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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**PRESENTATION OF FEMALES AND MALES IN AN ENGLISH TEXTBOOK
SERIES FOR FINNISH UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

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ENGLANNIN KIELEN LAITOS

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PRESENTATION OF FEMALES AND MALES
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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää miesten ja naisten näkyvyyttä ja kuvausta eräässä Suomen lukioissa laajalti käytössä olevassa englannin kielen oppikirjasarjassa. Lähtökohtana tutkimukselle on oppikirjojen ja niissä esiintyvien sukupuolistereotyyppien osuus sukupuoliroolien oppimisessa. Materiaali koostuu kirjasarjan kuvista ja teksteistä, ja se analysoidaan kvantitatiivisin ja kvalitatiivisin metodein, joista jälkimmäinen on pääosin deskriptiivistä.

Sekä kuvien että tekstien analyysissä laskettiin ensin niissä esiintyvien miespuolisten ja naispuolisten henkilöiden ja muiden yksilönä identifioitavissa olevien hahmojen määrä. Kuva-analyysissä kaikki henkilöhahmot luokiteltiin lisäksi aktiviteettien perusteella, ja tekstianalyysissä kunkin henkilöhahmon rooli tekstissä määriteltiin.

Kirjasarjan kuvissa ja teksteissä esiintyy huomattavasti enemmän miespuolisia kuin naispuolisia henkilöitä. Sekä kuvissa että teksteissä maskuliiniset henkilöhahmot esitetään monipuolisemmissa aktiviteeteissa kuin feminiiniset. Miehillä on myös enemmän erilaisia ammattirooleja kuin naisilla. Molempia sukupuolia kuvataan perinteisissä ammattirooleissa, mutta vain naisia esitetään joissakin ei-perinteisissä ammateissa. Kirjasarjassa esiintyy toistuvasti yksittäistapauksia, joissa naisia tuodaan esiin huvittavassa valossa. Perherooleissa miesten ja naisten kuvauksessa ei ole suuria eroja, vaikkakin miesten yleisen ylläpidon huomioonottaen miesten ja naisten yhtäläinen määrä perherooleissa voidaan tulkita myös miesten aliedustukseksi tässä roolissa.

Koska miesten ja naisten kuvaus tutkitussa kirjasarjassa sisältää useita stereotyyppisiä elementtejä, jotka saattaavat vaikuttaa negatiivisesti lukijan käsityksiin sukupuolirooleista, olisi aiheellista tehdä opettajia tietoisiksi stereotyyppien olemassaolon mahdollisuudesta opetusmateriaaleissa.

Asiasanat: sex stereotypes. development of sex roles. socialisation. portrayal/presentation of males and females. textbooks.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In 1967 Unesco (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) started a long-term programme the aim of which was to promote equal opportunities for women and men in education and training (French member organizations of the World Federation of Teacher's Unions 1983:2). In 1981 as a part of the programme Unesco started a project in which the presentation of women and men in children's literature and school textbooks was studied (French member organizations of the World Federation of Teacher's Unions 1983:3). With the project Unesco aimed at removing sex stereotypes from children's literature and school textbooks, and at promoting both equal status between the sexes and attitudes that encourage the equality (Bjerke et al. 1982:172). Many countries and organizations participated in the project at the request of Unesco, for example, Norway, Peru and The World Federation of Teachers' Unions (Bjerke et al 1982:1, Michel 1986:preface). The methods used and the findings made in these studies were compiled into one book by Andrée Michel in 1986.

The aim of the present study is to examine about thirty years after Unesco initially launched its long-term programme how females and males are presented in *Passwords*, which is an English textbook series for Finnish upper-secondary schools. An upper-secondary school English textbook series was chosen as the subject of the study because the presentation of females and males in upper-secondary school textbooks has not to the present author's knowledge been studied earlier. Earlier studies have concentrated on children's literature and school textbooks for primary school and lower-secondary school level. This is also the reason why the review of earlier studies, which forms a part of the background section, deals mainly with children's literature and primary school textbooks.

Illustrations and texts in the *Passwords* textbook series will be

studied separately with the help of a combination of a quantitative and qualitative analysis which is, to a great extent, descriptive. The methods of analysis for the illustrations and texts will be introduced in detail in chapters 7.2 and 7.3.

The theoretical background begins with an introduction of the concept of *sex stereotypes* and a number related terms, such as *sex differences*, *sex*, *gender* and *sexism* that are linked with the processes of sex role development. Second, the development of sex roles is discussed with the help of the different theories. The emphasis will be on *cognitive developmental theory* and *social learning theory*. The latter provides an explanatory model which includes the concepts of *socialisation* and *socialising agents* that are essential for the understanding of the part played by school textbooks in sex role development. Although parents' role in the development of sex roles does not directly belong to the sphere of the present study, their role in the processes is discussed at length as a part of the introduction of social learning theory because parents have been found to influence the early stages of sex role development in a number of ways.

The child's early contacts with the surrounding world are made through children's books and television programmes. Hence the way in which sex roles are presented in these two media has an effect on the way in which a child will come to look at the roles of females and males. As many of earlier studies on the presentation of males and females in books have concentrated on children's literature, the findings made in these studies create an essential part of the starting point for the present study.

Finally, the part played by school and the hidden curriculum in sex role development is examined. The focus will then be shifted on school textbooks. First, the relation between school textbooks and sex stereotypes is dealt with and it is followed by a review of earlier studies on the presentation of females and males in school textbooks. Some of the studies that were conducted at the request of Unesco are included in the review.

2 SEX STEREOTYPES

Sex differences in social behaviour and intellectual abilities have been studied on several occasions by a great number of scholars. The studies have focused, for example, on aggression, influenceability, dominance, verbal performance, learning and memory, quantitative performance, visual-spatial performance and creativity (Lips 1988:83-89, 124-128). The actual and undisputed differences found between the sexes are few. According to Mischel (1971:361, 386) sex differences in social behaviour have been most consistently reported to occur in aggression; males are more likely to perform aggressive behaviour than females. As regards intellectual abilities, females seem to perform slightly better than males in verbal ability, and there is also evidence that males tend to outperform females in visual-spatial tasks (Lips 1988:124, 126-127, see also Mischel 1971:361-362). Even though these differences have been consistently reported, their significance ought not to be overrated because they tend to be small in size. Moreover, the behaviour of an individual is likely to vary from one situation to another. (Mischel 1971:362.)

Although the undisputed personality differences between the sexes are few and small, there are a great number of commonly held beliefs about how men and women differ from each other. These beliefs about sex differences are called *sex stereotypes*. To be more precise, sex stereotypes are manifestations of attitudes and expectations about what kind of behaviour, characteristics and other qualities are regarded as appropriate for females and males (Palmu 1992:302, Suoninen 1995:15).

At this point, it is necessary to specify the distinction between the two essential terms *sex* and *gender*. According to Lips (1988:3, see also Delamont 1980:5) the term *sex* refers to the biological aspects of females and males; femaleness and maleness. *Gender* is used in connection with the non-biological, ie. cultural and social, aspects of sex; masculinity and femininity. Hence the term *sex*

stereotype is incorrect and should be substituted with *gender stereotype* as done, for example, by Lips (1988) and Archer and Lloyd (1982). However, because *sex stereotype* tends to be more commonly used than *gender stereotype*, it will be used in the present study. Similar practice has been applied earlier by Sara Delamont (1980).

Stereotyping of individuals can be based on any distinction with which they can be divided into groups; e.g. race, social class, age or weight. In sex stereotyping individuals are divided into two groups, males and females, on the basis of their sex. Sex stereotypes consist of a variety of components, for example personality traits. Sex stereotypes about the personality traits of females emphasize expressiveness, emotion, and relationships whereas competence, action, accomplishment and leadership are regarded as typical of men (Lips 1988:5). A study conducted by Williams and Bennett in 1975 (in Lips 1988:4) revealed that adjectives such as affectionate, attractive, complaining, dependent, emotional, fussy, dreamy, sensitive, sentimental, sophisticated, submissive, talkative, weak and whiny were stereotypically associated with females, whereas adventurous, aggressive, ambitious, assertive, courageous, dominant, enterprising, independent, jolly, logical, rational, realistic, strong, tough and unemotional were associated with males. Similar findings have been reported from different countries although certain cultural differences do exist (Lips 1988:5).

Personality traits do not form the contents of sex stereotypes alone. According to Hyyppä (1995:15) sex stereotypes - which he defines as belief structures associated with men and women - are based on physique, behavior, social relations, hobbies and occupation. In Weinreich's (1978:20) definition the stereotypical male is active, instrumental, skilled, technically competent, directive and exploitative whereas his feminine counterpart is expressive, passive, decorative, manipulative and non-competent except in domestic and nurturing tasks.

Even a superficial look at the sex stereotyped characterisations of females and males reveals that sex stereotypes do not only view females as different from males but also as inferior to them (Lips 1988:8). Sex stereotypes have a tendency to overvalue boys and men and to undervalue girls and women; males are presented as possessing positive characteristics which are denied to females who, in turn, are assigned with the negative characteristics denied to males (Michel 1986:15-16). Disparagement of femininity, which occurs when masculine characteristics are regarded as positive and feminine ones as negative, is also known as *sexism* (Hyypä 1995:21). According to Michel (1986:11) practices, prejudices and ideologies which treat one sex as inferior to the other are an indication of sexism.

Sex stereotypes have a negative effect on both males and females but the impact is stronger on females who are regarded as inferior to males in worth and status. Because of the existence of sex stereotypes, social expectations tend to deny males a full access to their feelings and emotions, and females are not able to develop into their full intellectual, emotional and occupational potential. (Michel 1986:11, 23-24.) In other words, males are discouraged from becoming sensitive and tender and females are discouraged from becoming assertive or too bright (Bem and Bem 1974:17). Furthermore, according to Mischel (1971:363) people use sex stereotypes as a basis for judging others and as standards for self-evaluation. Sex stereotypes may, therefore, turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy causing people to modify their behaviour in accordance with the stereotypes (Michel 1986:16).

It can be concluded that even though the actual differences between the sexes are few and small in size, there are a great number of beliefs about the differences between the sexes. The beliefs deal, for example, with personality traits and have a negative effect on both males and females - even though the impact is stronger on females to whom the stereotypes usually refer in negative terms. In the following chapters the processes

through which sex roles are learned are introduced as well as the role of sex stereotypes in these processes.

3 DEVELOPMENT OF SEX ROLES

Socialisation is the means for transmitting culture (Weinreich 1978:18, 20). During the socialisation process, which is always bound to its culture and context (Mikkonen et al. 1983:63), the child acquires the laws and norms of society. She also acquires information about roles, attitudes, beliefs and about the ideas of what is regarded as sex-appropriate behaviour (Weinreich 1978:18, 20). This information is conveyed to the child through *socialising agents* - parents, peers, teachers and the media - whose ideas of what is sex-appropriate and what is sex-inappropriate behaviour are influenced by sex stereotypes (Weinreich 1978:18, 20). Newman and Newman (1975:238) call these sex stereotyped ideas *sex role standards*.

The aim of the socialisation process is that the egocentric child with a short attention span will grow into an individual who is able to take other people into consideration, set herself social objectives and to function in the society in which she lives (Mikkonen et al. 1983:63-64, 301, see also Weinreich 1978:18). Accordingly, certain kinds of behaviours are regarded as desirable for children of both sexes, for example, the ability to control aggression, consideration for others and satisfactory school performance (Weinreich 1978:22). In principle, children are brought up as human beings but, in practice, they are brought up as boys and girls because in certain aspects the socialisation process is different for boys and girls (Weinreich 1978:18,22). Hence sex role development is a part of the socialisation process.

The following chapters concentrate on the description of the processes through which children acquire sex roles as a part of socialisation. For this purpose, it is necessary to turn to the

different theories of sex role development.

3.1 Different Theories of Sex Role Development

Those behavioral patterns that are socially considered appropriate for representatives of one sex are called *sex roles* (Lips 1988:37). In a broader context the studies on the development of sex roles can be placed under the title *sex-typing* (Mischel 1971:363). As a result of sex-typing or the development of sex roles an individual comes to acquire, value and perform *sex-typed* behaviour; ie. behavioral patterns which are regarded as appropriate for one sex but not for the other (Mischel 1971:364). Sex-typing is also referred to as *gender role acquisition* (Lips 1988:35). To maintain consistency in the terminology, gender/sex roles are referred to as *sex roles* in the present study.

Lips (1988:27-47) introduces the great number of theories which describe the development of sex roles: *social structural or cultural theories, evolutionary theories, (Freudian) psychoanalytic identification theories, cognitive developmental theory, social learning theory* and *modeling theory*, which according to Stockard and Johnson (1980:178) is, in fact, a part of social learning theory. Considering the purpose of the present study, ie. an analysis of the presentation of females and males in an English textbook series for Finnish upper-secondary schools, social learning theory proves to be useful and relevant as it focuses on the role of social forces including school and media. Because social learning theory has been criticized for not paying enough attention to the active role of the child and her cognitive development (e.g. Archer and Lloyd 1982:263-264), this gap will be filled with perspectives from cognitive developmental theory. Biological determinants, which are also involved in the process in a complex way, are not discussed in the present study because the studies of sex role development have traditionally emphasized the role of cognitive

development and social learning (Mischel 1971:366, see also Maccoby 1980:245). It should also be noted that the present study does not, by any means, aim at taking a stand as to which theory is the best but rather focuses on those aspects of the two theories that provide relevant information for the present study.

Lips (1988:47) points out that although there is a lot of evidence to support both social learning theory and cognitive developmental theory, neither can completely cover all the complexities of sex role development and, therefore, new theories which would integrate and extend the contents of these two traditional approaches are needed. In the 1980s Bem (in Lips 1988:47-49) introduced *gender schema theory* which combines social learning theory and cognitive developmental theory; it equally recognizes the role of the active child and environmental cues. The theory is based on the conception that cognitive structures called *schemas* help an individual to evaluate and assimilate new information. Because the gender schema theory is not yet complete in the sense that it calls for further investigation and evidence, it will not be applied in the present study.

The same applies to the two other more recent theories *sex role as rule* and *gender roles as developmental pathways*. The former was introduced by Constantinople (1979, in Lips 1988:49) and is somewhat similar to gender schema theory. The child's motivation for the acquisition of sex roles stems from her need to make sense of the environment and the desire to be rewarded and to avoid pain. The latter, which was constructed by Archer in 1984 (in Lips 1988:50), is based on the assumption that the process of sex role development - not merely the contents of these roles - may be different for males and females. These differences are manifested, for example, in the extent to which females and males are allowed to perform cross-sex behaviour.

The following chapters introduce the central process in the development of gender identity and sex roles in terms of cognitive developmental theory and social learning theory.

3.2 Cognitive Developmental Theory

A basic assumption in cognitive developmental theory is that to be able to learn the concept of gender the child has had to reach a particular stage in her intellectual development (Stockard and Johnson 1980:192, see also Lips 1988:46). Cognitive developmental theory emphasizes the child's active role in learning social roles; the child observes the surrounding world and interprets these observations on the basis of her basic conceptions of her body and her world (Kohlberg 1966:83).

According to Kohlberg (1966:88-89) the basis of sex role attitudes lies in the cognitive self-categorization as *a girl* or *a boy*, also referred to as *gender identity*. Gender identity is a result of a basic cognitive judgement made at an early stage of the child's development, and when it has been established it is relatively irreversible and maintained by the physical fact that the child is either a female or a male (Kohlberg 1966:88, Mischel 1971:366). Kohlberg (1966:88-95) says that the child learns to use the correct gender label, a boy or a girl, around the age of two. Around the age of three the child can unsystematically apply her gender label to other people on the basis of a number of haphazard physical characteristics. At the age of five or six the child becomes certain of that gender is constant. This means that the child understands, for example, that even though a woman has her hair cut short (like men) she will still be a woman. The child's problems in understanding the constancy of gender are related to establishment of the general understanding of the constancy of physical objects.

According to Kohlberg (1966:89) the basic gender self-categorization as male or female, ie. gender identity, leads further to basic values and sex role attitudes: when the child has categorized herself as female she values female objects - sets of behaviour that are regarded as appropriate for her sex (Mischel 1971:367) - positively and acts consistent with her gender identity. Thus, as Stockard and Johnson (1980:192) explain, after the

formation of gender identity and the understanding that gender is constant, the child wants to acquire behaviours that are sex-typed. They say that the child develops sex stereotypes on the basis of her conceptions of sex differences, and these stereotypes are strengthened by the differences that the child perceives between the social roles of males and females. Finally, when the child has adopted masculine and feminine values based on the stereotypes, she will have a tendency to identify herself with same sex individuals. To be more precise, the child is likely to imitate a person who she experiences similar to the self (Kohlberg 1966:125).

Mischel (1971:367) argues that cognitive learning theory is not able to adequately account for the processes in which the individual adopts the specific values and behaviours that are consistent with her gender. He suggests that there are many possible sets of behaviour that could be regarded as consistent with the individual's gender, ie. different ways of being a male or a female, and therefore, the emphasis should be put on how those sets are chosen and learned. In his view, social learning theory of the development of sex roles offers an explanatory model which extends beyond the cognitive self-categorization and the attempts towards the understanding of the constancy of objects.

3.3 Social Learning Theory

Neither cognitive developmental theory nor social learning theory was particularly constructed to account for the development of gender identity and sex roles. They are both general theories of the development and learning processes of human beings. Earlier representatives of social learning theory tended to explain behavioral repertoires solely as a result of stimulus and response. Presently, social learning theory resembles cognitive developmental theory in that they both acknowledge the existence of cognitive processes, reinforcement and modeling. The difference

between the two theories lies in the emphasis put on the part played by these components as cognitive developmental theory emphasizes the active role of the child and her cognitive processes whereas social learning theory focuses on modeling and reinforcement. (Stockard and Johnson 1980:178-179.)

The second, and more significant, difference between the theories is the order in which they suggest that sex roles are acquired. In cognitive developmental theory gender identity precedes the child's knowledge of her parents expectations and the rewarding of sex-appropriate behaviour, whereas social learning theory sees the process the other way round (Oakley 1972:179): gender identity results from observation, imitation, reinforcement, and the development of the appropriate sex role or sex typing (Lips 1988:43). In relation to this difference Oakley (1972:180) points out that even though recent findings support the cognitive developmental theory in that the formation of gender identity is related to the general understanding of the constancy of objects, there is no evidence that the understanding of one's own sex would precede the desire to play the appropriate girl/boy role and to be rewarded for it.

Parents play a central part in the sex role socialisation of the child. Parents have been found to treat their male and female children differently already at infancy but it is unclear to what extent this happens (Mischel 1971:370, see also Newman and Newman 1975:238). But what is more relevant than the explicit differentiated treatment of the children, is that parents and other primary socialising agents - peer groups, the media and school - have stereotyped expectations and attitudes towards what is appropriate and inappropriate for each sex (Weinreich 1978:18-24). These sex stereotyped ideas or sex role standards have an effect on the child's sex role development.

