

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

BREADWINNERS, SPORTSMEN AND CONFORMING GIRLS

Representations of gender in Finnish EFL textbooks

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by

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Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan suomalaisia englannin kielen oppikirjoja sukupuolinäkökulmasta. Tutkittavana on se, millä tavoin tytöt ja pojat, miehet ja naiset esitetään ja miten opetussuunnitelmaan kirjattu tasa-arvotavoite kirjoissa toteutuu - vai toteutuuko? Kokoavana kysymyksenä onkin se, onko kirjojen sukupuoli-ideologia luonteeltaan sukupuolirooleja uudistavaa vai toistaako se totuttuja stereotyyppioita.

Tutkimuksen taustalla vaikuttavat naistutkimus ja diskurssianalyysin kriittinen suuntaus. Keskeistä on, että kieli nähdään todellisuuden rakentajana ja kuvaajana ja tekstit kenttinä joissa diskurssit haastavat toisiaan. Myös lukijan rooli nähdään aktiivisena, eikä esimerkiksi seksistisen tekstin vaikutuksia voida ennustaa.

Tutkimuksessa analysoitiin A-englannin kahta kahdeksannen luokan ja viittä lukion 1-3 kurssin oppikirjaa. Aineistoa lähestyttiin sekä kvalitatiivisin että kvantitatiivisin menetelmin. Pyrkimyksenä oli löytää analyysitavat, joilla parhaiten päästäisi käsiksi tutkittavaan aiheeseen, ja menetelmä muokkautui vuorovaikutuksessa aineiston ominaispiirteiden kanssa. Tekstin ja kuvien lisäksi huomiota kiinnitettiin mm. aihepiireihin, keskeisiin henkilöihin ja tekstityyppisiin.

Tulokset olivat aiempien tutkimuslöydösten kaltaisia: oppikirjojen voitiin katsoa toteuttavan piilo-opetussuunnitelmaa, vaikka perinteistä sukupuoli-ideologiaa rikkoviakin piirteitä oli löydettävissä. Maskuliinisuuden valta-asema näkyi esimerkiksi poikien ja miesten suurempana määränä ja maskuliiniseksi katsottavien aihepiirien runsautena. Sukupuolet esitettiin erityyppisissä rooleissa, pojat aktiivisina ja urheilullisina, tytöt pohdiskelevina tai kauneudenhoidon tai vaatteiden parissa. Aikuisten roolit olivat kapeita: miehiä esiintyi perinteisissä miesten ammateissa, yleisin aikuisen naisen rooli taas oli äiti. Toisaalta isoäitien ja tyttöjen voitiin katsoa rikkovan perinteistä naisen roolia. Erityisesti julkisuuden ja historian henkilöinä miesten asema oli näkyvä.

Tulokset herättivät pohtimaan sitä, pitäisikö oppikirjojen toistaa vai pyrkiä muuttamaan vallalla olevaa sukupuoli-ideologiaa. Erot kirjojen välillä selittyivät mm. yksittäisten kuvittajien tekemillä valinnoilla. Pitäisikö niin kirjojen tekijöitä kuin käyttäjiäkin herätellä tiedostamaan oma roolinsa opetussuunnitelman toteuttajina?

Asiasanat: Gender, critical discourse analysis, textbooks, teaching materials, hidden curriculum

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1 INTRODUCTION

Sexism in textbooks, stereotypical presentation, sex role socialisation, gender bias, double hidden curriculum – all these are related to the same issue, namely gender ideology (or rather multiple ideologies) learned at school. The study at hand approaches gender ideologies conveyed by seven ESL textbooks from the perspective of the official educational goal of equality on the one hand, and from the angle of the latent or hidden curriculum on the other.

