2015 report (European Commission 2016, 90-180) published by the European Commission, asserts that the inclusion of a sex/gender dimension in research literature has increased, although the underrepresentation of scientific publications authored by women is still an issue. The modest presence of gender related publications is not a cause for cautious optimism. De Leiuen (2015) confirms, after having analyzed six prominent archaeological journals for their content, gender theories have only been marginally included with little impact. Furthermore, Wylie (2007, 210) noted that archaeologists who have an interest in gender, do not identify as feminists and some even eschew the term "feminism".

The question that arises is, what makes a contribution to gender archaeology a feminist contribution? Conkey and Spector's paper "Archaeology and the Study of Gender" (1984), was the solid starting point for endeavoring critical theory building within the discipline of archaeology. They identified how archaeology has contributed to and strengthened "a set of culture-specific beliefs about the meaning of masculine and feminine" (Conkey and Spector 1984, 1), how archaeological theory has given substance to the division of roles and capabilities of women and men, maintaining a *"false notion of objectivity"* (emphasis in original, Conkey and Spector 1984, 6):

> *"We illustrate that archaeologists, consciously or not, are propagating culturally particular ideas about gender in their interpretations and reconstructions of the past. This aspect of archaeological interpretation not only undermines the plausibility of our reconstructions of the past but also has serious political and educational implications."*
>
> – Margaret W. Conkey and Janet D. Spector 1984, 2

Indeed, just as depictions of negative racial stereotypes perpetuates racist notions in society, unchallenged gender stereotypes reduce women and girls to inferior citizens in a world where they make up over half the population.

There are many studies that highlight the prevalence of gender stereotyping in children's television (McGhee and Frueh 1980; Morgan 1982; Ward and Friedman 2006) and children's books (Anderson and Hamilton 2005; Crabb and Bielawski 1994; Gooden and Gooden 2001; Hamilton *et al.* 2006; Paterson and Lach 1990), and describe its negative effects on a child's behavior, cognitive performance and memory (Ambady *et al.* 2001; Bem 1981; Hamilton *et al.* 2006; Hilliard and Liben 2010; Liben and Signorella 1980; Paterson and Lach 1990). Male subjects are depicted as active, productive and competent, often playing the central leading role in the storyline. Although boys are exposed to a larger variety of roles in terms of abilities and careers, the untypical ones that are not seen often are emotional and caring roles, like that of the emotionally engaged father (Anderson and Hamilton 2005). Women and girls are underrepresented, often portrayed in a passive, narrow, nurturing or domestic role. Negative portrayals potentially harm girls' self-esteem, identity, and the belief in her possibilities (Narahara 1998, 6; Paterson and Lach 1990, 186). These gender roles influence a child's gender development, at a time when they are forming their gender identity (Gooden and Gooden 2001, 90).

3.3 *Feminist archaeology makes good archaeology*

> *"The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story."*
>
> – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie 2009

Do we as archaeologists want to be held accountable for the continuation of gender socialization that disempowers women and girls, or do we owe society a conscientious, thorough and multifaceted representation of our ancestors? Publications on gender archaeology have been increasing since the early 1990's, but not included in mainstream archaeology and classrooms (Bolger 2013a, 4). Archaeological research within the feminist framework has been building on Second Wave (e.g. making women visible, challenging gender relations based on biological essentialism) and Third Wave (e.g. rejection of the gender binary, gender identity, intersectionality of oppression) feminist theories (Bolger 2013a, 4-9). While there are many issues within gender archaeology because of tensions between Second and Third Wave approaches, the heart of feminist research is about the

ability to be reflexive, anti-hierarchical and for dissenting views to co-exist (Bolger 2013a, 7). Therefore, gender archaeology should aim to be feminist if it wants to flourish.

As Nelson (1994, 4) summarizes, gender is not a code word for women, nor is gender archaeology research done by women about women, independent of feminism. Rectifying male bias cannot be achieved by simply adding new data or "remedial" writing about more women (Conkey and Gero 1991, 5), but by analyzing gender relations and gender processes in relation to additional social dimensions such as age, race and class.

Current feminist theory is devoted to:

- Challenging the unreflexive androcentric norm and analyzing power structures,
- Disputing women's experiences as a static and universal monolith, highlighting the varied roles women have played,
- Unlearning presentist views that sex and gender identities have been the same since the distant past, but are and have been dynamic, not bound by current dichotomies and,
- Demanding intersectional approaches relating to gender, such as ethnicity, disability, class, sexuality, religion, race and other social variables.

Challenging androcentrism means questioning the male perspective as the default. Women (and other genders) are often defined in relation to men, usually in contrast to one another (Brumfiel 2006, 34), or lacking male characteristics (Conkey and Spector 1984, 4). Conkey and Spector (1984, 4) explain that women and minorities are "otherized", because most anthropologists were male and had access to information from male subjects when observing living small-scale societies. These ethnographers' perspective on research was shaped by their "western, white, and middle- or upper-class" background. Therefore, research topics were related to power, leadership, weaponry or hunting, leaving out women as subjects of study. The goal of feminist research is to address questions relevant "to those oppressed by gender-structured systems of inequality" (Wylie 2007, 211), and they are the majority of, but not only limited to women. Therefore, challenging androcentrism is not trying to solely shift focus from men to women, but more about investigating the aspects of this hierarchical system, how gender is negotiated through processes, and how gender relations are formed. Meyers (2014) concludes that patriarchy itself is a Western construct,

with its roots in nineteenth century evolutionist theory that influenced classical and biblical studies. This does not mean that male dominance is fictive. However, it was not universal and not systematic (Meyers 2014, 27).

Focusing on women may come across as gynocentric, disapprovingly called the "add women and stir" approach, but it is important to realize that women do not form a homogenous group. Women have been marginalized and remained invisible in the past, while important events in human history are ascribed to male actions. However, could this not be the result of contemporary gender roles projected onto the past, where women's contributions are devalued and appropriated by men? Focusing on women means looking for women in the past and seeing *more variance* in women's activities. This is what has served as the building blocks for an archaeology of gender (Nelson 2006, 4). Women, then and now, cannot be grouped together as one, doing the same labor, sharing the same experiences. By extension, neither can men or other genders be considered monolithic groups. One should be vigilant about preventing stereotypes. When reconstructions reduce women to their "biological" nurturing task, or misapply a subservient role, it can communicate misleading notions about gender relations, where those assumptions can become intrinsically "part of human nature", rationalized and justified as "fact" (Hager 1997, 4; Solometo and Moss 2013, 125). It is also wrong to assume that women in one single culture enjoy the same privileges. Women of high statuses might enjoy prestige, but have to compromise on other areas in life (Brumfiel 2006, 33). A feminist approach attentively reminds us of the mosaic nature of women's experiences and abilities.

Feminist archaeology is also gender-inclusive of non-dualistic gender categories, challenging ideas about heteronormativity. It is vital to remain aware of other possibilities of sex/gender arrangements as they might have been organized and expressed differently in the past (Fausto-Sterling 1993; Lang 2016, 299; Voss 2006, 371). The existence of "two-spirit" individuals in Native American cultures are one example of multi-gender identities that transcends time, location and culture, shattering the Western binary perspective of sex and gender, including the 19th century invention of terms such as "homosexuality" and "transvestite" (Geller 2009 ,71; Voss 2006, 368). According to the *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society* (O'Brien 2008), "two-spirit" individuals "embody characteristics of multiple genders, sexes, or sexualities". While these persons would be classified as gay, lesbian,

queer, bisexual, transgender or intersex in a contemporary context, caution is needed when applying Western gender categories, since these are not universal nor transhistorical (Voss 2006, 367). Especially when in certain indigenous societies, the role of shaman is considered as a gender (Hollimon 2006, 440; Voss 2006; 378). In the case of the North American Chumash, the division of labor for undertakers (*'aqi*) was not based on sex and gender, practiced not only by "gay" men, but also by postmenopausal or celibate women, in other words, individuals who had non-procreative sexualities (Hollimon 2006, 438). Likewise, Hollimon (2006, 443) also asserts that after finding female skeletons showing signs of male patterned injuries, these women do not automatically have to be identified as female warriors, as supported by ethnographic evidence. They could well have identified as non-female. The wealth of knowledge that is gained through applying queer theory is indeed promising for understanding the complexity of past gender manifestations.

Intersectionality in feminism gives more recognition to indigenous cultures and people of color and can inspire new theories that help break down the oppressive hierarchy of white supremacy, merging the academic with the political (Brumfiel 2006; Geller 2009, 70). Because historical documents were written mainly by the white male elite, women and minorities had vanished from the past (Spencer-Wood 2006, 62). Postcolonial feminist archaeology can reveal indigenous women's precolonial contributions and identities (Spencer-Wood 2006, 75), showing why it is imperative to include marginalized voices into archaeological discourse.

Speaking of marginalized demographics, both children and elderly groups are rarely represented well enough (Gilchrist 1999, 88-108; Hurcombe 1997, 16). With the advent of agriculture since the Holocene, a rapid increase in population occurred, known as the Neolithic Demographic Transition (NDT,) with an equally high mortality rate, deduced from paleodemographic studies of graves containing 5- to 19-year old skeletons (Bocquet-Appel 2011). For societies with a high childhood mortality rate of 50% to reproduce successfully, half of society must be children under 18 years (Chamberlain 1997, 249; Hurcombe 1997, 16).

Chamberlain (1997, 249) states that irrespective of mortality and inaccurate estimations of the age of death of skeletons, elderly individuals have existed. Chancing upon infant bodies is rare due to their perishable skeletal composition, and skeletal markers from middle age to

old age are very difficult to distinguish or are overlooked. Both childhood and old age are gender-ambiguous, since young children have not reached reproductive maturity and are often gendered through rites of passage (Lesick 1997, 35-36). Older women who lose their reproductive functions can transgress into a different gender category, like the shaman identity described above. If we understand gender as a structuring process, rather than trying to categorize individuals into gender boxes, we may be able to see a more nuanced past experience, seeing a relationship between gender, age, and the changing stages in life.