Parents' sex role standards are reflected, for example, in the kinds of toys they give to their children: toy cars and trains for boys, and miniature kitchenware, dolls and dollhouses for girls

(Newman and Newman 1975:238). According to Oakley (1972:175) the sex-typed toys have an important function as they train the child into her future sex role. But it must be kept in mind, as pointed out by Maccoby and Jacklin (1975:327), that parents may buy their children sex-typed toys because the children have specifically asked for them.

There are also differences in the kinds of activities to which parents encourage their children. Boys are reinforced in masculine activities such as rough-and-tumble play whereas girls are reinforced in more feminine activities (Pitcher and Schultz 1983:83). But again, the children's preferences must be taken into account; the favourite plays and games of girls include role-play-like activities such as playing home, school or shop whereas boys prefer plays and games with more action (Suoninen 1992:229).

One of the processes involved in sex role socialisation which reflects the sex stereotyped attitudes and expectations of the parents is *reward and punishment* (Weinreich 1978:20-21). The child acquires knowledge of the behaviours and roles of both sexes through observational and cognitive processes but she will not perform all the behaviors she perceives (Mischel 1971:367). The child receives acceptance and reward for her sex-appropriate behaviour whereas as sex-inappropriate behaviour leads to a negative reaction, rejection and disapproval from the socialising agents, including parents (Suoninen 1995:15). Thus, what is regarded as sex-appropriate behaviour on the basis of the parents' sex role standards is reinforced in children.

The most obvious differences in socialisation of boys and girls have been found to occur in the styles and degree of socialisation (Weinreich 1978:22). It should be noted that the new theory *Gender Roles as Developmental Pathways*, which suggests that males and females may receive different kind of sex role socialisation, has these differences as the starting point and may, therefore, prove useful in the future after it has been thoroughly investigated and enough evidence has been gathered. According to

Maccoby (1980:239-242) studies have shown that there is a tendency among parents to tolerate more sex-inappropriate or cross-sex behaviour in girls than in boys. Girls are given more freedom in their behaviour than boys who are more easily punished for sex-inappropriate behaviour. She also says that it seems that fathers are more concerned about the sex-inappropriate behaviour in their children than mothers, and that fathers are especially concerned about sex-inappropriate behaviour of their sons. Maccoby concludes that the father has a more important role in the degree of socialisation than the mother even though the amount of his impact is dependent on the child's sex.

Similar findings have been made in the studies on the punishment received from peers for sex-inappropriate behaviour. According to Maccoby (1980:240) in an experiment conducted by Langlois and Downs girls did not seem to mind other girls playing with boys' toys whereas boys reacted especially negatively towards other boys who were involved in feminine activities.

According to Maccoby and Jacklin (1975:335) another example of the differences in the socialisation of boys and girls is that boys tend to get more attention - both positive and negative - than girls. They have suggested that this is because parents as well as teachers regard boys as more interesting or as having more potential than girls. Maccoby and Jacklin's view is supported by a study conducted by Metso (1992:280) who reports that the primary school teachers whom she had interviewed admitted that they took up different attitudes towards boys and girls. Boys were allowed more extrovert behaviour and more attention was paid to them than to girls. Girls were also perceived as more sensitive and the teachers felt that they could not address girls as directly as they addressed boys.

3.4 Modeling Parents as a Part of the Social Learning of Sex Roles

Observation, imitation and identification play an important part in

the learning of sex roles. Maccoby (1980:242) says that children have been found to be likely to observe and imitate persons who are, first of all, available to them for observation, powerful, warm and nurturant towards them. She also says that usually both parents possess these qualities so preconditions for imitation and identification exist at the child's home. According to Oakley (1972: 183) identification has been found to be at its strongest and both boys and girls have been found to acquire sex roles more easily when the parent-child relationship is characterised with affection and warmth.

Social learning theory emphasizes the child's need for power and status as a motive for identification (Newman and Newman 1975:241). It seems that in cases where the parents differ in the amount of authority, power or control over resources, children tend to imitate and identify themselves with the more powerful parent (Oakley 1972:181). This claim is supported by a study by Hetherington (in Newman and Newman 1975:242) which showed that a child's characteristics are likely to be similar to the characteristics of the more dominant parent.

According to Oakley (1972:181) identification based on the conceptions of power has also been reported in relation with the birth order of the child; children who have elder opposite-sex siblings have been found to adopt more cross-sex behaviour than those who do not have them. This is because elder opposite sex siblings are perceived as more powerful since they have more responsibility and freedom than their younger siblings.

According to Newman and Newman (1975:241-242) the child may have four different motives for identification. In addition to the two motives explained by social learning theory, ie. *the perceived similarity*, which they see as the strongest motive, and *the need for power*, the child is likely identify with the parent whom she sees as an aggressor. As explained by Anna Freud (1961, in Newman and Newman 1975:241), who is a representative of the psychoanalytic approach, *identification with the aggressor* takes

place and causes the child to act like the parent because she is, to some extent, afraid of the parent and, accordingly, wants to protect herself from the harm that might be caused by the parent. The *fear of loss of love*, which is also a psychoanalytic concept, is the fourth motive for the child to identify with the parent so that their positive relationship would continue.

When the theories of identification are considered, it is important to bear certain limitations in mind. The identification with the parent may not be as direct a process as the perceived similarity theory suggests because the interaction between the parents and the child also affects the quality of the emotional ties between them (Newman and Newman 1975:242). Moreover, Maccoby (1980:242-243) states that there is not much evidence that boys would prefer to identify with their fathers and girls with their mothers, and neither do the most feminine mothers have the most feminine daughters nor the most masculine fathers have the most masculine sons. The complexities of identification are also commented on by Lips (1988:45) who refers to a study conducted by Perry and Bussey in 1979; they suggest that children may pay attention to the different frequencies with which men and women do certain things in certain situations and on the basis of these observations then construct their ideas of what is sex-appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. As a result, the child is more likely to imitate a same-sex person who behaves in a way which is consistent with the child's concept of sex-appropriate behaviour.

It can be concluded that even though modeling theory is not free from controversies, observation, modeling, imitation and identification have their place in the child's acquisition of sex roles and that parents play an important part in these processes. In the following the contents of the models provided by the parents will be discussed by focusing on those activities of the parents that form an essential part of sex roles ie. work and housework.

3.5 Contents of the Role Models Provided by the Parents

When children observe adult female and male role models, they gain knowledge of what is expected of men and women. Children want to be like same-sex adults and are likely to identify with them. Hence role models both provide information about the children's future and have an effect on the child's goals and aspirations. (Weitzman et al. 1974:183.)

What does the child perceive when she observes her parents? Hyypä (1995:168-169) describes statistics which were collected in Finland about the amount of time men and women spent on different activities. The statistics showed, for example, that males had more spare time than females. Women who lived together with a man did from one to two hours more housework per day than their spouses. Men who lived together with women did both more gainful work and more housework than single men. Having children doubled the amount of women's housework and diminished their time in gainful employment but had no effect on the spare time of men. Baking was considered a 100% women's job in Finnish homes whereas car repair was a 100% men's job. Activities such as gardening, taking care of the pets, helping the neighbours, shopping and running on errands were classified as neutral housework.

In other words, even though many married women nowadays go to work an average Finnish child is likely to see her mother in domestic activities more often than her father who goes to work and has more spare time than the mother. Since having children diminishes the time women spend at work and add their time at home doing housework, the child is also likely to see her mother more often at home than the father. The division between men's and women's work still exists in Finnish homes, as the example of baking and car repair shows, but a change seems to be taking place as the contemporary Finn sees shopping and taking care of the pets as neutral activities.

The statistics speak their language but it has to be kept in mind that they present models of the so-called average males and females who do not exist in reality. However, they do support Michel's (1986:18-19) claim that all over the world women do more housework than men. She states that although doing housework provides for the well-being of the whole family, it is not valued because it is not paid for. Men's work outside home is valued more because it is gainful. Michel concludes that the father who is the breadwinner in the family may then be perceived as superior to the mother by the children.

Archer and Lloyd (1982:242-243) suggest that if girls grow up believing in the most common stereotype that a woman's place is at home taking care of the family, their interests may be directed towards marriage instead of occupational achievements. They also say that the stereotypes about what kind of jobs are suitable for women can further limit a girl's aspirations, education and training. But sex stereotypes about men's and women's work do not only have a negative effect on women. A man who enters an occupation traditionally regarded as feminine may become a hero, a new leader of the group of women or he may be labeled as a homosexual (Hyypä 1995:163). The knowledge of the existence of stereotypes of this kind may be reflected in a young man's career choices as an exclusion of certain occupations.

According to Archer and Lloyd (1982:240) other sex stereotypes about women and work are mainly negative in the same way as sex stereotypes about women generally are; women are not interested in advancing in their careers, they are quite satisfied with jobs that do not call for intellectual efforts and, furthermore, they find the social aspects - relationships with their colleagues - more interesting than the work as such. Accordingly, women's work is less valued and has less status than that of men (Archer and Lloyd 1982:245) and, on the other hand, occupations with high status are regarded as more suitable for men (Lips 1988:10).

A related phenomenon is the variation of the status of an

occupation depending on the sex of the work force (Archer and Lloyd 1982:239). In practice, this means that occupations with high status begin to lose their value when women start dominating them (Lips 1988:10). This generates speculations about the status of an occupation which in one country is male-dominated and female-dominated in another one. This is, for example, the case with the teacher's occupation which according to Hyyppä (1995:161) is a so-called typical women's occupation in Finland and Sweden but a typical men's job in France (French member organizations of the World Federation of Teacher's Unions 1983:59). Accordingly, the teacher's occupation would then be less valued in Sweden and Finland than it is in France.

The evidence described above seems to suggest that one of the negative effects of sex stereotypes is that work performed by women tends to be underrated whereas the work performed by men tends to be overrated.

In the following sex role models provided by two socialising agents - media and school - will be examined to find out what kind of images of females and males they convey to the child, and to see if these images are affected by sex stereotypes.

4 SEX ROLES IN MEDIA

The formation of gender identity is at its strongest in early childhood and in adolescence. Gender identity and the understanding of its constancy are reached before school age, and the influences to which the child is exposed at this age also have an effect on her later conceptions of the behaviours and roles of the two sexes. (Suoninen 1995:17.)

Sex role models offered by the socialising agents, ie. parents, peers, the media and school, or social subsystems as they are referred to by Michel (1986), tend to promote the existence of stereotypes (Michel 1986:18). Sex stereotypes, in turn, affect

children's plays, interests and opportunities and hence create a basis for sex differences in abilities and occupational training (Archer and Lloyd 1982:237). Therefore, it is not insignificant what kind of role models the child is offered by the socialising agents.

Children's books function as a link between the child and the outside world and convey ideas about how other people behave, what is right and wrong, and how the child is expected to behave - as a child and also later in her life as a grown-up. Thus, children's books offer the child cultural values which she is expected to adopt, and also role models that function as examples of behavioural standards. (Weitzman et al. 1974:175.) In addition, books and fairy tales teach children to anticipate what certain circumstances and behaviours can lead to (Lieberman 1974:230).

The following chapters move on to examine the child's early contacts with the surrounding world through children's literature and television. The aim is to describe what kind of images of the roles of males and females these medias convey. The following review of earlier findings focuses on studies made on American children's literature as most of the large-scale studies have been conducted in the United States. A recent Finnish study on the presentation of females and males in children's television programmes is included for comparison.

4.1 Females and Males in Children's Literature

Weitzman et al. (1974:174-176) conducted a large-scale study on the presentation of males and females in picture books for pre-school children. They included in their study several hundred children's picture books that had been awarded with the Caldecott Medal (a prize given to the most distinguished picture books by the Children's Service Committee of the American Library Association) and which were consequently recommended to children, for example, by their teachers. Three other kinds of books

were also included; Newbury Books for children from grade three to grade six, cheap and easily available and hence widely read The Little Golden Books and books that teach children about proper behaviour and introduce adult role models to them.

Weitzman et al. (1974:177-184) found that in all the series women were underrepresented in the titles, central roles, pictures and stories. They suggest that the underrepresentation of women in the titles conveyed an implicit message that girls are not important because there are no books written about them. The contents of the books were found to strengthen this idea. The pictures in the Caldecott books showed 261 males compared to 23 females and 95 male animals compared to 1 female animal. Most of the books were found to deal with boys, men and animals in adventures, and most of the illustrations pictured males either alone or in groups. When females appeared in the illustrations, they were in insignificant roles. The girls were passive and immobile, restricted by their clothing, involved in indoor activities and serving others. The boys were presented as active, involved in outdoor activities, in more exciting roles and more varied activities than the girls. The same pattern was found among male and female adults. Furthermore, men were presented in a variety of interesting occupations whereas none of the women had a job; they were either mothers or wives. It was concluded that it seemed that the role of mother was the only choice for a woman and that the roles of girls and women seemed to be defined through their relation to the males in their lives.

A number of other studies conducted in the 1970s on children's literature support these findings (see e.g. Nilsen 1974, Donlan 1974). For example, *Women on Words and Images* (1974:196-200) went through 134 children's readers of which 823 featured boys, 319 girls, 119 adult males and 37 adult females. The females in the books were presented as mild, soft, spiritless, passive, helpless and dependent, and as spectators looking at and admiring what the males were doing. Girls were doing housework,

cooking, cleaning, shopping and mending but they were never in the middle of action. Boys, too, were doing housework but not nearly as often as the girls. Those girls who were successful outside home were presented as exceptional. Both girls and boys met with accidents but for different reasons. Girls had accidents during housework or because they were girls - a quality which was shown as related with stupidity and foolishness - whereas the accidents of the civic-minded, enterprising and creative males happened during adventures or romping around and were caused by their curiosity or enthusiasm. Furthermore, a relation was found between a girl's failure in a task and a boy's success.

As regards the adult role models, males were shown in a variety of professions and roles, including the role of father. Thus, the opportunities for identification for boys were several in the books. Female adults were either mothers or went to work but seldom both. The mothers in the books did housework and took care of their families, hated fun and dirt, got angry and were always available. The fathers were presented as the "good guys" and were associated with fun. Fathers solved problems, fixed things, took care of outside work and rested and relaxed often. (Women on Words and Images 1974:204-207.)

Women on Words (1974:199-202) noticed that natural and spontaneous feelings were seldom dealt with in the books; they were dealt with as characteristics of weak and foolish people. Expressing aggression was allowed for boys but denied from girls. Finally, sexism was found built in the language and in the implicitly conveyed message that being with girls lowers one's status.

In 1989 Purcell and Stewart (1989:177) repeated the study to examine whether the presentation of males and females in children's literature had changed over the years. They applied the methodology used by Women on Words and Images to 62 more recent children's readers. What Purcell and Stewart (1989:180-183) found was that the number of females in the stories had increased

as well as the variety of their activities. They also report a noticeable increase in the percentage of gender neutral stories, for example, animal stories and informational stories, even though animal stories as well as folk tales were, to a great extent, male-dominated. Although the stories in their study were clearly less male-centered than those in the earlier study, males still seemed to outnumber females. And even though both boys and girls were shown in non-traditional activities, it was the girls - never the boys - who were rescued either by pets or wild animals. Girls were shown in more active roles in the illustrations but, in general, females were clearly underrepresented. There was also a wider range of different occupations reserved for men but the number of males and females in biographies is reported to have become more balanced compared with the earlier study. On the basis of their findings Purcell and Stewart (1989:184) concluded that the changes that have taken place in society during the last decades were reflected in the contemporary children's readers included in their study.

Even though Purcell and Stewart's study provides valuable information about the presentation of males and females in contemporary children's literature, it is important to keep in mind that they make comparisons and draw conclusions on the basis of material which is only about half the size of the material in the original study (see page 183 in Purcell and Stewart 1989). This is bound to have an effect on the significance of the results.

According to Kortenhuis and Demarest (1993:221) recent findings about the presentation of females and males are contradictory as some researchers have reported that the contemporary children's literature reflects the changes that have taken place in women's roles in society whereas the others have found that sexism still exists. Kortenhuis and Demarest suggest that these inconsistencies might partly be due to the fact that the materials in the studies have contained Caldecott books which have been awarded, among other things, for their nonsexist views.

Therefore, the Caldecott books cannot be taken as representatives of average children's literature.

Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993:222) chose 125 nonaward picture books and 25 Caldecott winners or runners-up published between the 1940s and 1980s for their study, and compared their findings to those of Weitzman et al. (1974) and to one study from the 1980s. They found a tendency towards decrease of sexism which was seen in the more equal number of females and males in the books. However, the analysis of the activities of the characters revealed that although females were occasionally seen in more active roles, the activities of the males and females still followed the stereotyped patterns so that males were attributed the active roles whereas females were in the passive roles. These findings lead them to draw the conclusion that children's literature does not succeed in reflecting the roles of females and males in real life. (Kortenhaus and Demarest 1993:228-230.)

Even though Purcell and Stewart's findings are rather similar to those made by Kortenhaus and Demarest, their conclusions are different. Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993:231) conclude that the presentation of females and males in children's literature does not succeed in reflecting the situation in contemporary society whereas Purcell and Stewart (1989:184) say that the presentation of females reflects the changes that have taken place in society. Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993:228) say that whether the changes in the presentation of females and males are regarded as significant, seems to be dependent on the way the data is analysed.

4.2 Females and Males in Children's TV Programmes

One of the most recent studies on the presentation of female and male roles in media was conducted in Finland by Suoninen (1995) who analysed children's television programmes. She (Suoninen 1995:44-45, 49-52, 59, 61) found that long animations, which formed

about a half of the material in her study, were 71% male-dominated and that 90% of the males had an occupation whereas the corresponding percentage among women was 36%. In general, the mothers and the fathers in the animations were similar to those in American children's literature. Occupational roles and a family roles among females excluded each other whereas males were often seen in both occupational and family roles. The occupations of the fathers were presented as very important, and only glimpses were seen of those fathers who did not have an occupation. To emphasize the goodness and intelligence of the father, he was presented as a single parent. When a father was a single parent, it was because the mother had died. Those women who were not mothers were attributed the role of a selfish and evil hag. Similar findings have been made by Donlan (1974) who reported that independent and competent women in fairy tales were likely to be unsympathetic and ugly witches. Both heroes and villains in the animations were males.

According to Suoninen (1995:47-49, 60-61) a typical character in children's programmes was an ordinary, curious and lively little boy who either alone or with his friends got into trouble or in adventures as a result of disobedience or curiosity. Girls did not appear nearly as often as boys, and when they did they were seen in insignificant roles either as overly feminine little princesses or as wild tomboys who tried to be one of the boys. A new type of active girl, who was both beautiful and adventuresome, also appeared in the programmes but she was always accompanied by a boy.

The numbers of realistic male and female characters in magazine programmes, which were also included in her material, were fairly equal. Sex stereotypes still occurred as women were in contact with children through their occupations whereas men were shown having fun with the children. Furthermore, male presenters appeared alone whereas female presenters were always accompanied by males. (Suoninen 1995:26, 32, 39, 60.) Suoninen (1995:61) concludes that even though sex stereotypes about the roles

of boys and girls are crumbling, the adult female is still presented very stereotypically.

In summary, the changes that have taken place in women's roles in society during the last decades are, to some extent, reflected in the presentation of females and males in children's literature and children's TV programmes. However, even though there seems to be a tendency towards decrease of sexism, a number of stereotypical elements still exist.