The study of instructional materials from the gender perspective has inspired scholars from various fields: pedagogy, linguistics, social studies, and feminist and critical studies. The body of research on sexism in textbooks expanded in the 1970's when the second-wave feminist movement called attention to the linguistic treatment of women. In the same decade Unesco also launched a worldwide research programme to explore gender bias in children's literature and instructional materials. The results were presented in *Down with stereotypes! Eliminating sexism from children's literature and school textbooks* (Michel 1986). The programme inspired numerous textbook analyses during the following decades. Later on, as sexism took more implicit and indirect forms, the concept itself became to be understood as a problematic one (see Mills 2003) and the interest shifted from the textbook contents to the learner responses (e.g. Jones et al. 1997; Kalmus 2004) and teacher mediation of gender biased texts (e.g. Sunderland et al. 2001 & 2002). However, the issue of how gender ideologies are constructed in learning materials is still worth further studies, as ideologies can be seen as constantly changing by their contents and manifestation, and texts can be seen as sites of struggle for multiple discourses and ideologies.

The interest in textbooks is not surprising, considering the central role they occupy in classrooms today. Textbooks can even be seen as the realisation of the curriculum in practice (see e.g. Selander 1991: 36), which has caused as much criticism as concern. From the perspective of gender

ideology, foreign language textbooks can provide significant data as they present characters in verbal interaction and in social relationships (Sunderland et al. 2002: 223).

Studies on gender in textbooks have confirmed gender bias and the projection of stereotypical views and beliefs especially on female characters. To a great extent this is due to the overall appreciation of masculinity inherent in our culture. Through this gender hierarchy the present study is linked to the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA), in which power, domination and ideology are central concepts. According to Sunderland (2006: 59), the interest in power makes CDA perhaps the most obvious approach to a feminist study of language. For the present study CDA serves as a broad theoretical framework, an umbrella that covers the initial perspectives and approach. In CDA the task of the analyst is to seek explanations in the properties of social interaction and social structure, instead of merely describing the text features (e.g. van Dijk 2001b: 352; Fairclough 1995a). When talking about gender hierarchy and power, it should be noted that the present study starts from the assumption that not only women and girls, but also men and boys may suffer from sexism and biased presentation.

Sunderland et al. (2001) reported in their study of teacher discourse and gendered foreign language textbook texts that the mediation of the text by the teacher is more important to the effect the gendered text has on pupils than the actual contents of the text. The study at hand explores the ways in which gender ideologies manifest themselves in the school textbooks with the aim of producing findings that may help teachers to discover ways in which they can mediate texts and enhance the language awareness of the pupils. What makes this worthwhile is the finding that Finnish teachers tend to trust the textbook authors to clear the books of gender bias, and thus do not pay much attention to gender issues in textbooks in their teaching (Metso 1992: 277-278). The goal to derive results with practical relevance (see Meyer 2001: 15), enhancement of language awareness and empowerment of pupils

and teachers are central goals of both CDA and feminism (Mills 1995: 29). In addition, they may provide a resource for reshaping discourse practices and power relations on a larger scale (Fairclough 1995a: 217).

Much of the previous work on gender in textbooks has been based on content analysis, as the method has the benefit of producing quantitative data that is easy to handle and provides results that can be compared with those from other similar studies. On the other hand, content analysis has been criticised for neglecting the textual context and ignoring the role of the readers as active participants in the discourse process. The present study makes use of content analysis, but combines it with a qualitative analysis of discourse, where the textbooks are explored as multimodal combinations of visuals and texts, and understood as being only part of the communication process between the participants. Following the critical theories, texts are understood as sites of struggle or negotiation (see e.g. Mills 1995: 25), where traces of contesting discourses may be found. In relation to the research aims, this means that traces of both discourses that support the aim of promoting equality and discourses that perhaps work against that goal, thus realising the hidden curriculum, may be detected in the textbooks.

The research report at hand constitutes of eight sections. After the introduction, section 2 provides insights into equality as an educational goal, introduces the concept of the double hidden curriculum and illustrates how equality is realised and perceived by men and women in contemporary Finnish society. Section 3 focuses on the school textbook, shedding light on its role as an educational tool in classrooms and speculating on the possible effects sexism in textbooks may have on students. It also places the present study in the ideological tradition of textbook studies, and finally presents Finnish textbook studies that bear implications to the piece of work at hand. Section 4, in turn, explains the assumptions, goals and principles derived from CDA and feminist theories. Section 5 familiarises the reader with the research design, first presenting the research questions and revisiting the aims of the study, then introducing the research material and finally

discussing the method and describing the course of the analytical processes. Section 6 presents and discusses the findings from the mainly quantitative analysis of the textbook illustrations, indicating that masculinity persists as the more visible gender. Section 7 enters deeper into the ideologies in the textbooks through a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, presenting the findings in a thematically organised way: themes and voices in the texts, presentation of teenagers, parental and professional roles of the adults, and celebrities and other real characters as possible role models. Finally, section 8 concludes the study by summarising the findings, evaluating the research practices and providing a discussion on implications and suggestions for further study.