A gender-inclusive feminist archaeology must include discussions on masculinity. The stereotypical concept of "man" as a sexually aggressive hunter-warrior generalize men and perpetuates the status quo, ignoring the complexity of past men's lives (Alberti 2006, 402-403). Popular culture evokes on these essentialist notions, justifying men's behavior (Joyce 2004 and Vendentam 2003 in Alberti 2006, 403), and oppressing men who do not conform to this ideal. Masculinity should also not be seen as a hegemonic display of behaviors (i.e. violent, active, dominant etc.) that are exclusive to men (Gilchrist 1999; 64). Women can adopt these masculine behaviors as well, like Ellemer's "Queen Bees" described above. What is equally important, is to discontinue presenting men and the male norm as gender-neutral (Knapp 1998, 92). Concepts like "the evolution of man", or "hunters and farmers" and "monks and knights" as we shall see below, not only render women invisible, it also erases the "existence of a plurality of masculinities" (Alberti 2006, 406). Masculinity in this context does not refer to making men more visible or demanding a separate strand within gender archaeology, but should be seen as a perspective firmly grounded in feminism, that can challenge both androcentric and gynocentric pitfalls (Alberti 2006, 404; Knapp 1998, 102-105).

While feminist research is well grounded in the sister disciplines of anthropology and sociology, archaeology had been lagging behind (Nelson 2006, 4). Arnold (2005, 89) and Bolger (2013a,1) have asserted, "mainstream" archaeologists have neglected to incorporate gender and feminist theory in public education, by cherry-picking archaeological data, perpetuating simplistic narratives, with no regard to the complex and dynamic nature of gender configurations. Nelson (2006, 17) explains that androcentric thinking is being successfully challenged, however the existing framework that produced it are still in place. Brumfiel (2006, 34) calls for a frame of analysis that should include men, women and other

genders to understand past societies, because “different genders are defined in relation to one another through their paradigmatic relationship”. And while archaeology as a science benefits from freeing itself from stereotypes, presenting alternative views on gender variance, women and girls in today’s society benefit as much. Women have neither been unimportant nor have been biologically determined to do only menial tasks. Current policy, public opinion and future expectations should recognize the archaeological data that proves that indeed, women have had more complex roles and identities (Wicker and Arnold 1999, 3).

4. Method and Analysis

4.1 *Method*

I have examined nine Dutch history books for group 5 elementary children aged between 8 and 9 years of age, used in Dutch elementary schools in school year August 2015 – July 2016, and were published in the period 2007 – 2014. I have chosen this sample because, this is the grade when schoolchildren are exposed to Dutch (pre)history on a regular basis. Children at this stage also learn to apply various categories and form logical sequence orders, called Piaget's concrete operations (Shaffer and Kipp 2010, 272). Bigler and Liben (1992) have shown that when children are taught "multiple classification skills", meaning, they are able to place an object into multi-dimensional categories (e.g. a tennis ball into categories like *round* (shape), *tennis (function*), or *furry* (texture)), they learn to process counter-stereotypic information about people as well. "Engineer" does not become exclusively "male". This type of classification training not only reduces gender stereotyping attitudes in children, it also enhances their memory compared to children whose classification skills were not trained (Bigler and Liben 1992; 1361). Therefore, it is important that children are exposed to non-biased images.

In line with the Dutch canonic history, as established by the *Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon* (Van Oostrom 2007) and presented to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science in 2007, the following four periods, ranging from prehistory to the late Middle Ages, are the target period that are covered in group 5 throughout the year. These periods are "*Jagers en Boeren* (Hunters and Farmers)" until 3000 BC, "*Grieken en Romeinen* (Greeks and Romans)" until 500 AD, "*Monniken en Ridders* (Monks and Knights)" until 1000 AD and "*Steden en Staten* (Cities and States)" until 1500 AD. Since a few books do not follow the canon, or were printed before the acceptance of the canon at the national level, not all periods are represented in the sampled books. Nevertheless, I have included these books for a broader overview, as they were still being used in Dutch schools. I expect the ratio of representation men/women to be no different from books that include all culture periods. Sometimes books included subsequent periods from 1500 AD onwards, but these have all been omitted from analysis. Some of the newer books did not have textbooks. Instead the lessons are presented in digital format. I have included digital material, textbooks and

student books where available from either the *Koninklijke Bibiliotheek* (Royal Library) or directly from the publishers.

Images presented in these books of how women and men might have behaved are filtered through and personalized through the artists' eyes, and gives us insight into the artist's own (learnt) bias. I will be taking a look at these images drawn by contemporary artists commissioned by the publisher, which includes cartoons, paintings and drawings. Photographs of re-enactments are included as well. Gender and age are identified by a combination of clothing, hairstyles, facial expressions, body length, accessories or textual cues. When features are ambiguous, and the individual cannot be disregarded either due to interactions with other gendered figures or its prominence in the frame, then the individual is counted as ungendered. I expect that the gender representations are heteronormative, because of the target audience. My results will therefore be confined to the binary of men and women. Excluded are (historic) artworks, artefacts and mythic deities. Also excluded are illustrations that do not reveal much information about gender functions, e.g. when images of people were used to accessorize maps. Faceless and featureless shapes or schematic illustrations of people are also left uncounted. Body parts, shown for instance in the formation of tools or pottery, are likewise excluded. Photographic re-enactments during modern day school trips have been omitted since they are not representative of the artists' reconstructions of the past, and gender bias cannot be read from them.

4.2 *The general picture*

The study consists of a total of 3,806 individuals from 616 images. The focus is not only the individual count of each human figure by gender, I have also recorded individual data which includes age cohorts, position in the frame, locality, body language, and activity. The types of activities were drawn from Gifford-Gonzalez (1993), but adapted and elaborated for subsequent cultures of the classical period and the Middle Ages.

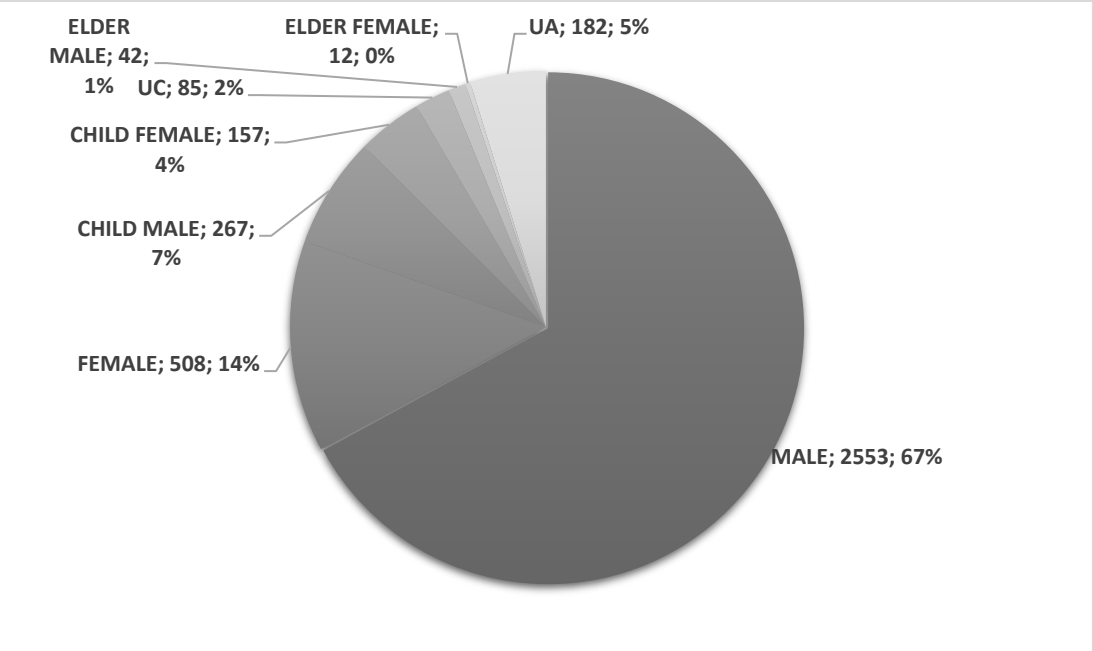

Figure 1. Total individual count by gender and age group of the nine sample books combined. Category values are expressed in absolute numbers and percentages. "UC" means "ungendered child", "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Figure 1 shows the breakdown of the individual count by gender and age group, including children and adults whose gender could not be determined. Of the adult category, only 14% of individuals are read as female, whereas 67% are male. Obviously, men are overrepresented, partly because there is an overrepresentation of men in combat or men as soldiers (see table 1 for activity type). I will discuss in further detail the reasons of the androcentric focus on men in battle scenes when examining the classical period later. The elder female is represented the least with only 12 figures in total.