5 SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION IN SCHOOL

The promotion of equality between the sexes is an objective which the school, one of the major socialising agents, has been set in both Finnish educational legislation and in the act on equality between women and men (Lampela and Lahelma 1996:225, see also Lahelma 1987:5). In practice, equality between the sexes in school has a tendency to turn into gender neutrality as girls and boys are not treated as representatives of their sex but as pupils (Metso 1992:270, Tarmo 1992:284). For example, different curriculum documents refer to pupils, not to boys and girls (Gordon & Lahelma 1992:316-317). But as Gordon and Lahelma (1992:318) point out, even though gender is made invisible in the official documents, it still exists in the everyday-life of schools in the form of hidden messages of gender in learning and teaching. Boys and girls are treated differently in school in a variety of ways (Saarnivaara 1986:97). Hence the focus must be shifted from the overt curriculum to *the hidden curriculum*.

Metso (1992:270) defines the hidden curriculum as everything that is learned in school whether it is consistent with the official objectives of the school or not. In addition to conveying information and skills, school also teaches the pupils, for example, to wait for their turn and to be obedient and attentive. Especially relevant for the present study is the hidden curriculum viewed

from the standpoint of gender. Einarsson and Hultman (1984:231) refer to this aspect of the hidden curriculum as *the double hidden curriculum* ("*den dubbla dolda läroplanen*") because there are actually two hidden curricula, one for boys and another for girls.

According to Metso (1992:272-273) the double hidden curriculum has three manifestations which promote the traditional stereotyped views on sex roles. Firstly, the double hidden curriculum is present in the teaching materials; because this aspect is central to the present study, it will be dealt with in detail in chapter 6. Secondly, it is seen in the gender structure among the staff in a school. Metso says that women have been found to be in charge of tasks related with nursing and caring as teachers, nurses, charwomen and cooks whereas men occupy the administrative posts, e.g. as headmasters. It has to be kept in mind, however, that there are always exceptions to the rule.

Thirdly, the double hidden curriculum is manifested in the teacher's different attitudes towards boys and girls, and in the different roles that boys and girls have in the interaction in the classroom (Metso 1992:272). Teachers have been found to spend more time, to pay more attention and to communicate more with boys than girls (Saarnivaara 1987:97, Michel 1986:32). Moreover, it has been reported that teachers may even find boys more interesting and intelligent than girls (Saarnivaara 1987:101, see also Maccoby and Jacklin 1975:335). It has also been reported that boys get more chances to speak in the classroom; when girls participate, it is mostly after they have raised their hands that they get to answer questions that need factual answers whereas boys take part in informal conversation, take initiative, ask questions and make comments (Tarmo 1992:290-292, see also Saarnivaara 1987:97, Michel 1986:32).

Boys are both heard more and seen more in the classroom because they demand more attention and because teachers spend more time to interact with them than with girls; partly in order to let the class work in peace (Metso 1982:272, Saarnivaara 1987:97).

Yrjönsuuri (cited in Sahlman 1995:7) says that teachers give boys tasks and ask them questions to keep them under control and according to Saarnivaara (1987:98) they also choose topics which are of interest to boys. However, the choice of such topics simultaneously has a negative effect on girls who do not have similar readiness to take part in these conversations (Saarnivaara 1987:97-98).

Pupils are not unaware of the different treatment of boys and girls. The attention directed towards boys leads them to consider themselves important whereas this message is not conveyed to the girls who, accordingly, may experience a feeling of inferiority (Saarnivaara 1987:99, Michel 1986:32). Although this hidden message is not exact, it becomes meaningful because it is consistently conveyed through many different media and it is analogous to the sex stereotypes in society. To present the consequences in a pointed way, girls learn to underestimate and boys overestimate their performances even though girls tend to get better grades at school than boys. The girls' better grades are due to the fact that they are active and behave in way that is accepted and required by the school system. However, because this kind of formalistic behaviour is not valued, it will not help girls to manage in the future. (Saarnivaara 1987:99-100.)

On the basis of the matters discussed above it seems evident that some of the everyday practices in school are in contrast with the official objectives of the school. Instead of explicitly promoting the equality between the sexes, the practices which are a part of the hidden curriculum tend to continuously convey hidden messages about the inequality between the sexes. In the following chapters the role of school textbooks and the female and male role models presented in them will be examined in relation to sex role development.

6 FEMALES AND MALES IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

6.1 School Textbooks and Sex Stereotypes

According to Metso (1992:272-273), in addition to the traditional gender structure among the staff and the different kind of interaction between the teacher and his male and female students, the double hidden curriculum is manifested in the presentation of female and male roles in teaching materials. A school textbook plays an important part in the socialisation process because it does not only convey information but also attitudes and models (Palmu 1992:301).

The effects of the role models offered by literature, which as a part of the media is one of the socialising agents, varies depending on the age of the reader. According to Gersoni (1974:382) the books that little children read or look at have an effect on how they will conceive things because their opinions and minds are forming whereas adults' minds are basically set but something that they read may cause them to change their views. Hence the role models offered by children's literature, primary school and lower-secondary school textbooks can be said to have an effect on the formation of the concepts of sex roles whereas upper-secondary school textbooks either support or contradict with the already existing concepts of sex roles and sex stereotypes. Moreover, Oakley (1972:185) suggests that the sensitivity to sex roles is especially important in adolescence when they are either developed or confirmed, and when individuals shift from learning sex roles to actually performing them.

Therefore, it is important that the role models in children's literature as well as in school textbooks reflect social realities instead of presenting females and males in traditional and stereotyped roles and activities (Purcell and Stewart 1990:177,184). Bjerke et al. (1982:11) even go a bit further and say that if school textbooks merely reflect social realities, ie. what people really do,

they, in fact, strengthen the already existing stereotypes. Furthermore, they say that textbooks of that kind will be outdated in a few years time. They suggest that school textbooks should be ahead of their time and present more females in non-traditional occupational, political and social activities than there are in reality. By putting their suggestion into practice, the reader's concepts of sex roles could, perhaps, be lead into a less stereotyped and less traditional direction. However, what Bjerke et al. fail to recognize is that it is important to keep moderation in mind as the reader might find it difficult to relate herself with a book that presents a reality completely strange to the her.

Michel (1986:48) says that if social realities are denied in a book so that females and males are portrayed in traditional sex stereotyped activities without presenting neither an alternative nor criticism towards the situation, the book shows signs of sexism. *Explicit sexism* refers to the presentation of females and males in stereotyped roles without the acknowledgement of the existence of different kinds of roles for the two sexes. The treatment of females as inferior to males without an attempt to show that females and males are equal is called *implicit sexism*. (Michel 1986:49.)

Sexism can occur against either sex and in only one area but not in another. A book may contain an equal number of male and female characters but there may be other inequalities such as the overrepresentation of females doing housework. Not only human beings but animals and other characters whose sex can be identified may also convey sex stereotypes, for example, a weak female dog and a strong male dog. It should be kept in mind that one stereotyped illustration, story or statement does not make a whole book sexist; sex stereotypes and sexism must occur repeatedly before a book can be said to be sexist. (Michel 1986:11, 50, 56).

In her book *Down with stereotypes! Eliminating sexism from children's literature and school textbooks* Michel (1986:48-58) introduces a three-step model for identifying sexism in children's

literature and school textbooks. The model is combined from a number of earlier national studies conducted at the request of Unesco in altogether ten countries including France, Norway, Peru and Canada (Michel 1986:preface, 11-12). Michel's model is discussed in detail here because it introduces the different ways in which a book can be sexist and it hence, in part, creates a basis for the analysis of textbooks in the present study.

First, sexism in a textbook can be identified with the help of a quantitative content analysis which is carried out by counting and contrasting the number of males and females in titles, texts and illustrations. The underrepresentation of either sex is an indication of sexism. A further analysis can be carried out by dividing the characters into main characters and supporting characters, in which case the portrayal of males in main roles and females in subordinate and supporting roles is another sign of sexism. (Michel 1986:49.)

In the second part, a comparative qualitative content analysis is carried out by dividing characteristics attributed to females and males into three subgroups: 1) social references (marital and family status, level of employment and occupation), 2) activities (tasks at home, contributing to children's education, activities at work, political and social activities, spare time activities, hobbies and crafts, activities that have to do with arts, games, exploration and adventure, and sports) and 3) social end emotional behaviour (positive vs negative feelings, objecting to social pressure vs depending on others and weakness vs strength). (Michel 1986:49-53.)

Social references to characters are stereotyped if they suggest that most women are married whereas men are not. This gives the reader the idea that a woman's status is related to marriage whereas men's status is independent of this institution. A sex stereotype is conveyed when women are more often portrayed as mothers than men are as fathers. Equality between the sexes is not realized when women are shown at home and men at work in more varied jobs

than women. Furthermore, in a sexist book women are presented in jobs that are extensions of their work at home, ie. as nurses, teachers and so on. At work it is the men who give the orders and the women who do the work. A sex stereotyped book suggests that it is the women who do the housework and have more contact with the children and take care of their well-being than men who are the authoritative father figures. It introduces no women in political or social activities, shows women as passive - as an opposite to creative - in their spare-time activities, hobbies and activities linked with arts. A sexist book underlines the fact that a boy playing with dolls and and a girl playing ice-hockey are exceptional, and it does not refer to the female athletes in the world. (Michel 1986:50-53.)

As regards the social and emotional behaviour of female and male characters, illustrations and texts in a textbook are stereotyped if they portray women as confused, dependent, helpless, scared, affectionate, very emotional and giving up when faced with social pressure and authority. Their masculine counterparts are aggressive, insensitive, brave, give orders, have a sense of responsibility and do not mind social pressure. (Michel 1986:53)

Thirdly, Michel (1986:53-54) suggests a search for sexism in the language. Sexism can be found in the form of insinuations or in the vocabulary and word usage. According to Michel, there is, for example, a difference in the tone of the words *mailman* and *mail carrier* the former being a sexist one.

The next chapter focuses on the findings made in earlier studies on the presentation females and males in school textbooks in different countries. The emphasis is on the studies that have been conducted in Finland.

6.2 Earlier Studies

In the 1980s several studies were conducted on the presentation of

males and females in children's literature and school textbooks at the special request of Unesco in different countries all over the world (Michel 1986:preface, 11-12). Even though Finland did not participate in the project, it has not been ignorant of the subject. This chapter gives an overview to the studies on the presentation of males and females in school textbooks with the help of two of the Unesco studies, a Finnish study on three ABC-books and two unpublished Finnish pro-gradu theses.

A Norwegian study group analysed the contents of widely used school textbooks of different subject areas - including English and Norwegian - for grades four and seven at the request of Unesco (Bjerke et al. 1982:13). Their findings were not very different from those made in American children's literature. Almost all the textbooks in the Norwegian study were male-dominated: there were fewer female characters than male characters and males were shown in more varied occupations than females. Most of the contributors, authors and artists were also males. (Bjerke et al. 1982:147.)

Certain positive phenomena were also found in individual books. For example, in one Norwegian textbook girls were portrayed as active as boys, girls and boys were shown playing with each other and in another book a few girls had questioned traditional sex roles (Bjerke 1982:24, 27). The situation in Norwegian children's literature was found to be a bit more balanced than in the school textbooks although the books were clearly male-dominated. According to the study group children's activities were less sex stereotyped than those of the adults. This particular finding is interesting because over ten years later Suoninen (1995) reported a similar tendency in her study on male and female roles in Finnish children's TV programmes (see chapter 4.2). (Gaarder 1982:138, Bjerke et al. 1982:147.)

The only book in the study that met with the criteria set for equal treatment of the two sexes was an English textbook for fourth grade in which 55% of the characters were females and 45% males,

and in which females and males had an equal number of occupations. (Munkebye 1982:86,88, Bjerke 1982:147). As regards the rest of the English textbooks, women were underrepresented in one of them, unsuccessful attempts to raise the status of women were found to have been made in another and the third one suffered from underrepresentation of women and showed males as more independent and having more interests than females (Munkebye 1982:86,91-92,98).

In a French study (French member organizations of the World Federation of Teacher's Unions 1983: 19-20) conducted for Unesco men were found to be overrepresented in maths, physics and chemistry books for primary and secondary-school level, ie. in books that are read by children between the ages 8-13. The contents of French college books were also studied. The results showed that very few literary anthologies were written by women and nothing at all was written about women's problems by women. The anthologies dealt mostly with the male world, e.g. work, sports and heroes. In history textbooks women were presented in the roles saints, sovereigns and courtisans. Geography seemed to be men's work and in textbooks of modern languages women were portrayed in the roles of wives and mothers very few of whom had an occupation.

Palmu (1992:304) studied three Finnish ABC-books - *Aapinen*, *Aapiskukko* and *Aapiskirja* - to find out what kind of an image of sex roles they convey to the reader. She followed Michel's three-step-model of analysis which consisted of (1) a quantitative and (2) a qualitative analysis and (3) search for sexism in the language. She included in her study all the characters that either with the help of the text or the illustration were attributed gender: human beings as well as fictitious characters such as animals and mythical characters (Palmu 1992:305).

Palmu (1992:305-306) found that the titles in the ABC-books had more references to boys and men than to girls and women. Men were usually introduced in the titles with their first name and

family name, e.g. *Aleksis Kivi*, whereas women were introduced in their family relations, e.g. *Isomummun sukat* (=Great-Grandmother's socks). As regards animals and fictious characters, male animals and characters were referred to more often than female ones. The words referring to males that appeared most often were *isä* (= father) and *mies* (= a man) whereas *äiti* (= mother) and *mummo* (=grandmother) were their feminine counterparts. In over a thousand illustrations, in which the sex of the characters could be identified, boys appeared as often as girls and women appeared as often as men but 2/3 of the fictious characters were males and less than 1/4 of the animal characters were females.

The description of *realistic characters* and family life was in central role in *Aapiskirja* and the roles of the mothers and fathers followed the pattern familiar from American children's literature in the 1970s. The mother was presented in a nurturant role at home taking care of the rest of the family. Palmu suggests that the mother may have a job which, however, was not mentioned in the book. The father was shown both at home and outside the home. The mother was shown in various domestic tasks whereas the father did not take part in housework; at home he mostly rested. Occupational roles were more common among males than females. Boys and girls appeared together in the illustrations but in different activities which were clearly divided according to their sex, and the texts supported the illustrations. Hobbies and skills were also divided on the basis of sex. In those stories where historically important people were introduced, the main characters in the texts and in the pictures were usually males. (Palmu 1992:307-309.)

Fictious characters played an important part in *Aapinen* in which the main character was a male fairy called Aapeli who represented omnipotency. In *Aapiskukko* there were 107 male animals but only 30 females. The list of the different male animals was much more varied than that of the females. Moreover, the

male animals who were in central roles had names, e.g. *Simo Siili* (= Simo the Hedgehog), whereas the female mouse, who wore a skirt and was both nameless and voiceless, appeared often in a passive role in the illustrations. The male animals acted both at home and outside home in almost humane domains whereas the presentation of the female animals was restricted to dealing with marriage and reciting a poem. The male animals talked considerably more than their female counterparts and their topics were more varied than those of the females. (Palmu 1992:309-311.)

The presentation of females and males in English textbooks has been studied at least on two occasions in Finland. Ruponen and Takala (1985) analysed two primary school English textbooks series *SIIE* and *Jet Set* which were widely used in the 1980s (Ruponen and Takala 1985:51). Ruponen and Takala (1985:140-141) found the texts in both series to be male-dominated. In *Jet Set* the numbers of males and females appearing in the illustrations were almost equal but in *SIIE* the number of males was almost double the number of females. Men were once again shown in more varied roles than women, who were usually shown as mothers. There were twice as many mothers as there were fathers. The distribution of the indoor and outdoor activities was the same as in American children's literature; the former was reserved for women and the latter for men. Only *Jet Set* introduced single-parent families in which the parent was a mother.

Ruponen and Takala (1985:142-144) found that the realistic stories in the books dealt with men who were seen as heroes or as historically important characters whereas women in these stories were either storytellers or interviewers. Both series tended to present both boys and girls as having worlds of their own but when they got together, there were not many differences. Girls and boys were equal in their relationships - despite the fact that boys were sometimes presented as more daring and independent than girls. However, in *Jet Set* the fact that that boys, too, can participate in housework was emphasized. The girls' lives were described as

quieter, less exciting and less interesting than those of the boys, who were shown moving around more than girls and who had more varied hobbies than the girls.

The other study was carried out by Härkönen and Viitala (1995:2) who analysed three series of English textbooks most widely used in Finnish lower-secondary schools; *OK English, You Too* and *Success*. The analysis was carried out by firstly, counting the number of males and females as well as their occupations and hobbies in the illustrations. Secondly, they counted references to males and females, the number of occupations with male and female representatives and personal names of males and females in the texts. Thirdly, the number of clauses with male and female agents were counted. With the exception of *OK English 8*, in which the illustrations were female-dominated, they found male-dominance in all areas they studied. Most stories that had one main character were about males, and men were found to have more varied hobbies and occupational roles than women. However, men were only presented in traditional occupational roles whereas women were presented in a few non-traditional occupations, e.g. as a captain and a policewoman. They also found male-dominance in the totals of different personal names as well as all personal names. In the verb analysis the number of clauses with male agents was found to be larger than the number clauses with female agents. (Härkönen and Viitala 1995:1-3, 56, 117, 154-155.)

However, the data collection method in Härkönen and Viitala's study raises a question about the validity of their results. In the analysis of the illustration they ruled out all of those pictures in which males and females appeared together and moreover, those that portrayed characters who were not human beings - even if their sex was identifiable. Instead, they chose to analyse only gender specific pictures, ie. illustrations that showed either males or females. (Härkönen and Viitala 1995:41-42.) This choice seems odd considering that the findings in earlier studies have shown

that those pictures that show males and females together may either be sexist (see Palmu 1992) or, quite the contrary, reveal that boys and girls are shown as equally active (see Bjerke 1982). Moreover, the exclusion of these illustrations unbalances the total number of both male and female characters.

In summary, on the basis of the studies conducted on the presentation of females and males in school textbooks in the 1980s and 1990s, it seems that with a few exceptions primary school and lower-secondary school textbooks tend to be sexist in their views. They contain more male than female characters and males are generally presented as more active and in more varied activities than females. Males also have more occupational roles than females who are often shown at home.

7 THE MATERIAL AND METHOD OF THE PRESENT STUDY

7.1 The Material

The material in the present study consists of an English textbook series for Finnish upper-secondary schools called *Passwords*. At present, it is the most widely used English textbook series in Finnish upper-secondary schools. *Courses 1-3* were compiled by Paul Westlake and Eero Lehtonen, who are the editor group, and by Sirkka Littow, Liisa Oksanen and Leena Vaurio, who form the teacher group. *Courses 4-8* were compiled by Paul Westlake, Eero Lehtonen, Eeva-Liisa Pitkänen and Leena Säteri. Hence the number of men and women involved in the making of the books are equal; in fact women outnumber men by one.