2 GENDER AND EQUALITY AT SCHOOL

This section focuses on gender issues in education and in Finnish society at large. Chapter 2.1 discusses equality as an official educational goal. Chapter 2.2 shifts the focus to the unofficial learning contents and gender segregation at school, introducing the concept of the double hidden curriculum. Chapter 2.3 considers equality in Finnish society from the perspective of roles, possibilities and expectations experienced by men and women in professional and private spheres of life.

2.1 Equality as an educational goal

Promoting gender equality has been an officially stated goal for the Finnish educational system since the 1970's. Although public discussion of the matter was almost non-existent at the time, the legislation changed due to many international agreements. Today, the education system in Finland has the difficult objective of simultaneously performing two contradictory tasks. On the one hand, pupils are educated to be responsible citizens, aware of the

rules and obligations that concern them and accepting the basic values of society – one with inherent social, cultural and gender hierarchies. On the other hand, the school should encourage pupils' growth as autonomous individuals and promote equality, versatility and acceptance for multiculturalism. Moreover, the school should help the students to develop abilities for critical thinking. These mutually contradicting goals are stated in the national core curricula for comprehensive and upper secondary school education (*Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet* 2004: 5-6, *Lukion opetussuunnitelman perusteet* 2003: 12).

What equality as an educational goal actually means, is a multifaceted and controversial issue. The committee set in 1983 by the Ministry of Education to develop equality issues at school, considered the matter from three perspectives (*Tasa-arvokokeilutoimikunnan mietintö* 1988). First, the school should **support the development of society towards equal opportunities**, possibilities and responsibilities of men and women by providing children with knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to be able to operate with equal rights and obligations in family, work life and society. Second, education should try help **removing stereotypical ideals of male and female roles**, giving each individual the opportunity for personal development from their own starting points. This means giving the chance to act in a way that is not dictated by one's sex or gender. Behind this view lies the idea of biological sex being just one characteristic of a human being, and not being directly connected to other characteristics or choices. Equality would then mean the freedom of using one's full potential. Third, equality may also mean **accepting and valuing female and male characteristics and experience to the same level**, at the same time respecting the difference. Määttä and Turunen (1991: 9-13) and Lahelma (1990: 14-15) out that each of these three contents poses significant challenges on the school and requires thorough cultural and structural changes in society. The first step towards meeting this challenge would be openly acknowledging the current situation.

Instead of openly addressing equality issues, the school documents seem to avoid discussing gender in any way. Lahelma and Gordon (1998: 93-94) accuse the curriculum of being ostensibly gender neutral, as if sex and gender played no role at all in the educational context. Apart from equality being stated in the national core curriculum as a goal, the curriculum and other educational documents are empty of words such as *boys*, *girls*, *sex* and *gender*. Gordon and Lahelma (1992: 316-318) point out that on some occasions this can be seen as a true representation of equality: for example when home economics is taught to both boys and girls, which may help towards equal distribution of household chores in families later on. However, they persist, often what appears to be gender neutrality actually covers strong sex segregation, as is the case with mainly gender-based groups in crafts or physical education. In addition, when the sex of the students is completely ignored in writing the official documents, the curriculum and other documents are interpreted through the prevalent, stereotypical or sexist framework by pupils, teachers and parents. Thus the meaning and impact of sex and gender remains on an uncontrolled level, hidden in the structures, processes and culture of the school institution. In other words, when open communication concerning sex and gender are avoided, the importance of latent messages in the school processes becomes more stressed. Therefore, what is needed instead of gender-neutrality is gender-sensitivity in cases where sex and gender clearly affect the school processes.

2.2 The (double) hidden curriculum

The present study makes use of the concept of the double hidden curriculum, or hidden curriculum from the gender perspective. The concept has its benefits, as it ties the gender ideologies found in textbooks more closely to the role of the school as an educational institution and provides a tool for questioning whether school really teaches what it is supposed to. First we

will take a look at the concept of hidden curriculum in general, and then we will move on to the more specific idea of the double hidden curriculum.