Figure 2 shows where these individuals are placed within the frame, either in the foreground or in de middle- and background. Again, men – especially in the middle- and background – are highly represented, also due to combat and army scenes. The number of ungendered adults in the middle- and background is high, because as drawings get smaller, gender becomes harder to distinguish as details get lost. About the same number of women appear in both fore- and background. Children appear mostly in the foreground, because nearly half of the sampled books feature children as main characters and narrators of the story. However, these are consistently the same figures who function as guides throughout

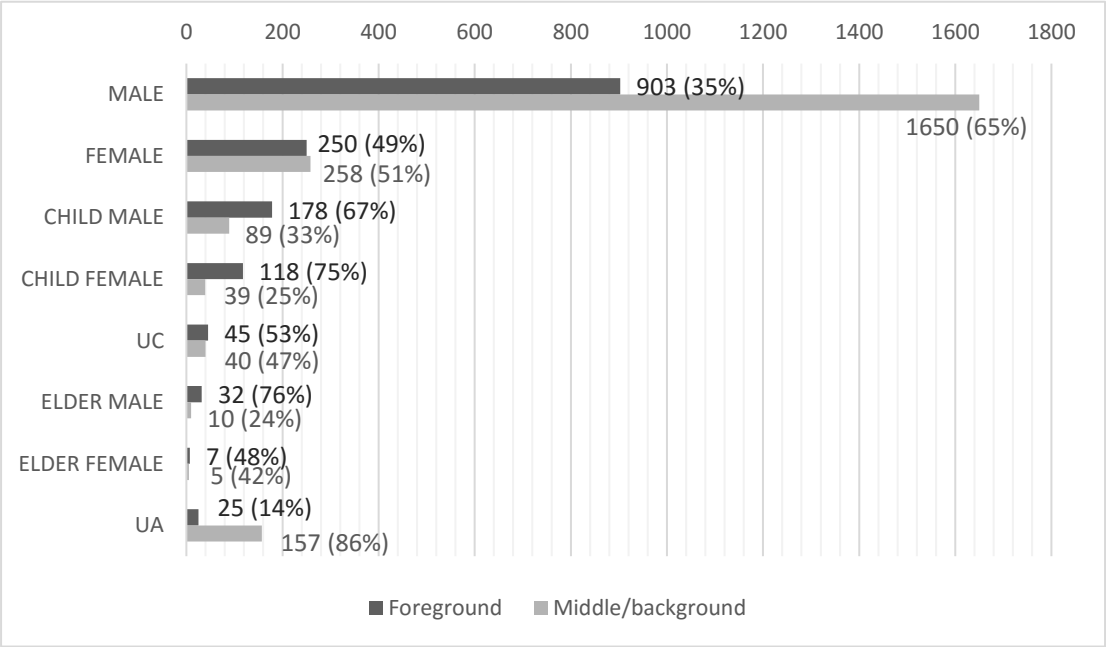

Figure 2. Gender and age group of people depicted in either the foreground or the middle- and background, in absolute numbers and percentages (%) per category. "UC" means "ungendered child", "UA" means "ungendered adult.

the book and recur more than once, but are counted separately as the same individual(s) engaging in different types of activities (see table 1). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the numbers are not representative of a large sub-adult population outlined by Chamberlain (1997, 249) and Hurcombe (1997, 16). At least 50% had to be children, whereas the total of children in figure 1 is 13%, of whom a few return throughout the story more than once.

Figure 2 also compares the absolute numbers of individuals to the percentages of each gender/age category. While men are overrepresented in general absolute numbers, we can see that about two-thirds of the men are found in the middle- and backgrounds. Women are equally represented in both foreground and middle/backgrounds. Of all girls, the majority (75%) appear in the foreground. Interestingly, while women and girls are outnumbered by men and boys, relatively more women and girls appear in the foreground.

Figure 3 demonstrates the breakdown of gender and age group in absolute numbers, throughout the four time periods of "*Hunters and Farmers* (HF)", "*Greeks and Romans* (GR)", "*Monks and Knights* (MK)" and "*Cities and States* (CS)". Here the disproportionate number of men due to history books' focus on soldiers of the roman empire (GR) and knights during the early Middle Ages (MK) is clearly delineated. Children as a general age

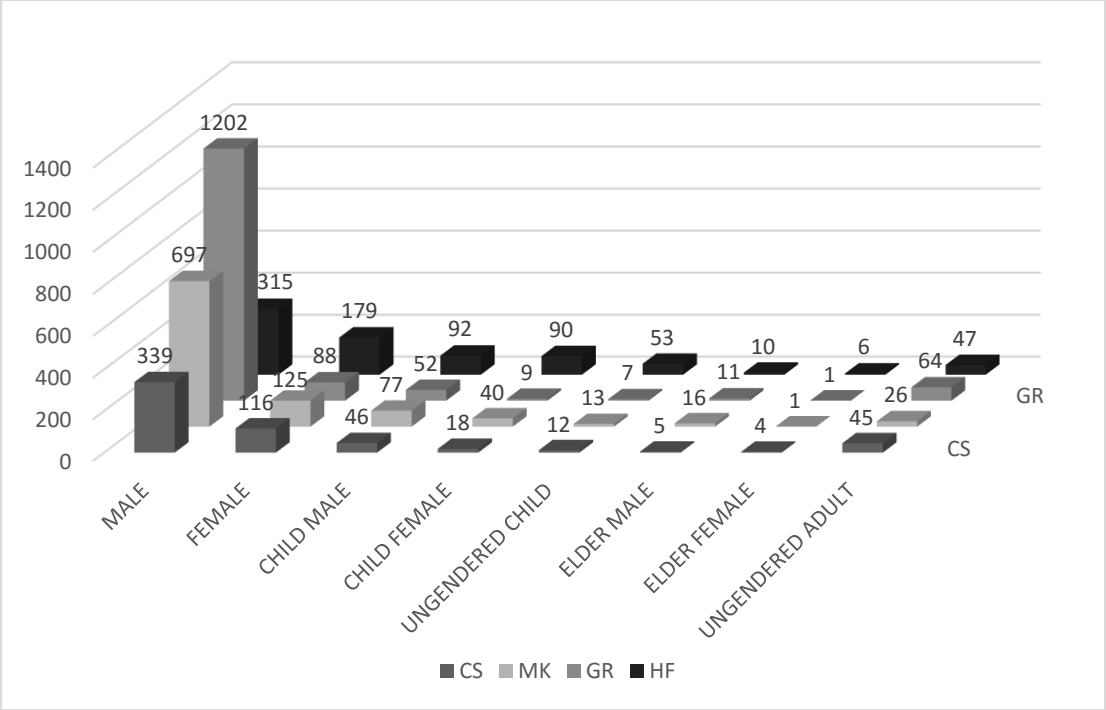

Figure 3. Breakdown of absolute numbers of gender and age group by time period. "Hunters and Farmers (HF)" in the back, followed by "Greeks and Romans (GR)", "Monks and Knights (MK)" and "Cities and States (CS)" in the front.

category seem to be better represented in the "*Hunters and Farmers*" and *"Monks and Knights"* period, even outnumbering adult women. In the classical period and early medieval, elder women are represented only once for each culture. The periods in which the figures are illustrated affect the relative proportions of gender and age categories, since the focus on settlements is greater in prehistory, than in the classical or medieval ages.

When we look at spatial gendering, figure 4 illustrates how public spaces are dominated by the presence of men. Less than 10% of men are depicted in or near their settlement, from camp site to castle. Over 50% of women, children and the elderly are placed within the public sphere. On average, 40% of their activities take place within or near their settlement or home, confining them more to the domestic sphere. "No context" points to figures

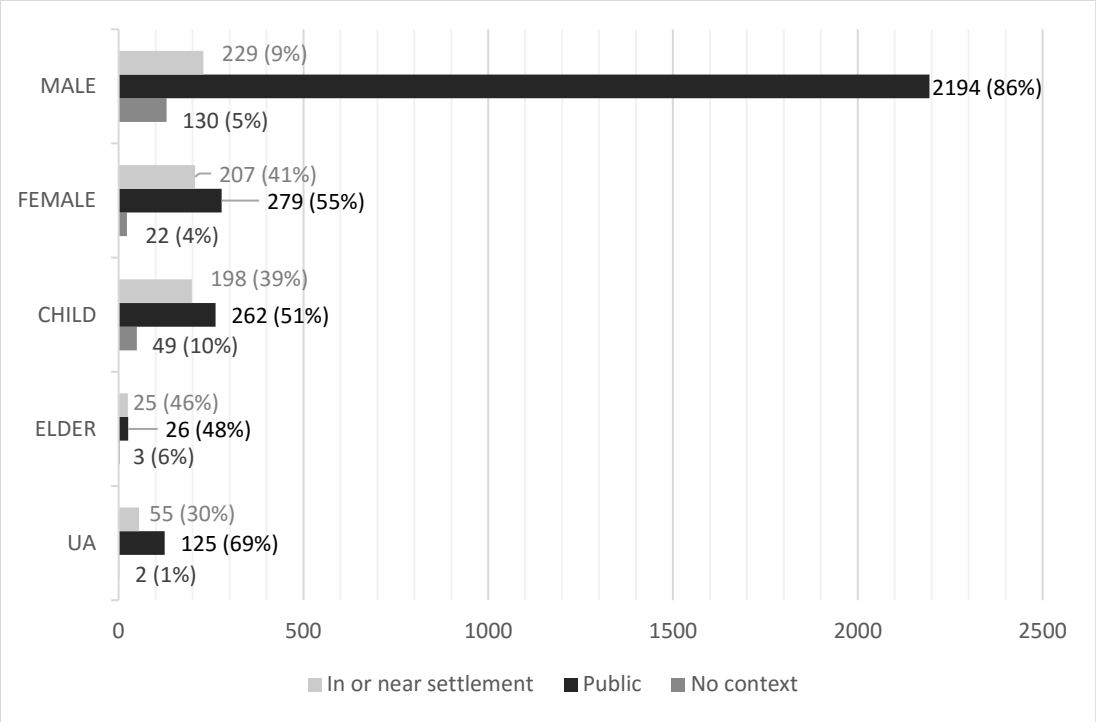

Figure 4. Spaces inhabited by gender and age group in absolutes and percentages (%) per category. These spaces are in or near the settlement or house, public spaces, and figures without context. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

without any clues to their location. "UA" are ungendered adults, whereas ungendered children are included in the "child" category.