Each *Passwords* textbook contains from one to three courses. The first book consists of *Courses 1-3*, the second one has *Courses 4-5*, *Course 6* forms the third book and *Courses 7-8* are the last book of the series. Each course has its own title and subject area which follow the Finnish national curriculum for upper-

secondary schools.

Course 1 London Calling introduces England and London through the eyes of young people. The course also shows how British people see Finland. *Course 2 Young Americans* introduces American culture, American English and the American way of life in general. *Course 3 A Hard Day's Night* is about working and studying. Under the headline *You're Not the Only One* in *Course 4* the student is acquainted with people and society, for example, aspects of youth culture and social problems. *Course 5 The Speed of Life* is dedicated to people, science and technology. *Culture Club* is the name of *Course 6* which deals with both every-day culture and high culture in a number of ways. The last two courses, *Course 7 The Nature of Things* and *Course 8 In the Same Boat* are concerned with the human race, human rights and environmental matters, and deal with these topics on a large scale.

Each course is divided into *parts* in slightly different ways from one course to another. *Courses 1* and *3* consist of *Part A, Part B, Part C* and so on which are named after their subject areas. Each part is further divided into smaller units called *chapters*. A part begins with a *Warm up* which is an introductory chapter and consists of music or other entertaining elements. The basic text in each part is called *Start Up*. These texts contain the essential theme and vocabulary of each part. The following chapter is either a *Listen* meant just for fun or a *Read On* meant to be read quickly. A *Listen* may have some exercises in the practise book in which case it is more like a *Start up*. Beginning from *Course 2* the student can choose the text she finds the most interesting or the class can agree to read the same text from the *Select* section. The last chapter in *Course 3* is a *Project*. *Course 4* follows the same pattern and, in addition, it has an optional reading text and an *Encyclopedia* about certain political and social concepts.

In *Course 5* the parts begin with a *Timewarp* which offer an overview to historical events. *Timewarp* is followed by a *Start Up* and a *Select* section after which there is a *Time Out*-story. Each part

ends with a *Factfinder*, i.e. a summary of the part in question. There is also a mini encyclopedia called *Mothers and Fathers of Invention* which introduces important people in the field of science and technology.

Course 6 is divided into *Parts 1-8* followed by *Culture Gallery* which has information about the famous people introduced in the texts. The introductory *Part 1* is obligatory, *Parts 2-6* contain both obligatory and optional texts on a variety of themes, *Part 7* offers nine optional literature extracts 4-5 of which are to be read by each student and *Part 8* consists of listenings.

The last two *Courses 7* and *8* are divided into *Part one, two, three* and so on. Each part is again divided into subunits, e.g. 1A and 3D. Courses contain *Listen* chapters, too, and sometimes fast readers are offered a *Special* text.

At the end of each book there is an alphabetical English-Finnish vocabulary. Separate vocabularies for each chapter are placed in the practice book. There is usually a separate practice book for each course and it consists of appropriate exercises related with the textbooks.

In the autumn of 1995 a revised - the so-called *Streamlined* - edition of *Course 1* was first published. It is shorter than its predecessor, and the textbook and practice book come in one cover. As all *Streamlined* editions were not complete at the time of starting this study, they could not be chosen for the material. During a phone call to the publisher, WSOY, in the autumn of 1995 the present author was informed that the changes made in the series concern only the number and the length of the texts, not their contents. Choosing the older edition should, therefore, not notably affect the validity of the results.

Passwords introduces a great number of characters and personalities. The student is acquainted with influential people from different areas of life (activists, scientists), fictional characters (e.g. Detective Inspector Collins), teenagers from English-speaking countries, ordinary people at work and in their everyday-activities,

celebrities (musicians, actors) and representatives of ethnic minorities (Indians, Aboriginees). The present study focuses on the presentation of these characters and their roles in order to find out what kind of ideas, attitudes and expectations about sex roles are conveyed to an upper-secondary school student through the characters on the pages of her English textbooks.

A pilot study on the presentation of females and males in the first three courses of *Passwords* was conducted in the spring of 1996. The aim of the study was to test the method of analysis to be used in the analysis of the illustrations and texts. The pilot study proved the method applicable with a few alterations.

7.2 Method of Analysis for the Illustrations

In the present study *an illustration* is defined as any kind of a photo or picture (drawing, painting, poster, sign etc) that is used to illustrate what is talked about in the text. For example, a photo of a signpost shaped like a waiter holding a pie and a pint of beer is an illustration. An illustration usually consists of one single photo or picture. However, in certain cases it is not possible to clearly distinguish the lines between individual pictures or photos in an illustration that consists of a combination of photos or pictures. In cases like that the whole is defined as one illustration.

For the quantitative analysis all illustrations in the books are first counted and then divided into two groups: those that portray people and other characters and those that portray something else, e.g. a landscape or the Tower of London. If an illustration depicts a massmeeting of some kind or otherwise has too many and too vague characters to be analysed, it is not included in the analysis. There are, however, exceptions to this rule because there are a few illustrations which show masses of people whose sex is identifiable: for example, one photo shows a great number of people carrying a giant poster of Shakespeare and a drawing shows

thirty people who are involved in various activities in a skyscraper. These kind of exceptions are analysed.

The characters are then identified mainly on the basis of their faces and clothing as females (F) and males (M). If the sex of the character is not identifiable, the character is marked unidentified (UI). The F category includes girls, women and other characters and figures (e.g. animals) whose sex is unambiguously identifiable as female. The M category includes boys, men and other characters and figures whose sex can be unambiguously identified as male.

Due to the large amount of data and to avoid complexities that might be caused by it, Michel's (1986:49) suggestion for further analysis is not applied in the present study. In other words, no difference is made between main characters and supporting characters; all characters whose sex can be clearly identified are regarded as of equal importance. After the identification of the characters, the number of females, males and unidentified characters in each illustration is counted.

In the qualitative analysis of the illustrations the characters are divided into categories on the basis of their activities. The categorization is a modified version of Michel's (1986:51-52) suggestion for identifying sexism in the activities of male and female characters in textbooks and children's literature. The categories were modified so that they would cover all the subject areas and themes in *Passwords 1-8* and all types of activities in these subject areas could be embedded in the categories. Here is a list of the nine categories and the definitions of the types of activities belonging to each category: 1) *posing* (the activity the character is primarily involved in is posing for the camera), 2) *verbal action and other social interaction* (interaction with other people: talking, greeting, hugging, kissing, arguing and fighting), 3) *arts* (includes the visual arts, pottery, handicraft, fashion, music, theatre and dancing), 4) *sports*, 5) *travel, adventure and exploration*, 6) *at work and at school* (workplace is equated with school because studying can be considered a student's work), 7) *at*

home and in home-related activities (shopping, cooking, taking care of the children, cleaning the house and other domestic tasks; also watching television or listening to radio at home, etc), 8) *political, social and religious activities* (involvement in social activities or politics as a member of a party or a school club, environmental activist etc) and 9) *other activities* (unclear and ambiguous cases which cannot be placed in any other of the eight categories).

With the help of the analysis which consists of a quantitative and a qualitative part, the presentation of females and males in different activities in the illustrations of *Passwords 1-8* will be examined.

7.3 Method of Analysis for the Texts

The text analysis covers all other chapters in *Passwords Courses 1-8* except those under the headline *Listen* which were ruled out because they would have made the data too large and difficult to handle. It was natural to draw the line here because acquiring the recordings and the teacher's handbook - where the scripts for the listenings are - would have called for special arrangements. However, if a *Listen* chapter has a written introduction in which characters appear and it hence contributes valid information to the present study, it is analysed as a text. Headlines, captions and similar texts are also included in the analysis and discussed in connection with the illustrations when necessary. The songs, poems and encyclopedias in the textbooks are also analysed.

First, all the characters appearing in the texts are collected and listed for analysis. For this purpose the concept of *character* needs to be defined. In the present study a *character* is either a human being or some other living figure, e.g. an animal, who is mentioned in a text and who can be identified as an individual. For example, the sentence

He stopped and stared into the face of one of the boys. (Westlake et al. 1991b:11)

contains two characters: *he* and *one of the boys* whereas the sentence

In many countries, the political head of a government is called a minister. (Westlake et al 1991a:119)

contains only general references to people; there are no characters who could be identified and analysed as individuals. However, general references to people can also be treated as characters if they are attributed gender, e.g. in the sentence

Ask any schoolkid . . . and you know what he will answer? (Westlake et al. 1991a:109)

In other words, although *any schoolkid* does not refer to a specific individual, it is included in the analysis because the authors have chosen to present the schoolkid as *he*.

As regards plural forms, they are included in the analysis when the specific number of the characters is given. For example, the sentence

. . . I have four stepbrothers and one stepsister. (Lehtonen et al. 1990:23)

contains 6 characters altogether: *I* (1 male named Kevin), *four stepbrothers* (4 males) and *one stepsister* (1 female). Since the present study does not differentiate between main and supporting characters, the choice of gender attributed to the siblings is as important as the gender of the main character.

If the exact numbers of the characters are not given, the plural form is excluded because in the present study only those characters who can be identified as individuals, are taken into account. For

example, the following sentence

. . . which had been prepared by our aunts or elder sisters who were not working." (Westlake et al. 1990:26)

does not contain characters who could be identified as individuals.

After these definitions some vague cases may remain. One example is the headline of a chapter in *Course 7* called *1C Mother Earth and Father Sky*. Here the two words *earth* and *sky*, which do not qualify as characters, have been combined with the words *mother* and *father* which are masculine and feminine in character. Therefore, *Mother Earth* and *Father Sky* are included in the analysis as characters.

The characters used as data are divided into three categories on the basis of their sex: males (M), females (F) and unidentified characters (UI). The characters are counted per chapter so it is possible that the same character may be included in total sums more than once. For example, Charlie Chaplin, Jeremy Wheeler, Detective Inspector Collins and Mrs Cohen are characters who appear in more than one chapter. The numbers of characters in each course are then examined in connection with the subject areas of the courses to see how males and females are presented in them.

The identification of the sex of the characters raised a problem as to the names of celebrities mentioned in the texts. A large number of names of artists, politicians and other well-known people appear in the texts without any further definitions. It is, therefore, up to the analyst to decide if a student can be expected to be able to identify, for example, famous Finnish artists named *Lyytikäinen* or *Sibelius* as male or female. In those cases where the student can be expected to identify the character without any special knowledge of a particular field of art, the character in question is identified as male or female, e.g. Sibelius is a male. When in doubt, e.g. in the case of *Lyytikäinen*, the character is marked unidentified. This solution, however, increases the danger of subjectivity in the

analysis.

You and *I* are characters who often appear in songs and poems. If they are not explicitly referred to as male or female, they are marked unidentified. The sex of the given poet or musician is not used as a clue for identification because it cannot be taken for granted that *I* - the narrator - is the same as the poet or musician. An old male musician might, for example, be describing an event or a person through the eyes of a young woman.

The data are then divided into the following categories with the help of which the characters' roles in the texts are defined: 1) male with an occupation (M/occ), 2) female with an occupation (F/occ), 3) unidentified character with an occupation (UI/occ), 4) male in family connection (M/fam), 5) female in family connection (F/fam), 6) unidentified character in family connection (UI/fam), 7) male in other role (M/OR) 8) female in other role (F/OR) and 9) unidentified character in other role (UI/OR). It should be noted that girl- and boyfriends are treated as family connections.

If a character is not presented as having any particular role, he is placed in the appropriate *other role*-category. If a character has different types of roles, as in the case of Emily Holberg's mother who is a mother, a designer and a marathon runner, she is placed accordingly in three categories: F/fam, F/occ and F/OR.

The three-role-category system was created so that by dividing the characters into the three role categories, it can be directly seen whether the characters' roles in *Passwords* parallel with the earlier findings that males are more often seen in occupational roles and their occupations are more varied than those of the females who are most often seen in family roles as mothers (see e.g. Palmu 1992, *Women on Words and Images* 1974). Earlier studies have also shown that male characters can simultaneously be in the role of a father and go to work whereas mothers who go to work are rare in children's literature and school textbooks (*Women on Words and Images* 1974, Weitzman et al. 1974). With the help of the categorization used in the present study, it can be examined

whether these tendencies exist in *Passwords*.

Those characters who appear in many chapters but in exactly the same role, e.g. Detective Inspector Collins in *Course 1*, are taken into account only once in the role analysis. However, if a character appears in more than one chapter and is attributed one or more new roles, he is counted as many times as needed to have all the roles included. Hence the different roles attributed to male and female characters can be identified without interference from the frequency of their occurrence. This procedure concerns mainly *Course 1* which contains two serial stories.

8 ANALYSIS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

The description of the findings will proceed in the following way. Firstly, the number of male, female and unidentified characters in the illustrations will be discussed in connection with the subject areas of the courses. Secondly, the activities of male and female characters will be examined: a general introduction of the number of characters presented in different activities will be followed by a detailed analysis of the contents of the nine activity categories. Each category will be discussed under its own heading.

8.1 Number of Male, Female and Unidentified Characters

The first part of the quantitative analysis in which all the illustrations were counted and divided into those that portray human beings and other characters, and into those that portray something else, e.g. landscapes and buildings, revealed that *Passwords Textbooks 1-8* contain 920 illustrations of which 505 portray characters in a variety of activities. The total number of characters appearing in the illustrations is 1152. *Courses 4, 5* and *6* contain a relatively large amount of data, ie. illustrations with

male, female and unidentifiable characters whereas the corresponding figures in *Courses 7 and 8* are noticeably smaller, as Table 1 below shows. The small number of illustrations with characters in *Courses 7 and 8* is, at least to some extent, due to the subject areas of the courses. They deal with environmental matters and the illustrations depict mainly different kinds of animals, plants and landscapes while those courses that introduce and discuss aspects of everyday-life or cultural topics have more illustrations with people.

Table 1. Passwords 1-8 Illustrations

Course	Illustrations/ total	Illustrations/ analysed	Nr of people	M	F	UI
1	85	47	92	47	32	13
2	91	68	131	74	43	14
3	74	52	64	32	25	7
4	170	103	258	160	64	34
5	179	92	171	92	38	41
6	136	101	299	181	92	26
7	116	19	39	21	10	8
8	69	23	98	39	31	28
Total	920	505	1152	646	335	171

From the total of 1152 characters 646 were identified as males, 335 as females and 171 as unidentified characters which means that the illustrations in *Passwords 1-8* are dominated by males with 56%. Compared with males, females are clearly underrepresented as only 29% of the characters are females. The percentage of unidentified characters is 15%. It should be noted that there is a possibility for differing results as regards the number of

unidentified characters. There are certain characters in the illustrations who could be identified as representatives of either sex but who in the present study have been marked as unidentified. For example, on the cover of *Course 2* there is a character playing American football. From a stereotyped viewpoint it is men, not women, who play American football and hence this person may be classified as male by the reader. However, due to the lack of definite and unambiguous external signs indicating the character's sex, he was marked unidentified.

In six out of the total of eight courses the underrepresentation of females is undisputed: the number of males tends to be approximately double the number of females. Only *Course 3*, which deals with work and study, and *Course 8*, on human rights and environmental matters, show signs of equality: the illustrations in the former show 32 males and 25 females and in the latter 39 males compared to 31 females. However, *Course 8* also contains 28 unidentified characters, which is almost equal to the number of females. A similar phenomenon is seen in *Courses 5* and *7* which deal with technology and environmental matters: the former has 38 females compared to 41 unidentified characters and the latter depicts 10 females and 8 unidentified characters. The corresponding numbers of males in these courses are 92 and 21.

The underrepresentation of females in the illustrations is an indication of sexism, and it is further underlined by the fact that sometimes the number of females is equal to the number of unidentified characters. In other words, females are not presented as important as males but they are as important, or unimportant, as the unidentified characters. However, females and males are almost equally represented in relation to work and study as well as human rights and environmental matters. Hence the quantitative representation of the characters is not unambiguously sexist, especially as work has traditionally been the field where males and females have been unequally presented.

8.2 Activities of the Characters

When the female, male and unidentified characters were divided into categories on the basis of their activities, *posing* turned out to be the most common activity followed by *other activities* and *artistic activities* (see Table 2 below). When the rest of the activities are listed on the basis of the frequency of their occurrence, their rank order is as follows: *travel, adventure and exploration, verbal action and other social interaction, political, social and religious activities, at work and at school, at home and in home-related activities and sports.*

Table 2. Characters' Activities in the Illustrations

Activity	Male	Female	Unidentified	Total
1 Posing	177	88	8	273
2 Verbal action	66	26	6	98
3 Arts	110	81	23	214
4 Sports	9	4	12	25
5 Travel, adventure and exploration	61	16	38	115
6 At work/school	40	18	9	67
7 At home and in related activities	21	26	11	58
8 Political, social and religious activities	48	13	10	71
9 Other activities	114	63	54	231
Total	646	335	171	1152

The overall overrepresentation of males seems to be rather equally distributed between the categories as males dominate in

almost all of them. The most common activities among males and females are almost the same. Men and boys are most often shown posing, in other activities and in artistic activities whereas women and girls are most often seen posing, in artistic activities and in other activities. The fourth common activity among males is verbal action whereas the corresponding position among women is shared by verbal action and at home and in home-related activities which is, in fact, the only female-dominated category. At home and in related activities ranks eighth among males making it the second rarest male activity. Hence the mere numbers of females (26) and males (21) involved in this particular activity are misleading. Sports is the rarest activity among both sexes.

Certain difficulties in the categorization raise up questions relating to the objectivity of the method of analysis. If a photo illustrates a woman, probably a tourist, sitting in Santa's lap, which category should she be placed in: travel, adventure and exploration because she is probably a tourist? In this particular case both Santa and the woman were placed into category 9) *Other activities* because the illustration did not explicitly convey the idea of travelling or participating in an adventure. Santa could have been placed in categories 6) *At work and at school* and both of them in category 1) *Posing*. The division between categories 6) *At work* and 1) *Posing* was especially difficult and there may still exist some inconsistencies in the choices made in the present study. Though the aim was to make the categorization as consistent as possible, it was impossible to make it so objective that the procedure could be repeated exactly the same way. Individual expectations, attitudes, experiences and even contextual factors are bound to effect the choices a person makes in the process.

Another problem occurred in the categorization because of its original design for the analysis of elementary school textbooks. The characters whose occupations were introduced in *Passwords 1-8* could not unambiguously be defined as representatives of a certain occupation in the illustrations. In elementary school English

textbooks characters' roles are often signalled through their clothing or the action they are involved in. The characters in the English textbooks for upper-secondary school are, however, often shown posing for the camera. For example, *Chapter 20 Marathon Mom* in *Course 2* is about Emily Holberg's mother and her hobby, running marathons. Her occupation as a designer is also dealt with. However, the photo of her only portrays a dark-haired woman posing. There are no external signs of motherhood, marathon running or the job as a designer.

In the following the contents of each of the nine activity categories will be analysed to find out how males and females are presented in their activities in the illustrations.

8.2.1 Posing

From the total of 1152 characters appearing in the illustrations 273 are shown posing: 177 of them are males, 88 females and 8 unidentified characters. On the basis of the findings in earlier studies on children's literature and school textbooks (e.g. Weitzman et al. 1974, Palmu 1992) which showed that women tend to be portrayed in passive roles, female dominance could have been expected in category 1 *Posing* as it could be described as the most passive form of activity. But this was not the case.