The educational goals are made visible in the official curriculum, but it would be simplistic to think that they cover all that is learned at school. The beliefs, attitudes, ideas and behaviour patterns taught by the school and in the school, sometimes against the official goals, are called **the hidden curriculum** (Broady 1986: 15). This learning takes place through the school practices, interaction with teachers and peers, and school structures, constructions of the physical environment or divisions between school subjects.

According to Meri (1992: 57) the concept of the hidden curriculum originates in the work of the American researcher Philip W. Jackson, whose book *Life in Classrooms* was published in 1968. Until then, the study of learning processes from the point of view of the students was practically nonexistent, and Jackson's work started a new wave of interest in the school experiences and interpretations by the students. Later on, the hidden curriculum has been the subject of a body of research in education and pedagogy (for a more detailed description see e.g. Meri 1992: 53-69).

The official curriculum makes the generally accepted educational goals public, whereas the hidden curriculum remains on the unconscious level. Neither the teachers nor the students are aware of the realisation of the hidden curriculum, which is more a result of the repeated routines, certain practices and structures of the school institution than an intentional indoctrination by the teachers (Broady 1986: 15). Because of this unconscious, latent aspect of the matter, I find the Finnish translation *piilo-opetusuunnitelma* to be somewhat confusing, since *suunnitelma* "plan", clearly entails the aspect of intentionality.

School as an institution is part of producing, reproducing and preserving power structures of society. Above concerns for the effects of the ostensible gender-neutrality in the school documents were presented: inequality and prevalent sex hierarchy are often confirmed and learned in a

latent way at school, despite of what is stated in the official curriculum. The hidden curriculum that teaches different behaviour patterns to boys and girls is referred to as **the double hidden curriculum** (Metso 1992: 272).

Metso (1992: 272-273) perceives the double hidden curriculum as functioning on three levels against the official goal of equality. On one level, it is realised in the **hierarchy and organisation of the school staff**: leading positions and power are often in the hands of men, whereas the care and service positions are held by women as elementary teachers, cleaners and canteen workers. This level of the hidden curriculum can be seen as a direct reflection of the occupational division prevalent in the society in general.

On another level of the double hidden curriculum, Metso (1992: 272-273) points out that **boys and girls have different roles in the classroom interaction** and in relation to the teacher. Boys tend to take more space in class, be louder and have more interaction with the teacher. Partly this is due to the boys taking the attention themselves, partly teachers giving it to them; boys tend to cause more disturbances, but are also more easily noticed in positive circumstances. Girls take more part in the examination of homework, but boys participate in the free discussion without putting their hands up. Gordon and Lahelma (1995: 170, 181) argue that school teaches girls to adopt a submissive role and both boys and girls learn to accept their position determined by sex in the society's power structures. The higher value of masculinity is also realised in the teachers' conception of boys as more intelligent and interesting despite the trouble they may be causing.

On the final level, the double hidden curriculum refers to the **presentations of the two sexes and their roles in the teaching materials** and learning contents (Metso 1992: 272-273). Much of this is in accordance with the results from the textbook studies presented in chapter 3.4 below. For example, male characters are greater in number and often in more active roles than females, and the range of professions for females is narrower than for males, and the professional division sharper than in reality (Gordon and Lahelma 1995: 183). Also Michel (1986: 11-18) points out that the hidden

curriculum is realised in the gender roles and actions related to them. Males and females are not treated in an equal manner: women and girls are less frequent, they are presented as more passive and issues related to feminine life and environment are fewer. Women are often placed in a traditionally feminine position, in domestic and caring roles and valued through their emotionality and motherhood. Men, on the other hand, seem not to have a role in the home; they work outside the house, hold more professional roles and are the family breadwinners.

Törmä (2003: 126-127) brings up an important aspect of the teachers' role in relation to the hidden curriculum: can the teachers be blamed for something they are not conscious of, or for following culturally accepted norms they do not find harmful? She persists that it is important for the teachers to understand what their actions are based on, raise discussion in their working environment, and build ethical practices to change harmful structures. It perhaps goes without saying that this should also apply to the bias in the teaching materials.