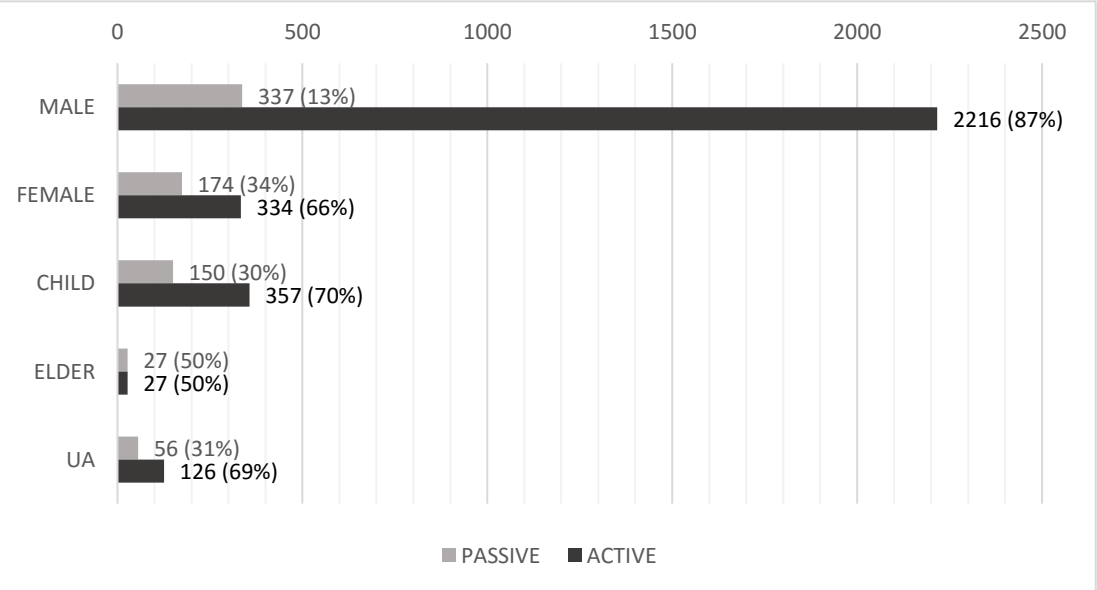

Figure 5. Posture by gender and age group in absolute numbers and percentages (%). "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Figure 5 demonstrates the number of individuals by posture. Postures are measured according to the individual's body language, facial expression and interaction with their surroundings. A passive posture means that the person is in a supine or resting position, often with an introverted expression, away from other figures in the picture. An active posture is when the individual is standing up, seeming to have agency and is engaged and focused. Most gender and age cohorts are depicted as active, although men are portrayed seven times more active than passive. Half of the elderly are passive, mostly due to being portrayed as weak, sick or dead. Passive children are often (sleeping) infants not being able to engage much with their surroundings. About one third of women are shown as passive, which has much to do with the type of activity (table 1).

Now that the disproportionate visibility of male subjects in the sample history books has been demonstrated and portrayed in any time period, in both fore- and backgrounds, as active and appearing in public, it is time to take a closer look at the types of activities each recorded individual engages in. The division of labor by gender represented in reconstructions "communicate, naturalize and universalize the "traditional" gender ideology" of contemporary society (Solometo and Moss 2013, 132). By looking at the data, we can see what kind of societal norms are transmitted to the child audience. I will primarily cover the prehistoric period, and re-examine some stereotypical images with archaeological research from gender archaeologists. However, it is important to look at the bigger picture, hence I shall highlight a few portrayals of subsequent culture periods to illustrate developments in gender ideologies.

A total of 35 different types of activities were recorded – including one "non-descriptive" category when persons were not engaged in any type of specific activity (i.e. as bystanders or without any background context). The data is divided by adult female and male, children, elderly and ungendered adults. Table 1 shows the total number of individuals in absolutes, recorded from all nine sample history books.

Table 1. Absolute numbers of counted individuals in the sample books, categorized into 35 activity categories in alphabetical order, disaggregated by gender and age group. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total Absolute	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA	Activity Total Absolute	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA
Agriculture	127	45	10	0	22	Making fire	13	3	13	1	2
Art production /Music	29	7	3	1	2	Market Customer	61	58	11	0	7
Bathing	27	4	0	0	0	Nurturing children / sick	0	22	3	1	0
Combat	906	0	6	1	0	Play	4	0	99	0	0
Construction	122	16	14	1	3	Pottery	0	6	7	0	2
Cooking/ Food preparation	9	38	10	1	4	Serving elite	55	11	9	0	1
Crime/ Punishment	14	1	10	0	0	Serving in ritual / Praying	59	29	17	2	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	30	3	0	3	6	Slaughtering	7	3	0	0	2
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	3	27	5	1	2	Sleeping/ Resting	9	1	6	0	4
Eating / Drinking	55	14	12	8	13	Sports	6	0	0	0	0
Gathering food	0	19	22	0	0	Studying(reading, learning, schooling)	2	1	12	0	0
Governing	99	0	0	1	0	Teaching	2	0	0	1	0
Guarding / Rescuing	139	0	0	0	0	Textile production	0	20	2	0	0
Guild/Profession	36	1	2	0	5	Tools production	31	1	3	2	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	21	2	53	2	3	Trading/ Merchant	133	15	3	3	11
Hunting/Fishing	86	1	10	0	12	Traveling	99	18	11	0	7
Leading rituals/ ceremony	17	1	0	7	1	Non-descriptive	349	129	153	18	72
Leather processing	3	12	3	0	1	**Total**	**2553**	**508**	**509**	**54**	**182**

Table 2 through 11 show the top 10 of activities carried out by each gender or age cohort, both in absolute numbers and in percentages, in comparison to other gender/age categories. Interesting to note is the slight difference in outcomes. It is of significance to consider these representations via different calculations, because the numbers or percentages of individuals could cause misrepresentations.

Table 2. Top 10 activities by men in absolute numbers. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total Absolutes	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA
Combat	906	0	6	1	0
Guarding / Rescuing	139	0	0	0	0
Trading/ Merchant	133	15	3	3	11
Agriculture	127	45	10	0	22
Construction	122	16	14	1	3
Governing	99	0	0	1	0
Traveling	99	18	11	0	7
Hunting/Fishing	86	1	10	0	12
Market Customer	61	58	11	0	7
Serving in ritual / Praying	59	29	17	2	0

Table 3. Top 10 activities by men in percentages. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total %	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA
Guarding / Rescuing	100	0	0	0	0
Sports	100	0	0	0	0
Combat	99	0	1	0	0
Governing	99	0	0	1	0
Bathing	87	13	0	0	0
Tools production	84	3	8	5	0
Guild/Profession	81	2	5	0	12
Trading/ Merchant	80	9	2	2	7
Hunting/Fishing	79	1	9	0	11
Construction	78	10	9	1	2

Table 4. Top 10 activities by women in absolute numbers. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total Absolutes	Female	Male	Child	Elder	UA
Market Customer	58	61	11	0	7
Agriculture	45	127	10	0	22
Cooking/ Food preparation	38	9	10	1	4
Serving in ritual / Praying	29	59	17	2	0
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	27	3	5	1	2
Nurturing children / sick	22	0	3	1	0
Textile production	20	0	2	0	0
Gathering food	19	0	22	0	0
Traveling	18	99	11	0	7
Construction	16	122	14	1	3

Table 5. Top 10 activities by women in percentages. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total %	Female	Male	Child	Elder	UA
Textile production	91	0	9	0	0
Nurturing children / sick	85	0	11	4	0
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	71	8	13	3	5
Leather processing	63	16	16	0	5
Cooking/ Food preparation	61	15	16	2	6
Gathering food	46	0	54	0	0
Market customer	42	45	8	0	5
Pottery	40	0	47	0	13
Serving in ritual / Praying	27	55	16	2	0
Slaughtering	25	58	0	0	17

Table 6. Top 10 activities by children in absolute numbers. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total Absolutes	Child	Male	Female	Elder	UA
Play	99	4	0	0	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	53	21	2	2	3
Gathering food	22	0	19	0	0
Serving in ritual / Praying	17	59	29	2	0
Construction	14	122	16	1	3
Making fire	13	13	3	1	2
Eating / Drinking	12	55	14	8	13
Studying(reading, learning, schooling)	12	2	1	0	0
Market Customer	11	61	58	0	7
Traveling	11	99	18	0	7

Table 7. Top 10 activities by children in percentages. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total %	Child	Male	Female	Elder	UA
Play	96	4	0	0	0
Studying (reading, learning, schooling)	80	13	7	0	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	65	26	2	3	4
Gathering food	54	0	46	0	0
Pottery	47	0	40	0	13
Making fire	41	41	9	3	6
Crime/ Punishment	40	56	4	0	0
Sleeping/ Resting	30	45	5	0	20
Serving in ritual / Praying	16	55	27	2	0
Leather processing	16	16	63	0	5

Table 8. Top 10 activities by elderly in absolute numbers*. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total Absolutes	Elder	Male	Female	Child	UA
Eating / Drinking	8	55	14	12	13
Leading rituals/ ceremony	7	17	1	0	1
Trading/ Merchant	3	133	15	3	11
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	3	30	3	0	6
Herding/ Tending to animals	2	21	2	53	3
Serving in ritual / Praying	2	59	29	17	0
Tools production	2	31	1	3	0
Teaching	1	2	0	0	0
Nurturing children / sick	1	0	22	3	0
Making fire	1	13	3	13	2

Table 9. Top 10 activities by elderly in percentages. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total %	Elder	Male	Female	Child	UA
Teaching	33	67	0	0	0
Leading rituals/ ceremony	27	65	4	0	4
Eating / Drinking	8	54	13	12	13
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	7	72	7	0	14
Tools production	5	84	3	8	0
Nurturing children / sick	4	0	85	11	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	3	26	2	65	4
Making fire	3	41	9	41	6
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	3	8	71	13	5
Serving in ritual / Praying	2	55	27	16	0

***There are six more activities that include one elder. Those are art production/music, combat, construction, cooking/food preparation, domestic duties and governing.**

Table 10. Top 10 activities by ungendered adults in absolute numbers. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total Absolutes	UA	Male	Female	Child	Elder
Agriculture	22	127	45	10	0
Eating / Drinking	13	55	14	12	8
Hunting/Fishing	12	86	1	10	0
Trading/ Merchant	11	133	15	3	3
Market Customer	7	61	58	11	0
Traveling	7	99	18	11	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	6	30	3	0	3
Guild/Profession	5	36	1	2	0
Cooking/ Food preparation	4	9	38	10	1
Sleeping/ Resting	4	9	1	6	0

Table 11. Top 10 activities by ungendered adults in percentages. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Total %	UA	Male	Female	Child	Elder
Sleeping/ Resting	20	45	5	30	0
Slaughtering	17	58	25	0	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	14	72	7	0	7
Eating / Drinking	13	54	13	12	8
Pottery	13	0	40	47	0
Guild/Profession	12	81	2	5	0
Hunting/Fishing	11	79	1	9	0
Agriculture	11	62	22	5	0
Trading/ Merchant	7	80	9	2	2
Making fire	6	41	9	41	3

For instance, agricultural activities did not make the top 10 in percentages for women and men, however, in absolute numbers it is the fourth activity for men, and the second most important activity for women. What can be concluded is that agriculture was indeed an important activity, more men than women were illustrated as farmers, but that the number is closer to a more gender equal representation (62% men and 22% women), than for instance the 139 men (100% men) engaging in guarding/rescuing activities. Percentages show a more gender polarized activity, because one demographic group is compared to another, and thus important to identify strongly stereotyped representations. Disaggregating data in this way uncovers not only how many individuals perform certain activities, it also allows us to see who dominates the type of activity.