In earlier studies posing has not been reported. One reason for this may be that the earlier studies have mainly dealt with children's literature and textbooks for primary school and lower-secondary school level where the subject areas are different from those in upper-secondary school level. Because the texts in children's literature often deal with concrete action, e.g. playing games or doing housework, and upper-secondary school textbooks introduce more abstract topics, such as human relations and social problems, the illustrations are bound to be different. Or perhaps the writers of *Passwords* have made a conscious effort to try to avoid

sex stereotypes in illustrations and have, therefore, chosen to use posing people in connection with the presentation of a variety of topics.

Illustrations of posing people are usually photos which are placed next to the text where the person in question is introduced. A great number of the illustrations with posing characters portray representatives of different occupations. These illustrations will be dealt with in detail together with the illustrations that portray characters at work or at school. Other characters who are shown posing, are, for example, teenagers who talk about their life, interviewees from different areas of life, celebrities, artists, historically important persons and members of the royal family. Illustrations of this kind add to the credibility of the character, who is expected to be accepted as a real-life person by the reader. However, if the illustrations are not skillfully done the effect may be quite the contrary. Overdone and artificial photos ridicule the characters and, simultaneously, may cause the reader to feel that she is being underestimated. Examples of unconvincing and artificial photos are seen on page 66 in *Course 1* of Sarah Hastings, Ruth Verdi, Joseph Eastwood and Rick North and on pages 79-80 in *Course 6* of John, Sarah and Lindsey. The common factor, which causes a contrast and leads to a comic effect in the above mentioned photos, is that the titles and the texts introduce these characters as ordinary young people discussing a variety topics that are of interest to them but instead of showing ordinary teenagers the photos portray amateur mannequins posing for the camera. There is no noticeable difference in the portrayal of females and males in this aspect.

Even though female characters are underrepresented in category *1 Posing* there are no significant differences in the qualitative presentation of the two sexes.

8.2.2 Verbal Action and Other Social Interaction

Category *Verbal Action and Other Social Interaction* consists of illustrations portraying characters talking to each other and also involved in other kind of communication and social interaction: greeting, hugging, kissing as well as in negative forms of social interaction such as arguing or even fighting. There are 66 males, 26 females and 6 unidentified characters, that is 98 characters altogether, in the category. Those illustrations in which characters are shown talking to each other are discussed first.

Course 1 introduces a 17-year-old Finnish female student named Hanna who travels to London to collect material for *Passwords* and to see how she will manage there with her school English. Her contact person and guide on the spot is Nigel Greaves, a 24-year-old actor who has lived in London all his life. In four out of the five photos in which Nigel and Hanna are shown talking, it is Nigel who does the talking and explaining while Hanna passively listens to him and looks at the things he shows her. This is also the case when they are shown travelling together. It seems that with the help of the illustrations Hanna's role as the tourist and Nigel's role as her guide are underlined. The illustrations cannot, therefore, be interpreted to convey a sex stereotype about male superiority. However, the tourist might occasionally also want to ask a question or comment on what she sees, and this does not happen in the illustrations. It can only be speculated with who would have done the talking if the roles had been reversed.

Other people shown talking are, for example, a man interviewing another man in *Course 4*, teenagers of both sexes in a discussion group in *Course 2* and a male actor and a male director talking in *Course 6*. The message conveyed through these illustrations has, at least, two contradictory interpretations. First, it is a generally held stereotype that women talk a lot. In this sense, presenting more males than females talking in the illustrations is counterstereotypic. However, those men who are shown talking

tend to be presented as important persons with high social status which implies that only discussions that are of some importance are worth picturing. This leads further to the conclusion that because women are not shown discussing, their topics are not important.

Other activities shown in the illustrations of this category are, for example, a family congratulating a female graduate and a man and a woman kissing. *Course 4* contains two illustrations which show a large number of adolescent skinheads and grown-up men in a streetfight while a policeman is standing and watching the incident with a dog. In *Course 6* there are 6 men who are shown fighting in cartoon covers. The latter ones are very small in size but still distinguishable. Females are not shown expressing aggressive behaviour in any of the coursebooks. Although males have been found to perform more aggressive behaviour than females, it is questionable whether illustrations of this kind are needed in school textbooks in the first place.

The illustrations in this category tend to present male characters as more active than female characters who are either absent or in somewhat passive roles.

8.2.3 Arts

The category *3 Arts* is the third largest of the nine categories, and it is the third common activity among males and second common among females. The category consists of 214 characters of whom 110 are males, 81 females and 23 unidentified characters. The number of females is, to some extent, distorted because of a drawing in *Course 6*, which shows 17 faceless female figures modelling for different skirt lengths.

According to Michel (1986:51-52) a book conveys a sex stereotype if it shows males performing and creating art and females as their audience. In *Passwords* both male and female

characters are shown actively performing and creating art and hence the two sexes are presented equally. However, the male characters' artistic activities are more varied than those of the females: girls and women are shown dancing, painting, modelling different skirt lengths and playing the violin whereas boys' and men's activities include doing handicraft, playing a variety of instruments, singing, acting, conducting an orchestra and filming. When male and female characters are involved in artistic activities together, they are shown dancing.

Both males and females are also portrayed as artworks such as paintings or statues, including a painting of a ballerina by Degas and a painting of three musicians by Picasso. Illustrations that contained paintings and statues which portrayed characters in other than artistic activities were placed into the appropriate category on the basis of the characters' activities. Hence only those illustrations in which characters were actually involved in artistic activities ended up in category 3) *Arts*.

In summary, the difference in the portrayal of females and males in this category is manifested in the overrepresentation of males whose artistic activities are also more varied than those of the females. However, the quantitative inequality is partly balanced by the fact that both sexes are presented active in creating and performing art.

8.2.4 Sports

Very few characters, altogether 25 of whom 9 are males, 4 females and 12 unidentified characters, are involved in sports activities. Women are shown running and exercising, and men playing baseball and practising karate. After the overall male-dominance in the data has been taken into account, it seems that the illustrations succeed in conveying the idea that females and males are equally involved in sports activities which, according to Michel (1986:52), is

one of the prerequisites for the equal presentation of the sexes. When a man and a woman are involved in sports activities together, they are pictured figureskating.

One chapter in particular succeeds in reflecting social realities in the field of sports as it introduces a female olympic medal winning runner as an example of the skill of concentration. There are no male counterparts, ie. a male olympic medal winners, for her in any of the chapters.

Despite the underrepresentation of females in sports activities, the two sexes are rather equally presented in this category as both males and females are shown as active participants in sports.

8.2.5 Travel, Adventure and Exploration

There are 61 males, 16 females and 40 unidentified characters in the category travel, adventure and exploration. The underrepresentation of females in this activity reveals a prevailing sex stereotype which is at its strongest in *Course 6*, which has 33 males, 7 females and 9 unidentified characters, and in *Course 4*, which has 18 males, 1 female and 7 unidentified characters. The explanation for the unbalance in the latter case can be found in a drawing which shows 16 males, only 1 female and 5 unidentified characters travelling on an overcrowded train. The relevance of this particular illustration and the implication that not as many women as men travel by train remains rather insignificant as the illustration is neither very clear nor large.

Illustrations of men's and boys' adventures in *Course 6* include Superman ready for an adventure, the Invisible Man escaping or running away from someone, experimenting and creating monsters, travelling in space, diving, James Bond travelling with a flying vehicle, running away from a monster, Dracula biting a woman's neck, a private detective, being on a boat, a monster, lurking behind a window with a gun and wandering in

a forest. Women's and girls' adventurous roles include being snatched by a monster, running away from a monster, being bitten by Dracula, and being on a boat. The differences between the male and female characters' activities are an indication of a sex stereotype; men are presented in more active, more varied and more imaginative roles than females who are attributed the role of a passive object.

In the first three courses of *Passwords* males and females are numerically rather equally represented in adventurous activities. In fact, females outnumber males by two. An especially eye-catching photo pictures a girl canoeing by herself in a river running wild. Other activities include a man and a woman on a picnic, Hanna travelling in London after having been instructed by Nigel and a young girl driving a snowmobile with an elderly man sitting at the back. The girl's competence in handling the vehicle is questioned by a caption below the photo that runs: "Are you sure you can drive this thing?". This statement is likely to have been caused by the girl's young age but it can also be speculated with whether this statement would have been used if the driver had been a young boy.

The large number of unidentified characters in this category is due to an illustration in *Course 7* which has as many as 13 unidentified African refugees wandering in a desert. In *Course 6* there are 11 unidentified characters whose activities include travelling in space and running away.

In summary, the presentation of female and male characters in this category is sexist in two ways. First, females are strikingly underrepresented and second, males are portrayed in more active and more varied roles than females.

8.2.6 At Work and at School

Category 6 *At work and at school* contains 67 characters of whom 40

are males, 18 females and 9 unidentified characters. Most of the illustrations which show people at work are located in *Courses 2-5*. A large number of women and men who are introduced in different occupational roles in the texts are shown just posing, not working, in the illustrations. Since there were no external signs indicating the characters' occupations, they were placed in the category *1 Posing*.

By linking the illustrations of posing people with the texts, it is possible to find out which occupations are represented with posing people. The occupations of those women who are shown posing in the illustrations include a professor, a stewardess, a nurse, an office worker, a factory worker, a (consultant) psychologist, a nutritionist/cancer specialist and a designer. The corresponding occupations among men are, for example, a WWF President, a Senior Associate with the World Resources Institute, a scientist, a mathematician, a bacteriologist, an industrialist, a chemist, a doctor, a salesman, a farmer, an inventor, an engineer, a film director, a captain, a politician, a musician, a flight attendant, a policeman, a duke, an actor, an author, a math teacher, a busdriver, a contact person and an interviewer, a soccer player, a vet, a teacher, a man working in a bank and a construction worker. These findings indicate that one reason for the noticeably large number of characters in the category *1 Posing* is due to the fact the representatives of different occupations are mostly shown posing instead of working.

There are also two chapters - chapter 16 *An Odd Job for A Girl?* in *Course 3* and chapter 9 *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad Ad World* in *Course 5* - where the illustrations convey the idea that the persons, ie. a female firefighter, a female gardener, a female painter-decorator, a female engineer, a female receptionist, a male AD's assistant, a male art director, a male copywriter and a female production assistant, had been working but have stopped for posing. They were placed into the category at work.

Those males who are actually at work in the illustrations have

the following occupations: an actor, a surgeon, a newsreader, a man working on a statue, a policeman, a prison guard, a baker, a meteorologist, a dj, a factory worker, a student, a man selling hot dogs, a boss, a piccolo, and a window cleaner. Females who are shown working are a woman selling flowers, a physicist, a newsreader, a pop-press officer, an office-worker, a cleaning lady, a secretary, a ticket office clerk and a woman milking a cow.

Certain differences in the ways in which females and males are portrayed at work cause a comical effect which diminishes the credibility of the female characters. One photo shows pop-press officer Grace Fielding standing and talking on a phone while eating a hamburger and writing something down. Another photo shows a woman leafing through a bunch of papers while sitting on an office desk with her overcoat on. Judging from the setting and the clothing of the characters both photos are meant to convey an image of women in high positions but because of the somewhat staged and artificial situations, which in the latter illustration is partly caused by the woman's inappropriate clothing, this does not quite succeed.

This idea is strengthened by the portrayal of the two women's masculine counterparts. The male counterpart for Grace Fielding is computer consultant Martin Pitman who is shown yawning in front of a computer in a short-sleeved shirt. The other male is a man who is operating a machine in a factory with jeans and a t-shirt on. Although the former photo gives a slightly staged impression, the focus in both cases is on the men and their work without disturbance from the setting that would make the men look comical.

The portrayal of female and male characters in occupational roles is sex stereotyped because the number of males presented in occupational roles doubles the number of females, and because the males' roles are more varied. Yet the category cannot be condemned as completely sexist; although there is only one man in a non-traditional occupation, namely a flight attendant, females

are shown in non-traditional occupations, such as a physicist and a professor. Thus, the female reader is, to some extent, made aware of the existing career alternatives.

8.2.7 At Home and in Home-Related Activities

Category 7 *At home and in home-related activities* is the only category dominated by female characters: it contains 26 females, 21 males and 11 unidentified characters. *Course 4*, which among other things deals with home, has a relatively large but equal number of men and women shown at home or in home-related activities.

Females' activities in this category are, for example, shopping, sitting under hairdryer, sitting in front of the home, feeding a child, carrying a child, opening a computer door, trying to get a hen down from a tree, listening to the radio, watching TV, standing by the bedroom window, and pouring tea into cups. Males are shown building an igloo, sitting in front of the home, sitting in the living-room listening to the radio, watching TV, frying a fish and eating. Males and females are seldom seen together; when they appear together, they are either watching TV or they are pictured in front of their home.

One illustration in *Course 5* is explicitly sexist. A chapter titled *6 That's Entertainment* is illustrated with a photo which is placed right under the title. The photo shows an excited man watching television with a broad smile on his face and a remote control in his hand, and on the large tv-screen - or actually stepping out of the TV screen - is Marilyn Monroe in her famous pose trying to pull down the hem of her white dress which is being blown by a sudden flurry of wind. The message conveyed through the photo and the title is that the woman's suggestive pose is a source of entertainment to the man.

There are a few other illustrations in this category in which the focus is on the characters' appearance. Three women are seen

shopping with curlers in their hair, and the caption with quotation marks below runs "They never even noticed me." The meaning of the caption remains unclear, but it is likely to be the thought of the young girl in the foreground in the photo. The implication would then be that she has tried how it feels to go shopping with curlers on and the result is that nobody pays attention to her. Whatever the intended message is, the three women look funny and thus, they are made a source of amusement because of their appearance.

Women's preoccupation with their appearance is also present in an old photo which is likely to have been taken in the 1950s. The photo shows a strange situation: two women are seen sitting under hairdriers while a man and a woman are dancing and a number of other people are watching the dancing couple. There is no caption to help to understand this odd event. The photo was placed in this particular category because, in spite of the jukebox in the background, the preconditions for a situation like this are likely to exist at somebody's home.

At home and in home-related activities has traditionally been a female-dominated area and this is also the case in the illustrations in *Passwords*. There are more females in this category, and they are presented in more varied and active roles than males. Illustrations in which housework is done are rare but female characters are seen taking care of children. When a man is shown active, he is building an igloo, which is an activity requiring strength, a masculine characteristic. Instead, characters are presented in a number of activities that take place at home, e.g. watching TV. The females' appearance is also sometimes made a source of amusement. However, it is important not to overrate the significance of this particular category because, after all, it is one of the smallest.

8.2.8 Political, Social and Religious Activities

Before turning to the analysis, the distinction between category 8 *Political, Social and Religious Activities* and category 2 *Discussing and Other Social Interaction* must be specified because of the similarity in their names. Category 2 consisted of illustrations in which characters were involved in different kinds of social interaction, e.g. talking or arguing with other people. This category contains illustrations in which people are seen involved in political, social and religious activities, for example as activists.

The illustrations in this category portray 71 characters of whom 48 are males, 13 females and 10 unidentified characters. The number of men is affected by a painting which shows altogether 15 men gathered in a meeting. Other males in this category are shown participating in demonstrations, voting, preaching and as activists. Females are shown as activists and participating in demonstrations. All the illustrations about demonstrations are non-violent.

Women and men are seen together listening to Martin Luther King, demonstrating for the Blacks' rights and the immigrants' rights and as students demonstrating for peace. One illustration shows a woman in a demonstration for women's rights; at the background there is one man, one woman and two unidentified characters standing - it is not clear whether they are participating in the demonstration or spectators.

Although this category is male-dominated and females are not seen voting or in a meeting like males, it is not completely sexist. Both males and females are shown actively expressing their opinions of a number of political, social and religious matters.

8.2.9 Other Activities

From the total of 1152 characters included in the analysis, 114

males, 63 females and 54 unidentified characters, ie. 231 characters altogether, were placed into the category *Other activities* making it the second largest. The category contains all the illustrations that could not unambiguously be placed in any of the categories discussed above, for example a photo of a one-arm bandit shaped like one-armed man holding a gun, people crossing the street, a man drowning under a pile of papers, Santa Claus on a Coca Cola advertisement, a man being sucked into a computer, unclear faces of people on a record cover, a woman who is wearing a mask and holding a glittering object, a robot, a woman in a chewing gum commercial and a man inhaling countryside smell from a spraycan. A common feature in the illustrations in this category is that they all portray characters who are involved in activities that are difficult or even impossible to define. It is, therefore, also difficult to try to place these illustrations into a certain activity category.

The comparatively large number of characters in this category could also be interpreted as a shortcoming in the method of analysis. In other words, the large number of characters may be a indication of a need for more categories that would better cover different kinds of activities. In fact, one or two new categories seem to be developing inside this category already. First, there are a number of illustrations which show characters on book, magazine and record covers. Second, characters appear in commercial posters, e.g. movie posters, as well as in advertisements and TV commercials. A further study could, perhaps, be carried out by adding a tenth category which would cover the above listed types of illustrations. Alternatively, some of these characters could just be placed into category 1 *Posing*.

Even though the quantitative presentation of the two sexes in this category is in favour of male characters, the qualitative presentation of females and males seems to be fairly equal.

9 ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

The description of the findings made in the texts will proceed followingly: first, the number of male, female and unidentified characters in each course will be discussed in connection with the subject areas of the courses. In this way it is possible to examine how males and females are presented in the different subject areas, which in addition to work, study, people and society, technology, culture, human rights and environmental matters include Britain as well as American culture and language. Because the subject areas of certain courses are similar to some of the categories that were used in the analysis of the illustrations - e.g. *human rights and environmental matters* parallels with *political, social and religious activities* - a number conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the numerical representation of male and female characters in the texts of a certain course.

Second, the presentation of male and female characters in different roles will be examined so that their occupational roles are discussed first followed by an account of their family connections, which will also be referred to as family roles. The family roles are then discussed in connection with the characters' occupational roles. Finally, other roles of male and female characters are examined.

9.1 Number of Male, Female and Unidentified Characters

The first part of the text analysis, in which characters appearing in the texts were collected, counted and identified, revealed that the different texts in the *Passwords* textbook series, ie. chapters, songs, poems, encyclopedias, captions and headlines, contain 1840 characters of whom 1112 (60%) are males, 441 (24%) females and 287 (16%) unidentified characters. The overrepresentation of male characters in the texts is noticeably large and an indication of

sexism.

The distribution of male, female and unidentified characters between the eight courses of *Passwords* is shown in Table 3 below. Table 3 shows that all the eight courses are male-dominated although in *Course 3* the number of male characters exceeds that of the females only by 6. In *Courses 5* and *8* the number of unidentified characters is larger than the number of female characters. A similar tendency was found in the illustrations in *Courses 5, 7* and *8* in which the numbers of unidentified characters were almost identical with the numbers of females. An implicit message that the texts convey together with the illustrations is that male characters, who are presented more often, are also more important than female characters. Females are presented as often as the unidentified characters, whose roles in the texts are not very significant. Thus, the female characters could even be said to be as unimportant as the unidentified characters in *Courses 5* and *7*.