The first two chapters in this section dealt with equality at school. It was presented that equality is an official educational goal stated in the national core curriculum. However, it was also concluded that the school sometimes works against the official educational goals, and the concept of the double hidden curriculum was introduced. The following chapter ends section 2 by presenting a view to gender issues in Finnish society.

2.3 Men and women in the contemporary Finnish society

It was discussed above what equality as an educational goal means, and it was suggested that the school should challenge stereotypical ideas and norms, thus encouraging the students towards critical thinking. Further below, chapter 3.2 discusses whether the learning materials in particular should contend to reflect the prevalent situation regarding gender roles, or whether they should strive to challenge it. In other words, if the real mothers

in general do the main part of the household chores, should a textbook portray a fictional mother doing the laundry and cooking, or should an alternative be presented? To better understand the current situation in Finnish society, this chapter reviews prevalent sex roles and practices in the light of statistics.

Women and men in Finland participate in work life fairly equally when measured by the number of employees (Kinnunen & Korvajärvi 1996: 10). Finns believe to a large extent that the responsibility for providing financial security to the family should be shared, and the two-supporter family model is the prevalent type (*Gender barometer*, TAB 2004). However, men and women work in separate fields: according to two sources, *Naiset ja miehet Suomessa* (*Men and women in Finland* 2001) and Kinnunen & Korvajärvi (1996: 10-11), the greatest part of men work manufacturing, transporting or processing things, whereas most women spend their work time providing social and health care, education and services. Only less than one fifth of professions employ men and women in equal numbers.

The segregation into male and female fields should not automatically mean that some professions are better than others. Several studies have shown, however, that on all educational levels women's jobs are lower in the hierarchy (see Kinnunen & Korvajärvi 1996: 13). According to the *Gender barometer* (TAB 2004), one female employee in four feels that their pay is affected by their gender. Women in general have slightly higher level of education than men, but are categorically paid less in all groups of professions (Kinnunen & Korvajärvi 1996: 13). Although the income of an average employee has increased during the past decade, the gap between male and female workers has not decreased: a woman's euro is still 80 cents (*Naiset ja miehet Suomessa* 2001). Furthermore, women's perceptions of equal opportunities in work life differ greatly from that of men: 48% of men agree with the statement "women's opportunities in work life are as good as men's", as opposed to 29% of women (TAB 2004: 9).

The sphere of school and education provides a good illustration of what tends to happen in the work life in general: around 70% of teachers in the comprehensive school and upper secondary school are women, but c. 70% of the leading positions in schools are held by men. At the universities the percentage of men increases steadily the higher one moves in the hierarchy, with the figures of slightly over 40% of instructors and lecturers, almost 60% of the assistants and 80% of the professors. (*Naiset ja miehet Suomessa* 2001.) However, the *Gender barometer* indicates a general appreciation of women in the top positions of society, and the importance of the first female president to gender equality is acknowledged (TAB 2004: 9).

Although most Finns believe in sharing the responsibilities of running the home and parenting, the fact is that women's share of the everyday chores and family life is greater than men's. *Gender barometer* (TAB 2004: 31-33) shows that mothers carry the main responsibility for doing the laundry, cooking, cleaning, washing the dishes and ironing. Taking care of the children, transporting them to school or day care are most often shared between the parents, but very rarely taken care of solely by the father. Vehicles, renovations and repairs, in turn, are mainly in the fathers' domain. In general, women are considered to be more home-bound, and the parental leaves are still thought to be more women's right than men's (TAB 2004: 29-31). The perception of children as belonging to the mother's domain is further illustrated by the comparison of figures of one-parent families: in over 87 percent of the cases the single parent is the mother, leaving only 12.5% as the fathers' share (*Miehet ja naiset Suomessa* 2001).

This section dealt with the aspects of equality and gender at school and in Finnish society. It was suggested that the school treats boys and girls differently and that this segregation continues later in life. The following section presents the school textbook as an educational tool and as an object of research, and discusses sexism in educational materials.