In the following analyses, I will discuss the archaeological evidence that convey a different narrative. For this, I have intentionally consulted the research of many gender archaeologists who have re-examined existing theories that give more ways to interpret the past.

4.3 *Analysis on archaeological evidence per period: "Jagers en Boeren" period*

Table 12. Number of individuals engaged in activity, by gender and age group, "*Jagers en Boeren*" period. Categories with zero individuals are omitted. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Hunters and Farmers	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA
Agriculture	52	27	8	0	7
Art production /Music	2	1	2	0	0
Combat	6	0	1	0	0
Construction	65	15	14	1	3
Cooking/ Food preparation	0	32	10	0	3
Crime/ Punishment	1	0	0	0	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	0	0	0	1	0
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	0	3	0	1	0
Eating / Drinking	1	0	7	0	7
Gathering food	0	19	22	0	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	7	1	34	1	1
Hunting/Fishing	71	1	10	0	4
Leading rituals/ ceremony	0	0	0	1	0
Leather processing	3	12	3	0	1
Making fire	12	3	13	1	2
Nurturing children / sick	0	6	1	1	0
Play	0	0	27	0	0
Pottery	0	6	7	0	2
Serving elite	0	0	0	0	0
Serving in ritual / Praying	2	2	2	0	0
Slaughtering	6	3	0	0	1
Sleeping/ Resting	1	0	5	0	1
Textile production	0	15	0	0	0
Tools production	27	1	3	0	0
Trading/ Merchant	2	0	0	0	0
Traveling	9	4	3	0	3
Non-descriptive	48	28	63	9	12
Total	**315**	**179**	**235**	**16**	**47**

The hunter-gatherer and Neolithic societies are grouped together as one prehistoric culture, and already the reference to this period (in plural, trying to make it sound gender-neutral) is androcentric. The time period is named after the activity type traditionally associated with

men – hunting and farming on greater scale – devaluing women's contributions to the diet and rendering women invisible. Since more and more scientific research methods enter the field of archaeology, like DNA extraction and stable isotope analysis, we are making new discoveries. Plant microfossils found on stone tools and teeth of Neanderthals and early modern humans provide proof that plant foods played an important role in human diet (Henry 2010). In her dissertation, Henry (2010, 5-6) states that animal bone refuse outlast plant-based refuse, therefore pre-feminist reconstructions based on discard only, explain the focus on meat as a main part of our diet. Similarly, organic tools used to gather food like sticks, traps and bags decompose much faster than stone tools, which makes gathering activities less visible (Zihlman 2013, 26). Considering the dietary intake of contemporary hunter-gatherer societies, an estimated 33% consists of animal protein, and 67% are plants (Milton 2000, 666), even up to 85% by other calculations (Kelly 1995 in Henry 2010, 6). If women and children were responsible for gathering, their caloric contribution to the survival of the human species should not be overlooked. Zihlman (2013, 33) even submits that the overemphasis on meat and hunting is a Western "ethnocentric projection". Indeed, hunting has been narrowed down to killing large game likened to an aristocratic sport-hunting model, whereas hunting small animals and gathering shellfish are classified as gathering, a less prestigious activity requiring little strength (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 2006, 99-100).

Data from the examined history books show the following numbers regarding food procurement and processing in table 12. Only one woman is shown fishing with a man, and only boys are taught how to fish and hunt. No man is recorded gathering food, whereas only women and children are shown gathering plant foods, but no snaring of small game or shellfishing. Food preparation is primarily executed by women and girls.

Considering how much women and children contributed to the Palaeo- and Mesolithic diet, it is curious to see why this time period is called "*Jagers* (Hunters)", which excludes and marginalizes non-male genders.

The fixation on masculine hunting activities that focus on the kill, ignores the range of activities that require a large animal to "become food". Jarvenpa and Brumbach (2006, 104) have observed in the *Chipewyan*, a modern-day hunter-foragers society in Canada, that it requires 15 days to process one adult male moose, involving skilled labor from butchering to

preserving, storing meats and processing the hide, mainly done by women. It is the cooperation between men and women who apply their specialization and experience that allows these foraging communities to thrive, making "conscious choices about how to best allocate their labor in the face of fluctuating resources and changes in the composition of the workforce" (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 2006, 98). It is not that women are *excluded* from hunting. Women can and do hunt (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 2006, 103-104). However, the sexual division of labor is much more complex and nuanced than what Western anthropologists try to project, whereby women's specialized processing and transforming contributions are devalued and ignored. Applying contemporary ethnographic observations to Palaeo/Mesolithic societies must be done with careful consideration. Gender roles might have been different, if they existed at all, but the *Chipewyan* account makes us reconsider the part that actual women, men and children have played.

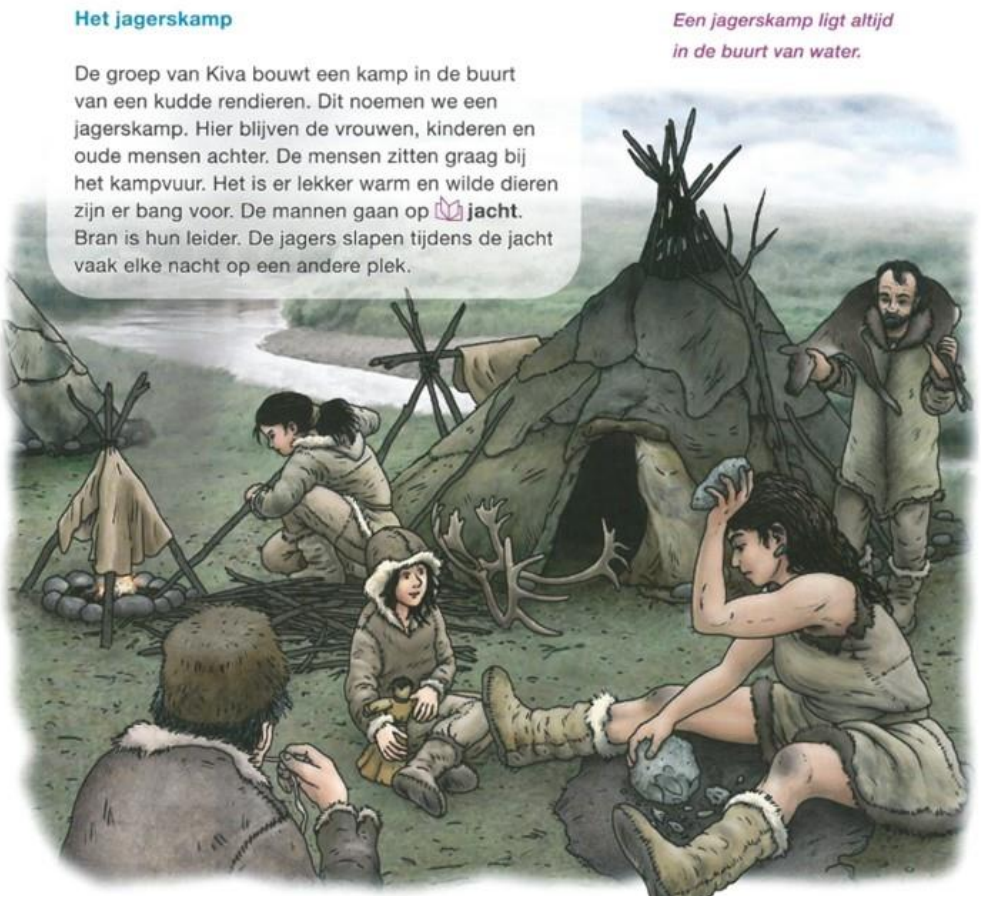

Figure 6. Woman knapping flakes.
Source: De Trek 5 - Het leven als jager, 2007. Tilburg: Zwijsen B.V., 10. Illustration: Wim Euverman.

A study by Dyble *et al.* (2015) conducted in mobile hunter-gatherer tribes in the Philippines and Congo reveals the large proportion of non-related individuals within a camp, and that the low "within-camp relatedness" is linked to gender equality advantageous to survival. Both women and men have an equal say in camp composition, are monogamous, both equally responsible for gathering or hunting food, whereby cooperation and alliances between unrelated males are what separated hominids from chimpanzees (Dyble *et al.* 2015, 797-798). The possibility of women and men *choosing* their roles within a community opens up new ways of thinking about gender-based categorizations. Women were not assigned to tasks because of their biology, nor do women occupy one space separated from men. It is contingent that individuals depended on each other for their survival and cooperation, not oppression, was the preferred norm.

Let us consider another technology that is essential for the survival of hunter-gatherers: manufacturing tools. In the "*hunter-farmer*" period, we see a total of 27 men, 3 boys, and one woman producing tools (table 12). The image of this one woman is very important, as she is knapping flakes from a big core, probably to continue processing the hide she is sitting on (figure 7). Oftentimes, the production of stone tools is associated with and attributed to men, as is also the case in this schoolbooks. But the term "tool" needs to be explained further. According to Gero, when speaking of the term "tool" what often comes to mind is the "elaborate and retouched" final product in the tool-making sequence (1991, 165). However, any type of utilized flake is a tool, as long as it shows signs of use and wear (Gero 1991, 165). As Gero aptly theorizes, it is highly unlikely that women "sat and waited" around for men to produce tools for them, or even borrow flakes from men as women carried out their tasks (1991, 170). The image of the woman crafting stone is therefore refreshing in a highly androcentric "Man-the-Toolmaker" narrative (Gero 1991, 164-167).