Table 3. Number of Characters in the Texts

Course	Males	Females	Unidentified	Total
1	94	62	5	161
2	90	39	3	132
3	45	39	13	97
4	173	94	83	350
5	173	46	61	280
6	409	126	91	626
7	61	20	14	95
8	67	15	17	99
Total	1112	441	287	1840

Table 3 shows that the greatest number of male and female

characters can be found in *Course 6* which deals with both everyday culture and high culture. From the total of 626 characters in *Course 6*, 409 are males, 126 females and 91 unidentified characters. Considering that the total number of female characters in all the eight courses is 441, the number of male characters in this particular course is noticeably large. Reasons for this are many.

For example, those chapters in *Course 6* that introduce well-known people from different fields of art tend to deal with only male artists. The reader is acquainted with Salvador Dali, William Shakespeare, Charles Chaplin and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart as representatives of high culture and she also gets to know the term culture as it has been defined by Erkki Toivanen who is referred to as a very cultured gentleman. The list of male artists or men who otherwise are in contact with culture, and to whom a whole chapter is dedicated include Groucho Marx (a comedian), Anatoli Martchevski (a Soviet clown), Stephen King (an author), Sting (a musician), Trevor Pinnock (a British conductor), Vincent van Gogh (a painter), Peter Bartlett (an actor), Joseph Peters (an American reporter who tells about Albanian sign language), Mandan Lal (a young Indian actor and producer) and Jamake Highwater (a Blackfoot Indian). Their feminine counterparts are Claire Kendall (writes about Australian street poetry), Josette Simon alias Black Marilyn (an actress who is black), a nameless Japanese woman (talks about the tea ceremony and flower arranging) and Minna Tervamäki (a 22 year-old member of the Finnish National Ballet). Moreover, there is one chapter that briefly introduces 12 male composers and their works. From the 9 optional literature excerpts 7 are from male authors. *Poets' Corner* introduces works of 7 male poets, 1 female poet and 1 unidentified poet.

Altogether 93 male characters, 19 female characters and 16 unidentified characters can be found in *Culture Gallery* which gives further information about the well-known personalities that appear in the texts in *Course 6*. The number of those male

composers, writers and other artists from different countries who are individually presented in alphabetical order is 46 and includes names such as Isaac Asimov, Humphrey Bogart, Edgar Degas, Placido Domingo, James Joyce, Robert Frost, Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman. The corresponding number of female artists is 4 and consists of Jane Austen, Agatha Christie, Emily Dickinson and Kiri Te Kanawa.

The second largest number of characters was found in *Course 4* which deals with people and society. It contains 350 characters of whom 173 are males, 94 females and 83 unidentified characters, and is hence clearly male-dominated. It should be noted that the large number of unidentified characters is partly due to two chapters in which 27 children altogether are mentioned without any further definitions.

In *Course 4* both males and females are introduced as representatives of organizations or as individuals who fight against different kinds of injustice in society: Matts Willgren is a member a society for the conservation of nature, Jan van der Klej and Peter Gabriel belong to Amnesty International, Rob Prince works for peace, Jaana Helminen is a member of a youth section of a political party, Tina Morris is an active member of the Consumer's Association and Jean Gump is active in church and community work and has also made a statement by climbing on the top of a missile silo for which she was arrested.

Characters who are presented as victims of social injustices include Mr Bokwe Mafuna who is a South African journalist who was forced to live in excile, a nameless young Indian girl who was expected to accept an arranged marriage and a female teacher who illegally discarded because she had not told her employer that she was a single parent. It seems that the problems of the female characters are related with being a woman whereas the reason for the problems of the male is political.

Both males and females are seen in chapters that deal with problems caused by alcohol and drugs in *Course 4*. However, it is

men who appear more often in this context: bad boys Steve and his friend Tim are introduced to the reader so that she can draw her own conclusions of the true nature of their badness, Bruce Martin writes about a drink-and-drive-accident which he had witnessed and in which a young drunken male driver was killed and one chapter is about a teenager called Judie Lifton whose friends started to use drugs but who herself managed to refuse.

One of the prerequisites for the equal presentation of the two sexes is that both females and males are shown expressing their feelings and emotions (Michel 1986:53; see also *Women on Words and Images* 1974:202). This has been taken into consideration in *Course 4* to some extent as one of the chapters is an excerpt from the diary of Adrian Mole. In his diary Adrian writes about his feelings towards his friends and relatives at Christmas time. His expressions of emotions include love, jealousy and compassion which caused him shed tears. There is also one chapter in the course that deals with religion, which can be considered to be related with emotions. In that chapter 4 girls but only 1 boy are introduced as representatives of different religious beliefs.

Course 5, which deals with technology, has the third largest number of characters. It consists of 280 characters of whom 173 are males, 46 females and 61 unidentified characters. This is one of the two courses in which the number of unidentified characters exceeds the number of female characters. The relatively large number of unidentified characters is affected by 6 characters who are in the roles of unidentified friends, 4 characters who are presented as unidentified members of staff, and it is then further accumulated from unidentified representatives of different occupations such as a musician, a dentist, a racing driver, a news announcer and a commentator as well as a number of *Is* and *yous* in songs.

Inventors, experts and other historically important people introduced in connection with technology in *Course 5* are usually men: Percy Spencer is the inventor of the microwave oven,

Alexander Bell developed the first operational telephone, Danilo de Rossi is the developer of smart skin, Louis Pasteur developed the pasteurizing technique and so on. Women in this course tend to be presented as different kinds of writers: V. Elaine Gilmore is the writer of an article on home automation, Tuija Halonen has written an imaginative story and Clare Clifford, who used to be a copywriter but now works as a journalist, has written about the influence of advertisements on people. Other women in the course include Dr Glynis Breakwell who has studied 13-18 year-olds' attitudes to hi-tech and computers, ophthalmologist Marguerite McDonald and Louise Brown who was the first test-tube baby. Hence the texts imply that in the field of technology the creative work is divided on the basis of sex so that it is the males who do the inventing whereas the females do the writing. A similar finding has been reported earlier by Ruponen and Takala (1985:142) who found that heroes and historically important characters in realistic stories in primary school textbooks were males whereas females were in the roles of interviewers and storytellers.

An especially striking difference in the numbers of male and female characters occurs in the encyclopedia *Mothers and Fathers of Invention* where the word *mothers* refers to Marie Curie, the physicist who together with her husband was awarded with the Nobel Prize. The corresponding number of *fathers* in the encyclopedia is 16.

There are, however, two chapters in which women are presented as technically skilled, ie. skilled at handling cars. In *Chapter 13* a female driving instructor is referred to as "a very experienced expert" (Westlake et al. 1993:174) by a teenager called Roger who takes lessons from her. *Chapter 14A* introduces Amy and Dee Ann from Texas who

"Apart from driving their boyfriends mad they also know how to drive a car with care and consideration for others."
(Westlake et al. 1993:175)

Here the reader is expected to take the girls seriously as examples of skilled female drivers although the comic formulation of the introduction simultaneously makes them a source of amusement.

Course 1, which has the fourth largest number of characters, contains 161 characters of whom 94 are males, 62 females and 5 unidentified characters. As the subject of the course is Britain, most of the characters are ordinary British people: teenagers, students and representatives of different occupations. In the two serial stories two out of the three main characters, ie. Jeremy, Hanna and Nigel, are males. In one of the serial stories Jeremy Wheeler, who is an unemployed ex-student, gets in the middle of an adventure after a young woman has contacted him and asked him to help her to find her brother who has disappeared.

In the other serial story Hanna, who is a 17-year-old Finnish student, travels to London as she is sent there to collect material for *Passwords* and to see how she manages with her school English. Her guide in London is a 24-year-old actor called Nigel Greaves. The division of the roles between Hanna as the female traveller and Nigel as the male guide, which is also shown in the illustrations of the story, partly follows the pattern introduced by Nilsen (1974:165-166). Her finding that in children's literature it is the boys who do explaining while girls are the listeners is supported by both the texts and the illustrations of the story. For example, in *Chapter 8 Underground Music* Nigel explains to Hanna how to use the underground, and in one of the illustrations Nigel is pointing something out to Hanna with his finger on the underground map. However, presenting a male character in the role of a guide is, in a sense, counterstereotypic as guides in real life tend to be females.

Nilsen (1974:165-166) also found that it is the boys who do the travelling while girls are seen waving. Hanna, who is the female traveller in *Passwords*, does not fit into this pattern. However, her trip is arranged by her father and during her trip she is guided and instructed by another male, ie. Nigel. In other words, even though

a female character appears in a non-traditional traveller or adventurer role, the presentation is not completely free from stereotypical elements as she receives advice from male characters. A similar finding was reported by Suoninen (1995) who found that in children's TV programmes an adventuresome girl was always accompanied by a boy.

A female guide called Edna is also introduced in the same course as Hanna and Nigel. In the introductory text of the *Listen* chapter in which Edna appears, the reader is strongly advised not to take her too seriously. Hence the texts seem to imply that the male guide is more reliable than his feminine counterpart.

In addition to Hanna, another example of a female traveller or adventurer can be found in one of the chapters in *Course 2* where a student named Sarah Hastings writes about her experiences on a canoeing course. Most of the time Sarah is by herself but when it comes to the most difficult and dangerous part of the course - shooting a rapid - she, too, is accompanied by a male character.

There are also two guides on the canoeing course: a female called Liz and a male called Dennis. Very little information is given about them, and there does not seem to be any differences in the way the two guides are presented; they both help and give advice to the participants.

Course 2, which concentrates on American culture and language, has 132 characters of whom 90 are males, 39 females and 3 unidentified characters. The number of male characters is affected by 22 names of male composers which appear in the form of a list that does not contain any further details about the composers. Most of the characters in this course are teenagers and people with different occupations but a number of celebrities, e.g. actors and pop stars, are also included.

The subject area of *Course 3*, which contains 97 characters: 45 males, 39 females and 13 unidentified characters, is work and study. In this course the numerical representation of males and females is the most equal as the number of male characters exceeds the

number of females only by 6. A similar phenomenon was found in the analysis of illustrations of *Course 3*. Due to the subject area of this course the characters - as well as the characters in *Courses 1* and *2* - will be analysed more detailed under the headline 9.2.1 *Occupational Roles of Male and Female Characters*.

Of all the eight courses *Course 7*, which deals environmental matters, is the smallest as regards the number of characters. From the total of only 95 characters 61 are males, 20 females and 14 unidentified characters. The large number of male characters is partly due to the names of historically important men that appear in the chapters. A chapter titled *The Human Race*, in particular, introduces names of historically important males, such as Julius Caesar and Christopher Columbus. References are also made to men as hunters, herdsman and fishermen but there are no female characters in this chapter. Hence the presentation of the history of the human race can be said to be sexist as it completely ignores the existence of females.

Some of the chapters in *Course 7* are dedicated to the presentation of environmental activists and the projects they are involved in. Male characters introduced in these chapters are a 16-year-old honors student Brian Styers who started a recycling campaign in his school, Jim MacKenzie who is a Senior Associate with the World Resources Institute in Washington, DC. and one of the world's top experts on environmental problems and Michael Werikhe who collects money to save the black rhino. Their feminine counterparts are researcher Dian Fossey who started the Mountain Gorilla Project in Rwanda and was later murdered, Janice Dickerson who is a member of the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization and Linda Maraniss who is a regional director of the Center for Marine Conservation and who organized the first Texas Coastal Cleanup. There are also a number of stories and articles on environmental and related topics that have been written by males but there are no articles written by women in this course. One article is written by a man and a woman. Songs and poems are,

however, written by both males and females.

Course 8, which has human rights as its subject area, contains 99 characters of whom 67 are males, 15 females and 17 unidentified characters. It is the other one of the two courses where the number of unidentified characters is larger than the number of females. The number of unidentified characters is not affected by any particular chapter; it is gradually accumulated throughout the course. The number of male characters is, however, affected by the list of 17 male contributors on a book cover that does not have further information about the contributors. The corresponding number of female contributors is 2.

The characters who are presented as being involved in human rights activities in a variety of ways, mainly through their occupations, also include a number of human rights activists. From the 3 female activists 2 work on the so-called grassroot-level: one of them is a nameless female activist and the other one is Alice Barnes, who has dedicated her life to fighting injustices and is also called the great American activist of our time. The third female activist named Scarlett Holdman is the director of the Florida division of the Southern Coalition for Jails and Prisons, ie. in a top position in an organization. She is also referred to as one of the most important anti-death penalty activist in the United States.

The number of males who are presented in top positions in human rights organizations, 5 out of 7, is noticeably larger than that of the females. John G. Healey is the chairman of Amnesty International, Martin Luther King Jr. was the leader of the Black Civil Rights Movement, Stephen Biko was the founder of South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement, Peter Benson founded Amnesty International and Henri Dunant was the founder of the Red Cross. The 2 grassroot-level male activists are a Greenpeace activist called William Willoya and an Indian named Sonny Venkathrathum who was put into detention because he had raised money for a political movement.

In summary, with the exception of *Course 3*, females are more

or less underrepresented in all the other courses of *Passwords*. The underrepresentation is especially notable in *Courses 5* and *6* which fail to acknowledge the existence of females in the fields of technology and art. A great number of internationally known female artists, e.g. authors, painters and actresses, such as Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, Margaret Atwood, Jane Austen, Louisa M. Alcott, Virginia Woolf, Helene Schjerfbeck, Karen Blixen, Tove Jansson, Lauren Bacall, Bette Davis and Grace Kelly have been completely ignored in *Passwords*. Those historically important characters who are introduced in *Passwords* are usually men. As regards technology, it could be argued that all the great inventors have, in fact, been men. Therefore, presenting females in those areas of life where they have not appeared in reality would be a distortion of the truth. However, by presenting females in the field of science and technology, which have traditionally been male-dominated areas of life, textbooks would be ahead of their time and could, perhaps, direct the readers' attitudes into a less stereotyped direction.

Stereotypical elements can also be found in the presentation of the two female travellers and adventurers who are accompanied and instructed by males. Men and women are, however, rather equally presented as environmental and human rights activists even though the males involved in these activities are more often presented as the leaders whereas women tend to work on the so-called grassroot-level.

9.2 Roles of Male and Female Characters

In the second part of the analysis of the texts the characters were divided into the following categories: 1) male with an occupation (M/occ), 2) female with an occupation (F/occ), 3) unidentified character with an occupation (UI/occ), 4) male in family connection (M/fam), 5) female in family connection (F/fam), 6) unidentified

character in family connection (UI/fam) 7) male in other role (M/OR), 8) female in other role (F/OR) and 9) unidentified character in other role (UI/OR). With the help of the categories the characters' roles in the texts could be defined. The results are seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Characters and Their Roles

Course	M/ occ	F/ occ	UI/ occ	M/ fam	F/ fam	UI/ fam	M/ OR	F/ OR	UI/ OR	Total
1	28	16	3	19	10	0	19	12	2	109
2	69	23	3	8	7	0	13	10	0	133
3	36	23	9	1	11	0	12	7	4	103
4	68	18	25	24	42	32	95	43	24	371
5	114	16	21	29	19	3	51	16	35	304
6	222	37	33	31	29	1	177	76	57	663
7	29	10	3	11	5	2	24	5	9	98
8	40	5	4	3	5	5	28	7	10	107
Total	606	148	98	126	128	43	419	176	141	1888

Table 4 shows that the characters who appear in the texts have 1888 roles altogether. The number of roles (1888) is larger than the total number of characters (1840) because some of the characters are presented in more than one type of role. For example, a male character called Mr Hall has two roles: M/occ (a small shopkeeper) and M/OR (a cardiac patient).

However, in *Course 1* the number of roles is smaller than the number of characters. This is because those characters who appeared in many chapters - ie. in different parts of the two serial stories - but in exactly the same role, were taken into account only once. Jeremy Wheeler's mother, for example, is in the role of

Jeremy's mother (F/fam) in every chapter she appears in. Consequently, Table 3 Number of Characters in the Texts and Table 4 Characters and Their Roles must be examined separately.

The following chapter will focus on the presentation of female and male characters in occupational roles.

9.2.1 Occupational Roles of Male and Female Characters

An occupational role is the most common role among male characters and the second common among female characters who are most often seen in *other roles*: 608 male characters have an occupational role whereas the corresponding number among female characters is 148 (see Table 4). The number of unidentified characters who have an occupational role is 98. Complete lists of the different occupations are attached as Appendixes A, B and C.

The striking overrepresentation of male characters in occupational roles is to partly due to the overall overrepresentation of males in the texts. The noticeably larger number of occupational roles among male characters causes, in turn, the males' occupations to be more varied than those of the females.

Both males and females are presented in the following occupations: an actor/actress, an anthropologist, an artist, an author, a boss, a contact person, a contributor, a copywriter, a designer, a director, a doctor, an engineer, a filmstar, a futurologist, a guide, a journalist, a movie star, a novelist, an opera singer (F)/operatic tenor (M), a painter, a physicist, a poet, a policeman/policewoman, a politician, a pop star, Prime Minister, a professor, a reporter, a researcher, a student, a waiter/waitress and a teacher. Thus, both men and women are presented as performing artists, in occupations that require university education and in occupations with high social status. Other occupations among female characters that require university education include a cancer specialist, a consultant psychologist and a doctor. The corresponding

occupations among male characters are more varied and consist of a bacteriologist, a chemist, a doctor, a geneticist, a historian, a judge, a lawyer, a mathematician, an occupational therapist, a research scientist, a sociologist and a sports psychologist.

A closer look at the list of the females' occupations reveals that female characters are also seen in the traditional role of a housewife and in feminine occupations which involve taking care of others' well-being and which, according to Michel (1986:51), are extensions of their roles at home: a charwoman, a nanny, a nurse, a stewardess and a social worker. But quite a few female characters are also seen in traditionally male-dominated occupations such as an assistant store detective, a driving instructor, an engineer, a jail guard and a policewoman. A chapter titled *An Odd Job For A Girl?* is dedicated to the presentation of 4 females who have chosen traditional male occupations: a firefighter, a gardener, a painter/decorator and an engineer. However, because the fact that these girls are exceptional as regards their career choices is emphasized in the title as well as in the text and, moreover, highlighted with the pink colour of the title page, the intended message turns against itself. According to Michel (1986:54) underlining the exceptionality of a person who is seen in a non-traditional activity supports the existence of the division between male and female worlds. It should also be noted that there is no corresponding chapter about males in non-traditional occupations.

Male characters are presented in traditional male occupations such as an airline pilot, a bus driver, a construction worker, a doorman, a driver, a farmer, a mechanic, a miner, a private eye, a security guard and a stockboy. With the exception of one male dancer, men are hardly ever presented in clearly non-traditional male occupations. An occupation which could be described as almost non-traditional is presented in a chapter called *Helping the Helpless*. In the chapter Romain De Kerchove, who is pictured holding a cat and with another cat on his shoulder, tells about his work as a RSPCA Inspector. Although the picture may convey a

softish image of the nature of the occupation, the traditional division between male and female activities is maintained by the fact that the persons who call Romain de Kerchove and ask for his help with their pets tend to be females.