3 THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOK

Section 2 above considered gender equality as an educational goal and introduced the concept of the double hidden curriculum. It closed with a statistical overview with the end of familiarising the reader with the current situation in Finland. This section turns the attention to the school textbook: an important but widely criticised educational tool. What the concept of a textbook entails has drastically changed during the past decades, as chapter 3.1 presents. Chapter 3.2 discusses sexism in relation to educational materials and considers its possible effects on students. Chapter 3.3 is concerned with the types of textbook research and places present study in the ideological tradition. Finally, chapter 3.4 presents previous Finnish research on gender and sexism in school textbooks.

3.1 Textbook as a central tool for teaching and learning

The concept of a textbook is today perhaps less clear than in the past. For example, following the traditional definition, Flanagan (1989: 250) understands textbooks as **books** that are designed to be used as the basis of instruction, presenting the basic principles of the subject. The contents in textbooks are organised to a significant extent and they usually provide several types of learning activities and suggestions for further study. In fact, they can often be “considered as an entire course of study in print” (Flanagan 1989: 250). Pitkänen-Huhta (2003: 41), in turn, characterises today’s textbooks as **instructional manuals**, by which students learn through various means: texts, exercises, audiotapes, games and, for example, films. Although multimodality is an undeniable characteristic of the textbooks today, for practical reasons the textbook is defined in a narrower sense for the present study: it is here understood as being **the core** of the entire material package, **the actual book itself**, consisting for example of texts and exercises, glossaries and grammar sections. The other instructional materials, such as

audiotapes and teacher's manuals, are seen as additional materials arranged around the textbook.

Illustrations are a visible part of the textbooks today. Hatva (1987: 10-16) regards their main task as providing support for learning and motivation: in foreign language textbooks images often complement the text content, work as a basis for different types of communicative exercises providing substance for dialogues and discussions, or enhance learning by connecting vocabulary to mental images. In addition, an image may also lessen the burden on the working memory by presenting essential parts of the learning content in a simple form. In foreign language textbooks aesthetism is probably more important than informativity, as it is obviously the text that is the main medium for linguistic information.

Regardless of the role of an individual image in a textbook, it nevertheless represents and reproduces the reality. In her study Palmu (1992: 303) reported that images in her data could often be found to exaggerate or even lie. Disregarding the extent to which the statement is true, the communicative and ideological power of the visuals in instructional materials should not be underestimated.

The important role the textbook occupies in teaching has provided little dispute: it seems to be generally accepted that textbooks tend to dominate in class, and are important tools for both teachers and pupils (see Selander 1991: 36). Westbury (1989: 476) notes that "books are the most important resources which schools and teachers have as they do their work of educating". Apple (1986: 12) states that textbooks virtually are the functional curriculum in many countries, and Selander (1991: 36) pushes this thought as far as saying that "the textbook is the place where real (school) knowledge is presented". Although the sources start to be a bit outdated, a consideration of the teaching practices in contemporary classrooms tends to support them: textbook contents and pedagogical approaches may have changed during the past decades, but the central role of the book itself has not.

The central role of the textbooks has often encountered ambiguity among scholars. Flanagan (1989: 250) admits that the development in textbooks has brought an important contribution to the improvement of modern teaching, but at the same time textbooks are targets of constant criticism. They are often accused of encouraging learning on a superficial level, or not being able to meet the needs of students as individuals, targeted as they are to learners of many different types. Westbury (1989: 476) expresses the concern that textbooks can significantly limit the teacher's or the school's capacity of defining their own educational purposes. Pitkänen-Huhta (2003: 41) holds that the textbook design in general functions to guide the teaching in a certain direction and assigns the students with a prescribed reading position. Moreover, this strictly directed reading position may function to enhance the effects of ideologies on students, as Kalmus (2004: 471) suggests.

Possible bias in textbooks has attracted much criticism, as an example the inclusion of racial, ethnic and gender stereotypes (see e.g. Michel 1986; Flanagan 1989: 250; Westbury 1989: 478-479). Westbury (1989: 478) sees that the values and attitudes in educational materials are of central interest not just to the critics but also to students and their parents. Uusikylä and Atjonen (2000: 145) provide a contrasting opinion by stating that both the central role of textbooks as well as their contents are most often taken as given, and the weaknesses and lacks in them are usually unnoticed by parents and pupils. Together with Selander (1991: 40-41) they point out that it is of the teachers' responsibility to use their professional skills and knowledge for critical evaluation of the teaching materials they use. Once more, this requirement comes close to the central aim of the present study.