Indeed, lithic studies as an archaeological sub-discipline is still male dominated, especially in North America (Finlay 2013, 147-149) where male archaeologists reproduce elaborate tools and experiment with them on real animal flesh, "rugged men doing primal things" (Gero 1991, 167). Manufacturing stone tools requires a certain amount of technique, and the more retouched and formalized the tools are, the more skilled the person was. But that does not make tool production a male-only activity type. Archaeological evidence from a Mesolithic site in Scotland, where the presence of low quality flakes was found in

combination with technically complex blades, indicate toolmakers with different abilities (Finlay 1997, 203). It is very likely that children had access to lithic technology, and not only boys (Finlay 1997, 208). Ultimately, finding women and children in lithic analysis is but one way to critically examine the masculine paradigm. Finlay (2013, 157-158) proposes an inclusive approach to interpreting assemblages: i.e. offer more than one way of reading evidence, that does not exclude certain genders or demographics, or, acknowledge the dynamic process of tool formation that goes through many knapping hands under different circumstances, age, identity or status.

In a groundbreaking study by Snow (2013) on the sexual dimorphism of handprints in Upper Palaeolithic caves in France and Spain, Snow measured the length of the index, ring and little fingers – longer ring and auricular fingers belonged to male artists, equal lengths of both index and ring fingers were female hands – and concluded that not men, but about 75% of women were responsible for Southern European parietal art. Before the appearance of Snow's article, it was widely assumed that men were the creators, because the cave paintings depicted hunting scenes, traditionally associated with men. Also, another implicit bias is that women are linked to nature, while men are connected to culture. This indirectly means that art is a masculine domain (as is reflected in this study for later periods; see tables 13-15). Some hand stencils that were smaller were ascribed to adolescent men, based on untested assumptions (Snow 2013, 746), simply because it was inconceivable for women to have made these drawings. In this study, I have counted parietal art under the name of "Art production/Music", and recorded two men and two small children making cave drawings or hand prints (table 12). The only woman making art was manufacturing a beaded necklace or string in the early Neolithic "*boeren*" period. The schoolbooks have followed the popular narrative by excluding women from the production of cave art. Of course, not all caves contain hand stencils, and other types of art could have been drawn by men. However, in the worst case, the hypothesis of caves being ritually gendered spaces secluded from women has been rebutted by Snow's solid study, and more research will be conducted about the gender of these female hands: cross-examinations will be made with other cave sites around the globe, and measurements of digits can be applied to other human and material remains. In the best case, I expect to find more nuanced representations of cave paintings in schoolbooks in the coming decade that portray women as producers of cave art.

The data in schoolbooks (table 12) include a few men in leatherworking, which is usually regarded as a woman's chore. More men are associated with slaughtering, but women are counted as well. Some books only show men constructing tents, but other books show both men and women cooperating. It seems some history books are trying to avoid gender polarization in activities that could be carried out by either genders, a positive development that breaks with the rigid gender roles.

With the advent of agriculture, it is believed that the balance of the gender equality scale tipped over negatively for women. An increase in food production meant an increase in population, and women's roles were essentialized to bearing babies and doing drudging housework (Peterson 2006, 539), even described by Hansen *et al.* (2015, 400) as "less female labor force participation". Heritable accumulations of wealth and resources further strengthened gender inequality by improving the statuses of men (Dyble *et al.* 2015, 798).

Applying the lenses of gender (Bem 1993) of androcentrism, biological essentialism and gender polarization, what do other archaeologists in different fields tell us about the gender relations in the Neolithic? First, while the consensus is that with the introduction of the plough, women's status declines as centralization increases, the generalizations made by Hansen *et al.* (2015, 400) on the unilineal development of female oppression due to the rise of patriarchy since the Neolithic Revolution, and the devaluation of women's social, economic and technological contributions is problematic. From the time that women and children gathered plant foods and small animals, they conveyed a wealth of botanical knowledge onto subsequent generations about which plants were poisonous, which herbs were medicinal or when and where edible plants and fruits could be harvested (Watson and Kennedy 1991, 268). Although their research spans the Eastern US from 7000 BP to 2000 BP, Watson and Kennedy (1991) concluded that horticulture of crops was a deliberate development that did not happen by chance or neglect. In the grand scheme of human evolution, when talking about agriculture, we learn about how "plants virtually domesticate themselves" (Watson and Kennedy 1991, 262), but do not see how actual people (read women), could have been responsible for this innovation.

Secondly, the binary sexual division of tasks is debatable, because there is little archaeological data that points to this model (Peterson 2016, 139). It is very likely that

modern gender ideologies have been imprinted on the past, again. As Peterson eloquently explains:

> *"[I]t remains all too common for archaeologists to constitute activity as monolithic chunks to be assigned either "male" or "female" columns. Inevitably, these same accounts "snowball" into formulaic reconstructions of labor, social relationships, and power structures."*
>
> – Jane D. Peterson (2006, 540)

Like the hunting study of Jarvenpa and Brumbach (2006) above illustrates, farming is a more complex process including many responsibilities. Referring to "farming" as one activity "often masks dual participation, complementarity, and interdigitation of men's and women's lives" (Peterson 2006, 540). Moreover, harvesting of cereals could only be done during a short period during the year, and it is likely that the whole community, young and old, had to cooperate (Crabtree 2006, 579). The implied special status for men is not apparent from grave goods in the case of Europe, meaning that both men and women were "socially valued" (Peterson 2006, 540). Osteological research points to a musculature change in men, due to a change in labor patterns from hunting to farming, sharing similarities with women's bodies (Peterson 2016, 135). Therefore, Peterson (2016, 138-139) suggests that men and women shared the physically demanding activities connected to farming. In all, the inference of Hansen *et al.* (2014, 400) that women participated less, dismisses half the population as inactive, narrowing down their activities to reproduction as opposed to production. The meaning of labor in their statement seems too constricting and devoid of archaeologically supported evidence.

Crabtree (2006) confirms similar models based on women's and children's participation of pastoralism. She agrees that there is little evidence that strict sexual divisions of labor are attributed to boys and girls, or men and women in agropastoral production (Crabtree 2006, 584). Historical sources of Europe in the Middle Ages provide evidence that women played an important part in the domestication and dairying of animals, and that adolescents – both young men and young women – were the main drivers of transhumant pastoralism, up until the potato famine in Ireland (Crabtree 2006, 584-585).

Thirdly, as for women's and men's separate spaces, Peterson (2016, 138) concludes that while Neolithic structures in the Levant were compartmentalized and women's activities

often took place inside these walls, interior spaces were actually mixed gender spaces, because of the coincidences of stone and woodworking tools associated with grinding tools.

As the pictures in the history books show in table 12, the category “Herding and tending to animals” is mainly populated by children. Due credit is given to children’s labor participation in early pastoral and farming societies. Women’s roles in obtaining secondary animal products such as wool and milk, however, leans completely towards the textile type, similar to leather processing in the previous hunter-gatherer period. “Women make clothing” is the message school children are receiving. It would be unlikely that wool radically altered women’s tasks, not only because working hides and weaving linen textiles have been part of the traditional task associated with women since the Palaeolithic, but because historic records show that women were equally busy milking livestock and spinning wool (Crabtree 2006, 584), therefore, it would be more realistic if less images of women spinning are depicted, and more of women milking goats or making cheese.

Figure 7. Two girls herding animals.
Source: Tijdzaken Werkboek Groep 5, 2013. Tilburg: Zwijsen B.V., 5.
Illustration: Wim Euverman.

No man is recorded making pottery in the books that were analyzed, only women and girls are associated with making pots and jars, another gender stereotype rooted in normative modern Western gender ideology. Bolger (2013b, 175) calls for a re-evaluation of existing models based on ethnographic evidence that determine pottery to be a woman only activity, and a need for new models from within the archaeological discipline, since there is more evidence from a wide range of sources pointing to more complex processes whereby pottery is produced by more than one person. The pictures in the book show examples of

women teaching pottery technology to their daughters in a playful way, indicating that the artists must have been aware of the involvement of children. However, at some point in time, men are attributed with pottery after the invention of the pottery wheel, so they must have been involved somehow in the production process (Bolger 2013b, 174). Clay was also used to make molds within the metalworking process, so it would seem obvious that men had access to clay technology (Sørensen 1996, in Whitehouse 2006, 750), and that makes a strictly gendered division of labor not very likely.

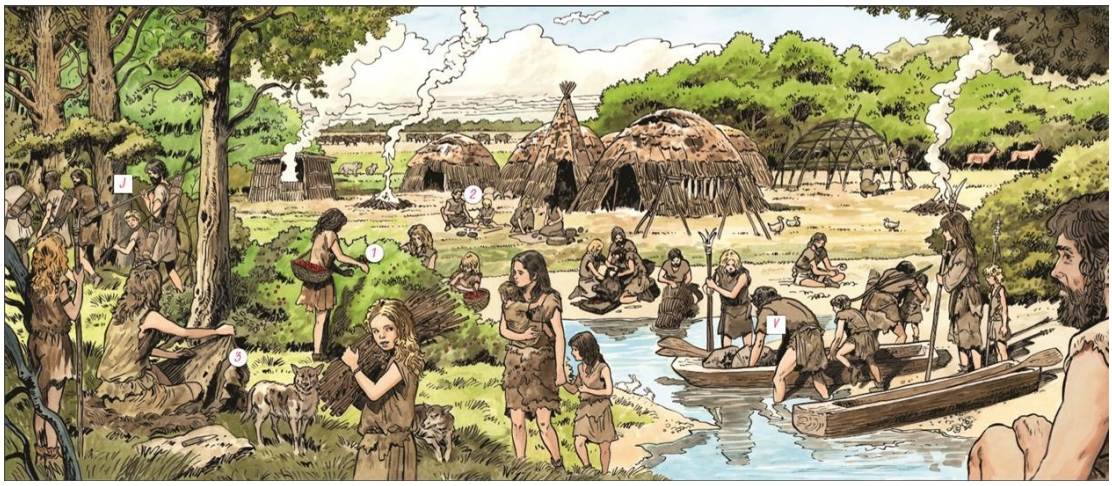

Figure 8. A hunter-gatherer village scene, with on the right side of the illustration, a man going off to fish or hunt, showing emotion by hugging his child.
Source: Wijzer! Geschiedenis Groep 5, 2014. Groningen: Noordhoff Uitgevers, 5. Illustration: Peter Nuyten.