Different kind of occupations that are related with politics are more common among males than females in *Passwords*. Women are seen in the roles of a duchess, a politician, Prime Minister and a queen whereas the corresponding roles among males include an ambassador, an archduke, a cabinet minister, a chancellor, a congressman, a duke, an ex-president, a governor, a mayor, a minister, a politician, a president, Prime Minister, a senator and a vice-president. According to Michel (1986:52) one of the prerequisites for an equal presentation of the two sexes in textbooks is that women are also shown in activities that are related with politics. This criteria is not adequately met with in *Passwords*.

Although both female and male characters are seen in top positions in organizations and companies, these posts are mainly occupied by males who are seen, for example, as an assistant training manager, a business executive, a director of a travel agency, a director of housing, the director of the Research Defense Society, an executive producer, a headmaster, an investment manager, a manager of electric stores, the manager of the movie house, an owner of a radio station, an owner of a computer company, the President of WWF, the President of UEFA and a superintendent of security. Furthermore, males are introduced as founders and leaders of different kinds of movements and organizations such as the Red Cross, Amnesty International, South Africa's Black Consciousness Movements and the Cubist Movement. The females in similar positions are the director of the Florida division of the Southern Coalition for Jails and Prisons, the founder of the Body Shop International, the head of a research department and a regional director. Michel's (1986:51-52) requirement for the presentation of women in occupations that call

for authority and initiative has been realized in the *Passwords* series although an increase in the number of women in this area would balance the presentation of the two sexes.

Males' occupations are more varied also in the field of arts, especially as regards music, than those of the females whose roles include an actress, an artist, a photographer, a pop star, a soprano and a theater major. Men's occupations include a composer, a conductor, a drummer, a flutist, a lute-player, a music hall artiste, an organist, a punk violinist, a sculptor, a songwriter and a vaudeville star.

Certain occupational fields in *Passwords* are solely reserved for males. Unusual and adventurous occupations such as an acrobat, a private eye, a former member of an intelligence community and a trick cyclist are reserved for men. This is also the case with the different occupations within the army. Male occupations in this field consist of an army recruiter, a captain, a commander, a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a military engineer, a navy pilot, an officer, a retired general, a sergeant and a soldier. Posts within the church, e.g. a bishop, a vicar and a parish priest, are also usually held by men even though unidentified characters also appear in these roles. Because women in Finland are presently entering both the army and the church offices, *Passwords* does not succeed in reflecting the social realities which the reader is faced with in her everyday-life.

Both male and female characters are introduced as sources of amusement in their occupations but the ways in which this is done are different for the two sexes. Males are explicitly presented in a variety of entertainer roles such as a comedian, a clown and a comic actor. Females are implicitly made sources of amusement, for example, by giving them funny names such as *Ms Gail Honneybun* and *Vain Honda*. The former is a family psychologist and the latter a gym instructor whose name refers to her more famous real-life colleague Jane Fonda. In both cases the names have a negative effect on the credibility of the characters as the

names prevent the reader from taking the characters seriously. In Ms Honneybun's case the negative effect is even stronger because of a photo of about a twenty-year-old woman that supposedly portrays Ms Honneybun - who is said to have been in the field for twenty years. Similar humorous names are not found among male characters. One unidentified character by the name of *P. Brain* is presented in an introductory text of a listening chapter. As regards this name the comic effect is created through the equivocal pronunciation.

The findings about the occupational roles of male and female characters in the present study are similar to those made in earlier studies; male characters have more occupational roles than female characters and their occupations are also more varied than those of the females. A phenomenon reported by Härkönen and Viitala's (1995:154-155) was also found in *Passwords*: females but not males are, to some extent, presented in non-traditional occupations.

Female politicians, artists and women in occupational positions that require authority and initiative are rarely seen in *Passwords*. Females are also completely excluded from adventurous occupations as well as occupations within the church and the army.

9.2.2 Family Connections of Male and Female Characters

Male and female characters are equally presented in *family connections* as 126 males, 128 females and 43 unidentified characters have a family role. Keeping the overall over-representation of male characters in mind, these figures could also be interpreted so that males are underrepresented in family roles. Complete lists of the family roles are attached as Appendix D.

For most of the family roles that were found among female characters there is a corresponding role among male characters: mother-father, wife-husband, aunt-uncle, sister-in-law-brother-in-

law, girlfriend-boyfriend, stepsister-stepbrother and so on. Dead or divorced mothers and fathers are also presented in the texts as well as a foster father and a remarried father. Divorced parents are usually only briefly mentioned in the texts. Those single parents who appear in the texts in more significant roles, tend to be mothers. Jeremy's mother is a single parent because Jeremy's father is dead. There is also a single mother who is illegally discarded from her job in a language school for not informing her (female) employer that she is a single parent.

There are 9 female characters and 22 male characters who are presented as having both a family role and an occupational role. Most of the female characters with these two roles are mothers or wives who have an occupation. For example, Marie Curie is a physicist who is married, Emily Holberg's mother is a designer, Pia is Pertti's common-law wife and Katjas's sister-in-law who works as an editor in a publishing company and there is one mother who is a teacher. A female character called Jerusa is in the role of a daughter who has applied to a teacher's college and is, therefore, included in this category. In 3 out of 9 cases the occupation of the female character is a teacher.

Males are most commonly seen as fathers with an occupation but also the roles of a husband, a brother, a son and a boyfriend are combined with an occupational role. For example, Nigel's father is a meteorologist, Jim Pfeiffer is a father and a vice-president of a company, Mr Kent is an unemployed father, Mrs Pritchett's husband is an airline pilot, Ms Peters' boyfriend is an investment manager, Pierre Curie is a married physicist, Heikki Jalkanen is Pia's brother and a research scientist and the 4 Marx Brothers are comedians.

In summary, an equal number of male and female characters are presented in their family connections, ie. as having a family role. Females and males with both an occupational role and a family role are a rare phenomenon in *Passwords*.

9.2.3 Other Roles of Male and Female Characters

When a character's role in a text could not be defined as an occupational role or a family role, the character was placed into the category *other role*. Those characters who did not have any particular role were also placed into this category. Other roles can occur together with the two other types of roles. For example, a character can have an occupational role and an other role or a family role and an other role. A combination of all three roles is also possible as was seen in the case of Emily Holberg's *mother* (F/fam) who is a *designer* (F/occ) and *marathon runner* (F/OR).

There are 176 female characters, 419 male characters and 141 unidentified characters who have an other role. Despite the fact that the number of males in this category is noticeably larger than the number of females, other role is the most common role among females and the second common among males. The comparatively large number of unidentified characters is, to some extent, due to the unidentified personal pronouns *I* and *you* which appear in songs and poems. Complete lists of all the different other roles in which male, female and unidentified characters are presented are attached as Appendixes E, F and G.

A great number of both male and female characters were placed in the category *other role* because they were only mentioned by their names in the texts, for example, Gilbert Kaplan, Greg Lowe, Neil Hardwick, Reginald, Ron Downing, Walt Disney, Emma, Dee Ann, Gillian Foster and Tilita. Characters of this kind are introduced in a variety of contexts and activities but the texts do not present them as having an occupation or family relations. Some of these characters, e.g. Walt Disney and Neil Hardwick, are well-known real-life personalities but since no further information is given about them in the texts, they were only defined as having an unspecified other role.

Male and female characters with an other role are also seen in different kinds of titles such as book, movie and play titles. Citizen

Kane, Dracula, Frankenstein, Tarzan, Henry V, Oliver Twist, Alice, the Green Goddess, Eugene Onegin and Sleeping Beauty are examples of characters who are presented in the titles. Names of other artworks, for example, Mannerheim's statue and Mona Lisa also appear. Cartoon and animation characters as well as other fictitious characters are mentioned by their names: the reader meets, for example, Andy Capp, Darth Vader, Donald Duck Superman, The Invisible Man and Pluto. Although both females and males are seen in different kinds of titles, the fictitious characters and the characters in the titles are clearly more often males than females. The few male heroes who appear in the texts, e.g. Jeremy Wheeler who, in addition to being an unemployed ex-student and a fake detective, is also described as *our hero* do not have feminine counterparts.

Sex symbol, sex goddess and a sexy breathy French mademoiselle are other roles among female characters which do not have any masculine counterparts. The two former definitions are used about Marilyn Monroe and the latter one refers to a character named Marie Mi in a *Listen* chapter which makes fun of the stereotypes of different nationalities. In the same chapter a Swedish female is described as *cool but sensual*. References to sexuality cannot be found in the other roles of male characters.

Different kinds minor or supporting roles in which both males and females are presented, form a part of the category *other roles*. Males' minor roles include an elderly robust man, a Frenchman, a man walking his dog, church members, a man inside a car, an old man, one of the boys and a young man. Females are, for example, in the roles of a friendly admirer, a neighbour, the same sharp girl, a punk, a very old lady and young girl in distress.

Activists, who were not leaders or founders of organizations and movements or who were not professionally involved in political or social activities but rather had them as an interest or hobby, were also placed in this category. These characters have been examined in detail earlier in the present study in connection with

the analysis of the number of characters in each course.

In summary, as regards the other roles of male and female characters there seems to be a tendency for the fictitious characters to be males. Female characters' other roles include roles which have been created by referring to sexuality whereas this kind of a role cannot be found among males. In general, many of the characters in this category could also be said to have a minor or supporting role as very little information is given about some of the characters. Hence their function in the text is not very central. Accordingly, another role being the most common role among female characters could also be interpreted as an indication of the females' unimportant roles in the texts.

10 CONCLUSION

As observation, modeling and identification have been found to play a part in the development of sex roles, and school and media are two central socialising agents that provide sex role models, it is not insignificant what kind of sex role models are offered in school and school textbooks. Textbooks have a different function in the processes of sex role development depending on the age of the reader. Children's literature and primary school textbooks affect the way a young child will come to look at the surrounding world because she is in the stage of development in which sex roles are being acquired. A student in upper-secondary school has already reached the stage of development in which her gender identity is established and sex roles are acquired. Hence the sex role models presented in upper-secondary school textbooks either confirm or contradict with the student's already existing concepts of sex roles.

The presentation of females and males in traditional and stereotypical roles in textbooks may have a negative effect on the development of either sex. Female students are not made aware of the existing career choices as females tend to be presented in a

limited selection of occupational roles. Male students are encouraged with the presentation of males in a variety of occupational roles but at the same time they are alienated from dealing with their feelings and emotions. In this way the students' future aspirations and expectations are channelled into a stereotypical direction. Sex stereotypes may have a stronger effect on females to whom they usually refer with negative terms whereas the stereotypes about males tend to have positive connotations.

The aim of the present study was to examine how females and males are presented in an English textbook series widely used in Finnish upper-secondary schools at the moment. Texts and illustrations in the textbooks were studied separately with the help of a quantitative and qualitative analysis, the latter of which was, to a great extent, descriptive. In the analysis of the illustrations, the number of male, female and unidentified characters was first counted and the characters were then divided into nine categories on the basis of their activities. In the analysis of the texts, the number of female, male and unidentified characters was first counted, and the roles of the characters in the texts were then defined.

The quantitative analysis of the illustrations revealed that males are overrepresented in the illustrations. In some of the coursebooks the underrepresentation of females is further underlined by the fact that the number of females is equal to the number of unidentified characters, ie. characters whose sex is not identifiable. However, *Course 3*, which has work and study as its subject area, and *Course 8*, which deals with human rights and environmental matters, contain almost an equal number of male and female characters.

The overall overrepresentation of males is rather equally distributed between the different activities in which the characters are presented so that most of the activity categories are male-dominated. Posing, which has not been reported in earlier studies,

turned out to be the most common activity among characters of both sexes. Compared with males females are underrepresented in this activity but otherwise the two sexes are equally presented.

The illustrations in which characters are shown involved in verbal action and other social interaction present males as more active than females who are comparatively passive or absent. Males are shown talking and sometimes even fighting with each other. In those illustrations where a male and a female are shown together, it is the male who does the talking and the female does the listening.

Males are also overrepresented in artistic activities, which is the third common activity among the characters, and their artistic activities are more varied than those of the females. However, representatives of both sexes are shown as actively creating and performing art in the illustrations. Similar tendencies are seen in the characters' few sports activities: despite the numerical underrepresentation of females in sports, both males and females are shown actively taking part in sports activities. Social, political and religious activities are also male-dominated but both sexes are presented as active participants.

In addition to the overrepresentation of males in the illustrations that portray characters involved in travel, adventure and exploration, males also tend to be presented as more active and in more varied and more imaginative activities than females. With the exception of a girl called Sarah Hastings, who is shown canoeing by herself in a river running wild, females are attributed the role of a passive object as they are, for example, shown being snatched by a monster and being bitten by Dracula.

Work and activities carried out at home have traditionally been the two areas related to stereotypical presentation of the two sexes in children's literature and school textbooks. The patterns found in the present study are no exception to the rule. Males are more often seen in illustrations that are connected with work, and their occupational activities are also more varied than those of the

females. A great number of representatives of different occupations are shown posing instead of working in the illustrations.

At home and in home-related activities is the only activity in which the number of females exceeds the number of males. Due to the overall overrepresentation of males in the texts, the slight overrepresentation of females in this comparatively small category can be said to be significant. Although neither sex is shown doing housework, females are more active and their activities at home are more varied than those of the males. In certain individual illustrations females are again made a source of amusement; they are, for example shown shopping with curlers on.

The second largest number of characters is presented in other activities. A common feature in the other activities of the characters is that they are difficult to define. In those illustrations where the characters' activities can be defined, females and males are shown, for example, in commercial posters, advertisements and book covers. Males clearly outnumber females in other activities.

The numerical representation of males and females in the texts follows the pattern found in the illustrations: females are underrepresented. The most equal presentation of the two sexes in both texts and illustrations can be found in *Course 3*, which has work and study as its subject area. Considering that work in children's literature and school textbooks has traditionally been a male-dominated area, a fairly equal number of males and females in both the texts and illustrations of a coursebook which has work as its subject area may be an indication of a change that is taking place in the presentation of females and males.

Both the texts and illustrations in *Course 5*, which deals with technology, and in *Course 7*, which deals with environmental matters, contain more male characters than females. In these courses the number of female characters is either similar to or even smaller than the number of unidentified characters. Thus, the presentation of females conveys the implicit message that females are as important as the unidentified characters but less important

than males in these two courses. Furthermore, in *Course 5* males are presented in the roles of inventors and historically important persons whereas females are mostly presented as writers of articles.

The unbalance in the presentation of females and males in the texts is at its strongest in *Course 6*, which deals with culture and contains the largest number of characters. Compared with the presentation of male artists, the existence and works of female artists are neglected to such an extent that the textbooks seem suggest that culture is created by males.

A phenomenon that parallels with the findings made in the analysis of the illustrations is that even though the number of males involved in political, social and religious activities is larger than the number of females, both sexes are shown as active participants, for example as human rights and environmental activists. However, males are often presented as founders and leaders of organizations and movements whereas females tend to be shown working on the so-called grassroot-level.

Even though a few females are presented in non-traditional traveller and adventurer roles, the presentation of these characters is not completely free from stereotypes as one of them is accompanied by a male in the most difficult part of her adventure, ie. the canoeing course, and the other one is guided and instructed by two males throughout her journey.

As regards the roles of the characters in the texts, males characters have more occupational roles than females and their occupational roles are also more varied than those of the females. Both sexes are presented in traditional occupations but only females are presented in non-traditional occupations. Both sexes are seen in top position jobs, e.g. as directors, but these occupations are reserved mainly for men. There are also certain occupational fields which are solely reserved for males, such as occupations in the army and in the church as well as unusual and adventurous jobs, for example, that of an acrobat.

In some individual cases characters are made a source of

amusement in their occupational roles but the ways in which this is done are different for females and males. Males are presented in entertainer occupations, such as a clown or a comedian, whereas females are implicitly made a source of amusement by giving them funny names such as Ms Gail Honneybun, which has a negative effect on their occupational credibility.

An equal number of females and males are presented in family connections, ie. in family roles. Considering the overall overrepresentation of males in the texts, the equal presentation can also be interpreted as underrepresentation of males in family roles. As regards the combinations of a family role and an occupational role, males slightly outnumber females. However, not all the characters that simultaneously have these two roles are fathers or mothers with occupations; there are, for example, brothers who have occupations. The number of characters with the combination of an occupational role and a family role is very small and, therefore, not very significant. In other words, both mothers and fathers who go to work are a rare phenomenon in the material of the present study.

In addition to occupational roles and family roles, females and males are also presented in other roles in the texts. The characters' other roles in the texts include different kinds of minor or supporting roles, fictitious characters, personal pronouns *I* and *you* in songs and poems, names of ordinary people and celebrities, names that appear in book, song and movie titles, and activists, whose social or political activities are not their occupations, and who have already been discussed above. Furthermore, females, but not males, are presented in other roles that are linked with sexuality, such as a sexy breathy French Mademoiselle. Another difference in the presentation of females and males in other roles that the fictitious characters tend to be males.

As regards the number of unidentified characters in *Passwords*, it turned out to be comparatively large. It is partly due to the personal pronouns *I* and *you* that appear in songs and poems and

the minor characters who are only briefly mentioned in the texts. The roles of the unidentified characters are not discussed in detail in the present study but as Purcell and Stewart (1989) found an increase in the number of gender neutral stories in children's literature, this aspect could be worth further study.

On the basis of the findings made in the present study it can be concluded that the presentation of females and males in *Passwords* is not free from sex stereotypes. Males are overrepresented in both the texts and illustrations and they are also presented in a greater variety of activities and occupations than females. Furthermore, females are made a source of amusement in a variety of ways: their appearance is made a source of amusement in certain individual illustrations, insinuations are made about sexuality and about females' ability to deal with cars and some of the females with occupational roles have been given humorous names. None of these phenomena can be found among male characters. This seems to indicate that the aim of these individual cases is to amuse male readers by referring to a number of almost mythical sex stereotypes about females and femininity. Yet it is difficult to justify the fact that appearance, which is a general cause for concern for young women, is made a source of amusement.

However, females, but not males, are presented in non-traditional occupational roles. A similar tendency has recently been reported by Härkönen and Viitala (1995) who studied three English textbook series for Finnish lower-secondary schools. In *Passwords* females are also shown as active participants in sports as well as in political and social activities which has not been the case in earlier studies. These findings seem to indicate that a change is taking place in the presentation of the roles of females whereas the males' roles do not yet follow.

The findings made in the present study also lead to a reconsideration of the function of school textbooks. When school textbooks reflect social realities, they are simultaneously likely to support the already existing stereotypes. Therefore, by being a few

steps ahead of their time, textbooks could support the changes that are taking place in the roles of females and males in society. However, presenting males and females in those areas of life where they cannot be found in reality, contains the risk that a student might find it difficult to relate herself with a book that presents a reality completely strange to her. Another essential matter that must not be forgotten is that, in addition to their primary function as teaching material, English textbooks are supposed to introduce the cultures of the countries where the target language is spoken, and in in these countries the roles of females and males are likely to be more or less different from those in Finland.