This chapter considered the textbook as a central educational tool and presented some of the criticism placed on textbooks. The following chapter will take a look at sexism in textbooks and discuss its possible effects on pupils.

3.2 Sexism in textbooks

Michel (1986: 11) sees that sexism in literature and textbooks includes the “practices, prejudices and ideologies that treat one sex as inferior to the other in worth and status”. Mills (2003) challenges this traditional conception of sexism and states that it has become highly problematic: the initial idea of sexism as being systematic discrimination against women and working for the benefit of all men has become old-fashioned and sexism itself has taken more subtle and indirect forms. *MacMillan English Dictionary for advanced learners* (2002: 1301) defines sexism in a relatively gender-neutral way, as “the belief that men and women should be treated in a different way and are suited to different types of jobs and different positions in society”. The idea that sexism does not work only against women, but also limits the choices and personal liberty of boys and men is essential to the present study. Furthermore, it is in agreement with the view that in today’s learning materials sexism is probably realised in more indirect forms than before.

There is an extensive body of research on the relationship between language, gender and sexism. Finnish studies on sexism in textbooks will be presented in chapter 3.5 below. Despite the findings that generally support the assumption that there is sexism in textbooks, no agreement has been reached on what this means: Can a textbook be considered sexist only if it assigns men and women, boys and girls with roles, activities and characteristics that do not correspond to the reality? Or is it sexist to contend with reflecting the reality that is unequal and sexist itself, without offering any criticism or alternative models? I am willing to agree with the latter view: textbooks should not just reflect society, but aim at challenging the inequalities, injustices and bias. As educational tools they have an important role of implementing the equality goals set in the official curriculum. However, textbooks also have the principal goal of teaching the school subject they handle. Thus they cannot portray too strange a worldview, as this would possibly attract too much student attention off the learning contents.

Lately the direct effects of sexism and gender bias in textbooks have been questioned. Jones et al. (1997: 471) point out that readers respond to a given text in many different ways. A language learner, for example, may accommodate to gender bias on an unconscious level, but may also resist positioning herself in stereotypical roles and contest the sexism in the text. Sunderland et al. (2001: 251, 276-281) suggest that it is virtually impossible to predict the effect of a given text on the learners' gender identities. More important than the ideology conveyed by the text is the mediation of the text by the teacher, the "teacher talk around the text". In their data Sunderland and her team found occasions where the "traditional" gender discourse was supported by the teacher, and instances where it was undermined or subverted by for example criticism and joking in a way that could be seen as encouraging gender equality. There were also cases when "progressive" gender discourse could be used as a basis for discussion of gender equality, and cases when this type of discourse was undermined and ridiculed by the teacher. Moreover, texts that were characterised by gender blindness could provoke a talk about gender issues, whereas texts containing explicit gender bias could be passed over. In conclusion, the researchers reported that what teachers say and do when they encounter gender bias in the learning materials cannot be predicted from the text itself.

Kalmus (2004: 471), in turn, emphasises the pupils' capacities to creatively interpret and strategically handle the contents of their learning materials, which, she claims, have often been forgotten or ignored in textbook studies. Many media researchers have proved children to be more active than passive readers, being capable of criticism and discussion on the media. On the other hand, as Kalmus points out, educational texts are institutionally defined and tend to closely direct the reading, which may enhance their impact on readers.

The three studies presented above bear implications to the present study. First, it cannot be presumed that the ideology or ideologies conveyed by the textbooks have direct effects on students. However, it is assumed that

as part of general gender socialisation, textbooks may challenge or confirm the existing ideologies, even if in unpredictable ways. Students should be encouraged to use their critical abilities also on educational materials. Second, the role of the teacher as a mediator of texts should not be underestimated, and language awareness and critical reading skills should have a more central part in teacher training. Third, educational materials should be designed to provide the students and teachers with the tools for critical meta-evaluation of their ideological contents rather than aiming at gender neutrality.