In the school books, 27 women are hoeing fields, harvesting crops and threshing cereals. Twice as many men (52 individuals), 7 ungendered adults and 8 children are also participating in variances of early agriculture. Plows are operated by men demonstrating their physical strength, and are seen sowing seeds, unfortunately glossing over the innovative contribution women probably have made to agriculture. Both figure 3 in chapter 4.2, and table 12 outline that most women are represented within the "*Jagers en Boeren*" period, and we shall see in subsequent periods how agriculture will be completely taken over by men. Although men still outnumber women in this period, women are depicted as doing more different types of tasks. Unfortunately, they remain stereotypical, and polarized, with little overlap of activities that were probably shared by both men and women. A rare sight is the emotionally engaged father saying goodbye to his son, when going off to hunt or fish (see figure 8).

4.4 *"Grieken en Romeinen" period*

Of all four periods that were investigated in this study, the classical period is the most heavily male populated, the pictures showing 1202 (84%) men (figure 3). For the most part, the men in the pictures are depicted as soldiers in combat, in training or on guard. While the naming of the period includes the Greek era, for the history of the Netherlands, the Roman empire was the most influential, having a lasting impact on the local culture. The *Limes Germanicus*, the northwestern frontier of the Roman empire, stretched along the Lower Rhine. Many Roman forts, towns and settlements were erected in the southern half of the Netherlands along the river branches, having left behind many archaeological findings. The northern side of the *limes* was populated by Germanic tribes, but they too were heavily influenced by Roman culture through exchange. It is understandable why Dutch history books mark this as an important mile stone, however, with an overrepresentation of over 80% soldiers (table 13), it erases the lives of many others who lived in the Netherlands.

Notable is the poor representation of the local tribes like the Batavii, Frisii, Cananefates and Tubantes, regarded principally in relation to the Romans as trade partners, or as barbaric and uncivilized people, which "otherizes" our own Dutch ancestors. They are often portrayed as violent warriors in combat with Roman centurions. Very little is shown about the lives of the women, children and elderly of these tribes, their beliefs and material culture.

Table 13. Number of individuals engaged in activity, by gender and age group, "*Grieken en Romeinen*" period. Categories with zero individuals are omitted. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Classics	Male	Female	Child	Elder	NA
Agriculture	17	4	1	0	10
Art production /Music	5	1	0	0	0
Bathing	27	4	0	0	0
Combat	723	0	1	1	0
Construction	11	0	0	0	0
Cooking/ Food preparation	7	3	0	0	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	2	1	0	0	1
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	1	5	0	0	1
Eating / Drinking	23	10	4	7	6
Governing	14	0	0	0	0
Guarding / Rescuing	62	0	0	0	0
Guild/Profession	2	0	0	0	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	9	0	3	0	0
Hunting/Fishing	2	0	0	0	8
Leading rituals/ ceremony	3	0	0	1	1
Market Customer	36	15	6	0	2
Nurturing children / sick	0	3	0	0	0
Play	2	0	13	0	0
Serving elite	15	4	1	0	1
Serving in ritual / Praying	23	9	10	0	0
Slaughtering	0	0	0	0	1
Sleeping/ Resting	8	1	0	0	0
Sports	6	0	0	0	0
Studying(reading, learning, schooling)	0	0	2	0	0
Teaching	1	0	0	0	0
Tools production	3	0	0	0	0
Trading/ Merchant	82	1	1	0	6
Traveling	10	2	4	0	2
Non-descriptive	108	25	22	3	25
Total	**1202**	**88**	**68**	**12**	**64**

Similarly, not much is told about the lives of women or families of the Romans who settled in the towns after the occupation. The reason for the androcentric bias is that much of what we know about the Romans is derived from classical texts; men's accounts written by men, from a male perspective, based on male experiences and male behavior, referencing to men's public activities (Frigo 2015, 53; Spencer-Wood 2007, 268). In the history books that form the basis of this study, the focus is clearly on the military expansion of the Roman empire, with 723 individuals shown in reconstructions about war, and 62 are seen guarding (see table 13). The actual number of soldiers is even greater, because they are also recorded as doing non-stereotypical chores like cooking, cleaning, tending to animals, and buying or trading products at the market, and have been categorized as such. Men are portrayed doing more and different types of activities, a total of 25, whereas women who are not only small in numbers, are shown doing 14 types of activities. Children carry out 11 types of activities, and mainly older men carry out 3 activities.

The freedom of women in the Roman age was restricted, to which table 13 indeed provides an overview of the limited activities women engaged in. Historically, the submission of women is attributed to the Greek philosopher Aristotle's patriarchal gender ideology (Spencer-Wood 2007, 281). However, feminist critique elucidates that this ideology is merely a descriptive ideal of Classical women, not actual gender practices (Spencer-Wood 2007, 271). Spencer-Wood (2007, 281) explains that the misogynist ideology influenced nineteenth century Western thinkers to justify biological determinism of women's assumed inferiority, and projecting this theory on their contemporary society, even influencing later scholars to maintain the status quo. It is claimed that Roman women were of subordinate status (Frigo 2015, 54), or at least male dominance was apparent from ancient legal texts (Meyers, 2014, 10). However, just because women and minorities were oppressed by an abstract patriarchal concept, does not mean their lives and activities did not have actual social value, or that they did not contribute to society. Spencer-Wood (2007, 281) speaks of other concurrent gender ideologies – like the Socratic school – portraying a more equal role for women. We can catch a glimpse of a few of those activities that are marginally portrayed in the schoolbooks, but worth elaborating on other functions women had.

In table 13, there are 15 women seen as market customers, buying foods or household items from either Roman merchants or tribesmen, but just one being a merchant. One

woman is counted as a performer of arts (dancer), and 10 women are seen feasting and drinking. 4 women are slaves, serving the elite, as opposed to 15 male slaves. Two boys are getting an education from a male teacher, while their sister is prohibited from learning. Finally, a few Germanic tribeswomen and children are categorized as non-descriptive, but they were cheering on men who went into combat with Roman soldiers.

Much more can and should be done to make women visible, because women were "woven vividly into every inch of the cultural cloth" (Knapp 2011, 95). Women are known to have held "jobs", like doctors and midwives, sex workers, hairdressers, acrobats and dancers, weavers, farmers, metal workers and merchants (Frigo 2015, 56; Knapp 2011, 87-90; Spencer-Wood 2007, 277). The most notable public job a woman held, and not registered in the schoolbooks, is that of the *praefica*, public mourners who lament the dead (Richlin 2014, 267-288; Spencer-Wood 2007, 274). Only 9 women are counted in the books as participating in a ritual ceremony, but they were praying to a deity in front of a household altar. If bathing in public and socializing in public latrines is a custom amusing enough to mention in children's history books, then so is the job of *praefica*.

The fixation on Roman *limes* and the focus on elite practices is apparent from the images shown in the sample books. Hardly any elder individuals are portrayed, women and children have minimal activities compared to the 723 men shown in combat. Brown (1993, 725-726) explains that classical archaeology has its roots in the Renaissance, of elite collectors hunting for treasures of ancient civilizations described in Greek and Roman historic texts, a "certain classes of men", that have excluded women from both participation and the historical canon. This explains the androcentrism that marks historic archaeology. By becoming aware of the male filter of history, it is up to archaeologists to apply a gender lens to the material record. Women, children, slaves and foreigners have been part of Roman society, and they have left traces of their existence in the ground. The reliance on androcentric historical texts does not do the full representation of women and other minorities any justice and gives an incomplete picture of the past, misinforming today's children. By becoming aware of the structures behind gender stereotyping, we can ask the right questions and see women as full participants of Roman society, more so when other intersectional dimensions are applied.

4.5 *"Monniken en Ridders" & "Steden en Staten" periods*

Table 14. Number of individuals engaged in activity, by gender and age group, "*Monniken en Ridders*" period. Categories with zero individuals are omitted. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Monks and Knights	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA
Agriculture	54	13	1	0	5
Art production /Music	7	5	1	0	0
Combat	165	0	4	0	0
Construction	16	1	0	0	0
Cooking/ Food preparation	2	1	0	1	1
Crime/ Punishment	5	1	0	0	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	17	1	0	0	0
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	1	2	1	0	0
Eating / Drinking	26	3	0	1	0
Governing	53	0	0	1	0
Guarding / Rescuing	43	0	0	0	0
Herding/ Tending to animals	5	1	14	1	2
Hunting/Fishing	13	0	0	0	0
Leading rituals/ ceremony	13	1	0	5	0
Making fire	1	0	0	0	0
Market Customer	2	1	0	0	0
Nurturing children / sick	0	9	2	0	0
Play	0	0	38	0	0
Serving elite	38	6	6	0	0
Serving in ritual / Praying	32	18	5	2	0
Slaughtering	1	0	0	0	0
Sleeping/ Resting	0	0	1	0	0
Studying(reading, learning, schooling)	2	1	10	0	0
Teaching	1	0	0	1	0
Textile production	0	4	2	0	0
Tools production	1	0	0	2	0
Trading/ Merchant	5	1	0	0	0
Traveling	69	11	4	0	2
Non-descriptive	125	45	41	3	16
Total	**697**	**125**	**130**	**17**	**26**

Table 15. Number of individuals engaged in activity, by gender and age group, "*Steden en Staten*" period. Categories with zero individuals are omitted. "UA" means "ungendered adult".