There is one particular question that should also be taken up in relation to the overrepresentation of males in the textbooks. The Finnish school system has recently been criticized for not being able to provide male students with male role models because most of the teachers are females. Could the overrepresentation of males in textbooks, therefore, be justified by saying that textbooks provide males students with the male role models that the school system fails to offer them?

Although the present study reveals a number of tendencies towards a stereotypical presentation of the two sexes in *Passwords*, there are a number factors that limit the reliability and and validity of the results. First, as only male and female characters who could be identified as individuals were taken into account, and other references to males and females were excluded, the total number of references to males and females is not known. By also including those plural forms in which the exact number of characters is not given as well as other references to females and males, the results would be more accurate.

Dividing the characters into major and minor characters would also give more accurate idea of the roles of females and males in the texts and the illustrations. Furthermore, the frequency of the occurrence of the different roles in the texts was not counted

in the present study. Counting the frequencies would further increase the accuracy of the results, and in that way, it would also be possible to examine, for example, the most and least common occupations among both sexes.

The danger of subjectivity is a problem that is difficult to eliminate in studies of this kind. For example, even though the different activity categories were defined as unambiguously as possible, the categorization process is still not completely free from subjectivity. For example, when characters in the illustrations are divided into categories on the basis of their activities, the writer's personal expectations, attitudes, experiences, and even contextual factors, are bound to affect the way in which she interprets an illustration. The same applies to the texts. The present writer chose, for example, to equal a student with a person who goes to work, i.e. has an occupational role. Another writer might have made a different choice. Therefore, it would be best to carry out studies of this kind in study groups, as has been done in some of the earlier studies. The reliability and validity of the results are likely to increase when more than one person gives her interpretation of the same phenomenon.

The system in which a character was taken into account only once if he appeared in one and the same role in more than one chapter, but taken into account in every chapter where he got a new role, turned out to be most confusing and illogical. If the three-role-category system is applied in further studies, it should be used so that every time a character is picked out from a text and identified, his role is also defined.

The present study raised a few questions which remained unanswered but which could be taken into account in further studies. First, in the textbooks a number of people are introduced in the form of an interview. These people are interviewed in their homes and in a variety of places outside the home. The question is: do the places of the interviews follow the division of inside-outside activities reported in earlier studies so that females are

interviewed at home and males outside the home, e.g. at work or in their spare-time activities? Second, the size of the illustrations portraying people varies from very small to a whole page; does the size of an illustration correlate with the sex of the person portrayed in it? It could be hypothesized that males, who were found to be presented as more important as females, are also portrayed in larger illustrations than females.

Today, sixteen years after Unesco started the project the aim of which was to remove sex stereotypes from school textbooks and children's literature, the presentation of females and males is not yet free from sex stereotypes. Therefore, teachers should be made aware of the possibility of the existence of sex stereotypes in teaching materials. It is then up to the individual teacher to decide how he will deal with the matter. Literature in which teachers are offered advice and suggestions for a variety of classroom activities has been available since the 1970s (see, for example, Cochran 1996, McEvoy Schmid 1972 (1974), Michel 1986, The Emma Willard Task Force on Education 1972 (1974), and West 1987).

Several studies during the last twenty years have provided evidence that the presentation of males and females in children's literature and school textbooks tends to be more or less traditional and stereotypical. The focus could now be shifted to studying how the student experiences the illustrations and the texts in the books that have been found sexist by researchers. Results from studies of that kind could be applied, for example, to clarify the questions of the actual influence of the role models presented in literature.

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APPENDIX A: Occupations of the Male Characters in *Passwords* Courses 1-8

acrobat	colonel
actor	comedian
AD's assistant	comic
airline pilot	comic actor
ambassador	commander
analyst	commentator
anatomist	composer
announcer	conductor
anthropologist	congressman
archduke	construction worker
architect	consultant
army recruiter	contact person
art critic	contributor
art director	copywriter
artist	correspondent
assistant training manager	cosmonaut
astronomer	critic
author	dancer
bacteriologist	dean
barman	designer
bishop	designer of GM Sunracer
bird specialist	detective
boss	detective inspector
builder of the 1st passenger train with steam locomotive	developer of the 1st operational telephone
bus driver	director
business executive	director at a travel agency
businessman	director of a play
busker	director of housing
cabinet minister	director of the Research Defense Society
canteen worker	dishwasher
captain	doctor (Dr)
carter	doorman
cartoonist	dramatist
chairman of Amnesty International	driver
chancellor	drummer
chef	duke
chemist	dustman
chief	Duwamish chief
classical composer	engineer
clown	entertainer
colleague	essayist

ex-dj
 executive
 executive producer
 ex-president
 fake detective
 farmer
 figureskater
 film animator
 film director
 flight attendant
 flutist
 foreman
 former U.S. war pilot
 former member of intelligence community
 former Zulu chief
 founder of South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement
 founder of Amnesty International
 founder of the Cubist Movement
 founder of the London Philharmonic Orchestra and Royal Philharmonic Orchestra
 founder of the Red Cross
 futurologist
 garage owner
 general
 geneticist
 gentleman behind the desk
 governor
 graphic artist
 graphic designer
 guide
 headmaster
 head stockman
 headwaiter
 historian
 honors student
 humorist
 humorous writer
 immigration officer
 impressionist painter
 industrialist
 interviewer
 inventor
 investment manager
 jeweler
 journalist
 judge
 juggler
 keeper's assistant at zoo
 king
 language teacher
 lawyer
 leader of the Black Civil Rights Movement
 leader of the POP helper's team
 librarian
 lieutenant colonel
 local magistrate
 long-distance runner
 lute-player
 lyricist
 manager of electric stores
 manager of the movie house
 maker of a dictionary
 mathematician
 math teacher
 mayor
 M.D.
 mechanic
 medic
 medical director of a psychiatric institute
 meteorologist
 military engineer
 miner
 minister
 movie director
 movie star
 music hall artiste
 musician
 navy pilot
 newsagent
 newspaper reporter
 Nobel Laureate
 novelist
 occupational therapist

officer	Santa Claus
operatic tenor	senior
organist	sergeant
owner of a bicycle shop	scientific observer
owner of a radio station	scientist
owner of two yogurt stores	screenwriter
owner of a computer company	sculptor
painter	secret agent
parish priest	security guard
partner	security manager
philosopher	senator
physicist	senior associate with the World
pianist	Resource Institute
playwright	showhost
poet	singer
policeman	small shopkeeper
police sergeant	sociologist
politician	soldier
pop artist	songwriter
pop star	spokesman
porter	spokesman for the U.S. Army
postman	Recruiting Command
president	sports psychologist
President of UEFA	stockboy
Prime Minister	straight F student
prince	student
principal	superintendent of security
print-maker	teacher
private eye	tenor
producer	town-planner
professor	trainer
professor of psychology	trick cyclist
punk violinist	TV director
rabbi	unemployed
race driver	usher
railway engineer	vaudeville star
religious leader	veterinarian
reporter	vicar
researcher	vice-president
research scientist	vice-president of Diablo
retired general	Research Company
retired teacher/headmaster	video director
retiring chap	waiter
rock star	watchman
RSPCA inspector	writer

works at the Department of the
Environment
works for Natural Resources
Defence Council
works in an advertising
company
works in a bank
works in a pan room
works in a pizza place
works on a roof
WWF President
youth employment advisor
young man who wanted to
negotiate about bail

APPENDIX B: Occupations of the Female Characters in *Passwords* Courses 1-8

actress	movie star
anthropologist	nanny
artist	novelist
artists' advisor	nurse
assistant store detective	nutritionist
author	office worker
boss	opera singer
cancer specialist	ophthalmologist
charwoman	painter
consultant psychologist	painter/decorator
contact person	paperboy
contributor	photographer
copywriter	physicist
designer	poet
detective novelist	policewoman
dietician	politician
director of the Florida Division of the Southern Coalition for Jails and Prisons	pop press officer
doctor	pop star
driving instructor	Prime Minister
duchess	production assistant
editor	professor
editor responsible	prostitute
engineer	queen
firefighter	receptionist
factory girl	regional director
factory worker	researcher
family psychologist	reporter
founder of the Body Shop International	runner
freelancer journalist	sales assistant
futurologist	senior
gardener	social worker
guide	sophomore
gym instructor	soprano
head of the research department	stewardess
housewife	straight A student
jail guard	student
journalist	teacher
landlady	theater major
member of the Finnish National Ballet	tour guide
	waitress
	wife
	who runs the country
	worked at Hartley's

works in a fast-food restaurant
works in an advertising
company
works for the Central
Committee for Conscientious
Objectors
works for WWF
works on the road
writer

**APPENDIX C: Occupations of the Unidentified Characters in
Passwords Courses 1-8**

anthropologist	musician
assistant	news announcer
art dealer	pastor
artist	peasant
author	photographer
boss	poet
business person	priest
cartoonist	Prime Minister
captain	professor
chief engineer for a Japanese construction company	publisher
chief engineer for a TV company	racing driver
coach	reporter
colleague	scientist
comedian	secretary
commander	sniper
commentator	specialist
composer	sociologist
contributor	someone from the sheriff's office
critic	Sunday School Teacher
dentist	teacher
detective	teller
director	tour operator
doctor	tram driver
dramatist	usher
driver	vet
election officer	volunteer attorney
employer	writer
farmer	
first officer	
flight attendant	
frame-maker	
game warden	
guide	
herbalist	
interpreter	
interviewer	
judge	
lawyer	
member of royalty's staff	
mime artist	
music critic	

APPENDIX D: Characters in Their Family Connections in *Pass-words* Courses 1-8

Males	Females	Unidentified characters
adopted	aunt	
bachelor	baby	baby
boyfriend	common-law wife	child (children)
brother	daughter	cousin
brother-in-law	elderly couple	spouse
child (tot)	ex-girlfriend	
elderly couple	girlfriend	
father (dad, daddy)	grandmother	
father/dead	(grandma, mummo)	
father/divorced	mother (mama, mom, mum)	
father/remarried	mother/dead	
foster father	mother/divorced	
grandchild	one couple	
grandad (grandpa)	parent(s)	
husband (her old man, married, Mr)	single-parent	
one couple	sister	
parent(s)	sister/divorced	
son	sister-in-law	
stepbrother	stepmother	
uncle	stepsister	
unmarried teen	unmarried teen	
parent(s)	parent(s)	
young couple	widow	
	wife (married, missus, Mrs, second Mrs)	
	young couple	

APPENDIX E: Male Characters in Other Roles in *Passwords* Courses 1-8

Abraham Lincoln	car owner
active in politics	cardiac patient
active in protection campaigns	cartoon character
activist in Greenpeace	Catholic
Adam	celebrity
Adonis	chairman of the students' union
American Chess Wizard	charlatan
American friend Tom	Charlie Chaplin
American legend	child prodigy
Andy Capp	Christ
angry Frenchman	Christie's chief detective
Anthony Chee	Christopher Lee
anyone	church member
assassin	Citizen Kane
attacker	classmate
Auguste Rodin	colored boy
autocrat	Columbus
Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran	committed nihilistic
average working-class bloke	existencialist
babe in his cradle	computer-literate friend
baby	consumer
Baby John	contact person
bad boy	contributor
bank robber	Crispin W-L - an expert rower
Barry Kent	Dante
Batman	Darth Vader
Ben Kyalo	date
Bert Baxter - a filthy	David
communist	David Copperfield
bit shady but streetwise	dear Sir
Spaniard	devil
black man	"doctor"
Botticelli	dog
boy	Do-Gooder
Buddha	dominant male gorilla/leader of the group
bum	Donald Duck
burglar	Don Giovanni
Bush	doorkeeper of a bordello
Brat Man	Dracula
Brian Styers - starts a recycling campaign	drug addict
bright and breezy Dutchman	drunken driver
Bruce Martin	dwarf

Edmund Burke	horse
Einstein - greatest genius of all times	huge building
elderly man	I
elderly robust man	Ibrahima
Elvis	Illustrated Man
Englishman	incoming caller
establisher of drama standards	(journalist) in excile because of anti - apartheid activities
establisher of novel standards	Invisible Man
ex-exchange student	Irish male
expert in human behaviour	Irishman
fat man	Jacques Cousteau
Fievel - Tuija's dog	James Thurber
Finn	Jesus
Finn in London	Jew
first man in space	Jim
first man to walk on the Moon	Jim Mackenzie
foreigner	John C. Campbell
Frankenstein	John Volpe
Fred	Jonathan
Fred Astaire	Jose Carreras
Freddy	Julius Caesar
Frenchman	Keats
friend	Kenyan who raises money to save the Black rhino
friend - died	Killer
gent	King Lear
gentleman	king of the road
Gerald	Latin Scholar
gifted toddler	Lawrence of Arabia
Gilbert Kaplan	legend
God	legendary hero
Goofy	Leonard Bernstein
got into trouble with the police	leopard
Greg Lowe	little ant
Hamlet	little old man
Hansel	long-distance runner
harsh master	(our) Lord
he	Luciano Pavarotti
helpless child	Luke Skywalker
helps a man in an accident	Madubogwu
Henry V	Maduka
Henry Ford	Mahatma Gandhi
hero of Chandler's stories	main character
Hiawatha	man
Hitler	

man inside a car	old male elephant
man from Lancashire - Geoff Twidell	Oliver Twist
man from New Jersey	one of the boys
man from Nottingham	orphan
Mannerheim's statue	Orrin
man walking his dog	Orville Wright
master	Othello
me	our hero
Mel Brooks	our leader
member of Amnesty	our man
member of the society for conservation of nature	Owen Griffith
meets security council	pal
Michael Gough	participant in an international conference
Mickey Mouse	patient
Monty Python	Peter Bartlett
Morgan the Moon	Peter Cushing
Moses	Peter Gabriel
most popular hero of the century	Phil
Mozart	Pinocchio
Mr Featherstone	Placido Domingo
Mr Goggles	Plato
Mr Hyde	Pluto
Mr Katambo	poor man
Mr P.E. Marlow	Potiorek
Mr Snow	prisoner
my best friend	product of imagination
my friend	rabbi Elijah of Vilna
my lad	rather drunken specimen
Napoleon	reader of a story
Navajo Indian	rebel
Ned Sherrin	Red Indian
neighbour	Reginald
Neil Hardwick	reindeer
newsmaker	Richard II
Nnaemeka	Richard III
Nobel Prize winner	rich man
nobody	R.K. Rao
Norwegian	robber
Norwegian driver	Roger
obstinate angler	Roger Ackroyd
old Dutch master	Romeo
old man	Ron Downing
	Rufus 'Roof'
	Rufus's helper

Runeberg Day	took over the car and got killed
saint	toothless man
Santa Claus	tourist
satan	Tramp
schoolkid	two little green men from Mars
Scott of the Antarctic	universal teenager
sentenced to death	unknown man
Shakespeare	upcoming soccer star
Sherlock Holmes	Vasco Da Gama
shy and taciturn Finn	very cultured gentleman
silly old ram	very old man
sin eater	Vietnam veteran
small boy	Vincent Youmans
small man	visitor
Snowboy	Walker
someone	walks on the Moon
someone of a lower social	Walt Disney
station	Whistler
Sonny Venkathrathum - lived	white man
in detention	Wilbur Wright
Stalin	Winthrop Kellog
star	Winston Churchill
Starsky and Hutch	works for peace
Stephen King	writer
St George's Day	young American
St John Passion	young boy
St Matthew Passion	young cheerful German
straight man	young male
stranger	young man
Strauss	young man in an accident
Superman	your man
surrealist genius of modern art	youth dressed in black
suspect	Zerah Colburn
Swede	
Swiss humanitarian	
swot	
Tarzan	
Ted Gregory - prepared a leaflet	
teenager	
teenage hero	
teenage son	
Thomas Edison	
three men in a boat	
Tom	
Tom Thumb	

APPENDIX F: Female Characters in Other Roles in *Passwords* Courses 1-8

active in church and community work	Garbo
active in Consumer's Association	Gertrude Stein
active in politics	Gillian Foster
activist	girl
African Queen	good Christian
Alice in Wonderland	great American activist
Amazon girl	Green Goddess
Amy	Gretel
anti-death penalty activist	hates the building
atheist	helpless child
Bertha	I
Betty McCaffrey	Irene Bordoni
bilingual Canadian	Japanese woman
Billie Holiday	Jordanian girl
Billie Jean	Jude
black woman	Juliet
book title	Karen Ann Quinlan
caller	lady
Carmen	Lady Godiva
celebrity	little girl
chimp	Londoner
Claire Kendall	Luella Kellog
close friend	Macbeth
computer-literate friend	Mae West
contributor	marathon runner
cool but sensual Swede	Margaret Thatcher
(the) Countess from Hong Kong	Margaret H. Roberts - has kept a diary
Cree Indian	Mary M. Threapleton
cultist	Masai girl
Dee Ann	Melissa Stribling
dog owner	member of Gulf Coast Tenants' Organization
Dorothy Gray	member of a religious sect
Emma	middle-aged American woman
environmental activist	middle-aged lady
Eugene Onegin	middle-aged woman
Eve	moaning in the backseat after an accident
female voice	Mona Lisa
feminist, intelligent Swiss	Moslem
first test-tube baby	Mrs Degas vacuuming
friend	Mrs O'Neill
friendly admirer	

Mrs Pritchett	Venus
Ms Peters	very old lady
Ms Sub Zero	white woman
my baby	woman in trouble
Natalie Field	woman on a roof
neighbour	woman sitting in the dark
Nobel Prize Winner	woman who held a telescopic
old girl	rifle
old lady	you
Orfamay Quest	young American
outlandish Italian	young girl
painting	young girl in distress
pair of 10-year-old girls	young lady
participant on a canoeing course	
passer-by	
peacock	
prisoner	
punk	
Queen of Spades	
said no to drugs	
same sharp girl	
small girl	
smaller girl	
sex goddess	
sex symbol	
sexy breathy French	
mademoiselle	
Sharon Bott	
she	
ship	
sister of mercy	
Sleeping Beauty	
Snow White	
some dame	
someone	
someone of a lower social	
station	
teenager	
that girl	
that woman	
thin woman	
Tilita	
took care of Dave's matters	
Trinidad	
typical blonde	

APPENDIX G: Unidentified Characters in Other Roles in *Passwords* Courses 1-8

A. Allen Bentley	MacNeil
Aboriginee	me
activist in Greenpeace	member of the war resisters'
angel	league
anthologist	modern American yuppie
A-rab	monkey
Bambi	monster
Bendel	neighbour
bird	newborn
(the) bottom	next-door neighbour
Bram Stoker	nigger
broken doll	nominee of the G.O.P or GOP
caller	Owen Bowcott
child	passenger
chimp	P. Brain
colleague	punk with a Porsche
confused atheist	respondent
consumer	Shelley
contestant	sniper
contributor	Somerset Maugham
dead	stranger
Diesel	somebody
dolphin	someone
dream child	storyteller
Dumbo	survivor
Durante	(the) top
elderly person	two people
Figaro	visitor
friend	voter
friend (died)	Watson
frightened frog	wicked witch
global villager	wise villager
good friend	you (thou)
got sick	
Great Dictator	
great pretender	
holding a telescopic rifle	
I	
informer	
jovial giant	
kid	
lazy lout	
Lehrer	