Activity Cities and States	Male	Female	Child	Elder	UA
Agriculture	4	1	0	0	0
Art production /Music	15	0	0	1	2
Combat	12	0	0	0	0
Construction	30	0	0	0	0
Cooking/ Food preparation	0	2	0	0	0
Crime/ Punishment	8	0	10	0	0
Diseased/ Beggar/ Dead	11	1	0	2	5
Domestic duties (i.e. cleaning)	1	17	4	0	1
Eating / Drinking	5	1	1	0	0
Governing	32	0	0	0	0
Guarding / Rescuing	34	0	0	0	0
Guild/Profession	34	1	2	0	5
Herding/ Tending to animals	0	0	2	0	0
Leading rituals/ ceremony	1	0	0	0	0
Market Customer	23	42	5	0	5
Nurturing children / sick	0	4	0	0	0
Play	2	0	21	0	0
Serving elite	2	1	2	0	0
Serving in ritual / Praying	2	0	0	0	0
Sleeping/ Resting	0	0	0	0	3
Textile production	0	1	0	0	0
Trading/ Merchant	44	13	2	3	5
Traveling	11	1	0	0	0
Non-descriptive	68	31	27	3	19
Total	**339**	**116**	**76**	**9**	**45**

I have decided to combine the early and late Middle Ages, because developments within Christianity for women's opportunities spans multiple centuries. Also, the non-elite and working classes of both the early and late Medieval have contributed to the rise of serfdoms and cities, a development that is interesting when seen from a broader perspective.

> *"The disruption of well-known categories and paradigms ultimately included the topic that had long been considered the proper focus of all history – man. Viewing the male experience as universal had not only hidden women's history, it had also prevented analyzing men's experiences as those of men."*
>
> – Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (2008, 3)

What rings true about the quote above, is the selection of the two words "*Monniken en Ridders*" (Monks and Knights) to name the early Medieval period in the Netherlands. It systematically renders women invisible, and reduces men to just two categories, studious monks responsible for the dissemination and conservation of Christianity, and the valorous knights whose prowess has protected farmers and serfs from evil villains. The name also implies that the lives of the non-elite is not worth studying. They are mentioned and depicted, yet, while constituting the majority of the population, they are viewed as secondary citizens. This is reflected in table 14. Most men are depicted in the categories "combat", "guarding/rescuing" and "governing", all related to the elite activities of that time. However, the category "serving elite" could either mean a knight or a serf in the service of a feudal lord. Then there are the farmers, represented by 54 men and 13 women, followed by monks who either lead or served in rituals. Notable is the representation of older men leading ceremonies.

Striking is the representation of nuns and lay-women in a few schoolbooks, categorized as "serving in ritual/praying" in table 14. With 18 individuals, this activity is the largest for women. What is less well known is the important part wealthy and educated women played as matrons of Christianity. Early fifth century's Paula and Eustochium, mother and daughter of Roman nobility not only sponsored the production of the *Vulgate*, attributed to Jerome, they probably authored portions of the Latin bible since they were both proficient translators (Diem 2013, 434).

Women of nobility continued to be barred from education, and isolated within castles and convents. However, women ruled within those confines (Berman 2013, 546-547). Men were recruited to fight in crusades (hence the remaining high number of men depicted in combat in table 14), and women had the agency and creativity to reign over their castles in the

absence of men. Unfortunately, the only creativity attributed to women in the schoolbooks is that of textile production, like weaving and embroidery.

Apart from play, the child students in table 14 are mainly pages, moving up to squires to eventually enter knighthood. In most books, only men's activities and career opportunities were elaborated upon, however, in one rare occasion, two girls – one of nobility, the other a commoner, were depicted. The daughter of a knight was taught to read and write, and it was expected of her to manage the household. The farmer's daughter learned to cook and tend to animals.

By the turn of the first millennium, the population grew, but women remained active, not just as nurturers. Through advances in technology like water mills, rural women, depending on their location, began producing textiles, wools, salt and foodstuff that boosted medieval economy (Berman 2013, 550-551), something that is omitted from the children's books. In table 15, we see more women as market customers (shopaholics?) than merchants, with domestic duties as a second activity.

Figure 9. "People in the City". Children must match the right profession with the correct image, the merchant, the craftsman and the farmer. However, the people in the city are all men. Source: Brandaan Antwoordenboek Groep 5, 2008. Den Bosch: Malmberg, 58. Illustration: Ronald Heuninck.

Men are afforded to work in guilds as blacksmiths or shoemakers, even taking over textile production as tailors. New job types appear like musicians and acrobats, or the occasional jester. Sick men are nurtured by women or nuns, rarely by monks. Children are seen playing or stealing apples, mostly boys stereotyped as rascals, while girls are docilely following their mothers around the market.

Regardless of the increased participation in social and economic life, the schoolbooks continue to paint a limited portrayal of women, while they were capable of sustaining an economy through advanced technological skills, rule their domain, or preserve and carry out religious activities.

5. Conclusions

My research question was to examine the presence of gender bias in children's history books, to see how men and women are portrayed, and if the images convey outmoded gender-stereotypes to the child audience. While improvements have been made, I believe children are still explicitly and implicitly exposed to gender bias and androcentrism.

The outcome is that men overwhelmingly outnumber women, children and the elderly. Not only are they overrepresented, in general they are also assigned more varied, active and public roles. Women and children are underrepresented, even more so for elderly individuals. Considering the manner in which the figures are depicted, a few individuals (i.e. fig. 6 and 8) challenged stereotypes, but the majority of illustrative reconstructions reinforced Western gender ideology fixed on androcentrism, biological essentialism and gender polarization. Furthermore, names of periods are male biased, with an apparent androcentric focus on historic events. Women are confined to activities that stress their "natural" inclination for nurturing, cooking, weaving and shopping.

On the contrary, the archaeological evidence discussed in this study does show that the roles of men and women have been more varied than is depicted. Sometimes, there was no rigid division of labor, and both women and men inhabited the same space. The search for women in public spaces doing "masculine" things is one aspect of feminist theory in archaeology, but the same quest for men occupying the household, doing "feminine" activities is still an area needing much research. I find it improbable that men did not enter households or were not affectionate towards their children. As many schoolbooks have done, to gender stone tools as "male" artefacts and pots as "female" objects is not only a normative assumption based on outdated gender ideas, it overlooks alternate gender dynamics and "distorts the complex behaviors and technologies" (Brumbach and Jarvenpa 2006, 524-525), making bad archaeology.

I have also outlined the structural problems that current women archaeologists face. The inequity of women in archaeology finds its reverberations in academic scholarship, affecting the interpretation of data, further contributing to the prescriptive dialectic of man and woman and their gendered activities. In this sense, the "Second Wave concerns remain relevant" (Geller 2009, 69), since there is a need for feminist archaeologists who challenge

male bias within their own ranks. Still, after three decades of cumulating research on gender, it seems that feminist perspectives have had little impact, at least in most of the schoolbooks I have examined. I have highlighted a few positive developments, but the numbers do not lie.

Human history spans millennia, and most stories do not make the selection. Yet, the selection that is made privileges male associated activities, such as hunting, violence, power and monumental construction, devaluing women's socio-economic contributions. Not so subtle messages are communicated, that contribute to and strengthen the existing framework of male superiority, reinforcing contemporary gender bias that have been superimposed onto the past. The danger of transplanting static gender arrangements onto reconstructions lies in the naturalization of present Western gender ideology, as if patriarchy is universal and transhistorical. Children are absorbing these messages.

Consequently, the archaeological academia must become bias-free. Our thoughts about our past start to form the moment we are exposed to history in school, through books or at museums. The images we see and the stories we hear and read, inform our ideas of how our ancestors lived, and we derive our identities from them. If archaeologists are committed to give accurate representations of human behavior, then a thorough understanding of gender is essential when interpreting evidence. Gender does not mean introducing an equal quota of women and men. That would mean an unrealistic rewriting of history. However, it does mean recognizing different gender relations within the past, making women visible not as a homogenous group, but exploring gender in addition to other social aspects like class, age, language or ethnicity. Instead of gender-stereotypical portrayals, an effort can be made to have images that are "gender-challenging" (Sørensen 2013, 408), that tell a different story, based on alternative interpretations of the same archaeological evidence. This makes archaeological theory rich, reflexive and robust.

I further suggest closer consultations between archaeologists and different stakeholders. They must be inspired by intersectional feminism, and empower those who seek to learn about the past. Archaeology is usually not accessible to non-archaeologists, but it is up to us to provide better and relevant information and cooperate with educators, teachers, publishers and artists. We must strive to be gender-inclusive, not just gender-neutral if we want to avoid androcentrism. It starts with our own education system.

I hope that this paper will motivate a multi-disciplinary vigilance and dialogue on gender and encourage more complete historic representations of past peoples, leading to better archaeological science which informs future scientists, the Dutch children.

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List of Figures

List of Tables

Appendix

Appendix 1. The nine history books examined in this study, with title, publisher, year of publication, sources of images, target group.

Title	Publisher	Year	Sources	Target group
Argus-Clou Geschiedenis	Malmberg	2012	Leerlingenboek en Werkboek	Groep 5
Brandaan	Malmberg	2008	Leerlingenboek en Werkboek	Groep 5
Bij de Tijd	Malmberg	2007	Leerlingenboek	Groep 5
Eigentijds	Blink	2013	Leerlingenboek, Werkboek, Digibord	Groep 5
De Trek	Zwijsen	2007	Leerlingenboeken en Werkboeken	Groep 5
Tijdzaken	Zwijsen	2013	Werkboek	Groep 5
Venster op Nederland	Groen Educatief	2013	Leerlingenboek en Werkboek	Groep 5
Speurtocht	ThiemeMeulenhoff	2011	Leerlingenboek en Werkboek	Groep 5
Wijzer! Geschiedenis	Noordhoff Uitgevers	2014	Werkboek	Groep 5

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