In spite of criticism, the concern that school textbooks may play a part in the process of socialisation and construction of gender identities provides interest in studying and eliminating sexism in children's books and school textbooks. Michel (1986: 31-33) gives account on several studies that confirm that stereotyping has effects on the career choices of girls, as they are being discouraged in subjects such as technology and science. Noteworthy is also the study from the USA by Baruch (1974: 199, as quoted in Michel 1986: 32) on the girls' fear of success when they find femininity and professional and educational success mutually incompatible. Michel (1986: 31-33) also reports that sexism and stereotypical roles may also lower the girls' self-esteem and feeling of independence, and restrict and direct the career choices and forms of self expression for both boys and girls.

The first two chapters in this section were concerned with textbooks, textbook criticism and the effects of sexism in textbooks. Now the angle changes a little as the following chapter will deal with the ideological tradition in textbook research.

3.3 The ideological tradition in textbook research

Johnsen (1993: 28-29, 86-153) separates studies on textbooks to three main categories which approach their subject from different perspectives. First, there is a vast body of research on **what there is in the textbooks**: the

ideology and philosophy that they convey. For example, research has been made on the self-images of nations in textbooks, or on the way in which other nations are depicted in them. Discrimination of groups, presentations of democracy, forms of government and the world view in general have interested scholars in many countries. The method most commonly used in these ideological studies has been content analysis. Second, researchers have been interested in **how textbooks are used** by teachers and pupils, what is their role in the teaching process and how much time is spent on them. In this category, also the textbook accessibility, authority and effectiveness have been in the focus. Third, the processes of **textbook production** have been studied from several perspectives: life cycle, conceptualisation, writing, editing, marketing and selection, to mention some. The studies of this type often focus on the impact that publishers, authors, and curricula have on the textbook contents. The present study focuses on the ideology and fits in the first category. However, the other two categories are involved as well, as the textbook production and the way they are used by teachers and pupils are seen as part of the discourse process. Moreover, the methodology used in the present study departs from the traditional content analyses typical for the field.

There is a massive body of research on gender in curriculum materials. The results vary according to the culture, country and time, although the general tendencies appear to be the same: males are presented more often, more positively and with a wider range of occupations, whereas female characters in textbooks are ridiculed more often, and are assigned with a wider variety of family roles. The following chapter presents studies conducted in Finland, as they provide results with the most comparative value to those of the study at hand.

3.4 Research on textbooks and gender in Finland

One of the first textbook studies from the gender perspective in Finland was a content analysis conducted in the late 1960's by Sumu (1968). She analysed several textbooks used in the lower secondary school at the time and found that almost three quarters of the gender-specific expressions referred to males. The occupational roles assigned for each gender were very traditional, and both men and women were depicted stereotypically.

In the 1980's, Cleve (1984: 330-333) analysed altogether eight EFL textbooks from three different book series that were used in Finnish primary and secondary schools. Her aim was to examine the ways in which women were depicted in the textbooks, but she does not give a detailed description of her method in the report. According to Cleve's perceptions, the number of men in the textbooks was greater than that of women, and their professional sphere was larger. Women's role was associated with the home and mothering, and in the academic positions women did not exist at all. In general, both men and women were presented in traditional, stereotypical roles.

Palmu (1992: 301-313) explored gender-related ideology in Finnish primers. She understood ideology as being the whole world constructed in the primers, where people of different sexes or genders act. The analysis focused on the culturally produced meanings and gender-specific expressions that were attached to male or female characters in the pictures and texts of three primers. The method relied on the model created by Michel (1986) for the UNESCO programme. The model consists of three parts: quantitative analysis of the content, qualitative analysis of the content, and analysis of the sexism in the language. Palmu used eight analytical categories for the textbook characters: men, women, boys, girls, feminine and masculine fantasy characters and feminine and masculine animals. She found that males outnumbered females in the chapter headings and gender-specific expressions. Also the fantasy characters were mainly male. The characters in general represented traditional roles for males and females: they highlighted

a woman's role in the home, cooking and caring. Male characters were assigned with a wider variety of occupational roles, and in general references to them were broader and more diverse.

As part of her broader study *Gender differentiation in the curriculum of the comprehensive school*, Lahelma (1992: 27, 58-79, 117) analysed a large body of data that included textbooks of several school subjects and curriculum documents. She sums up the earlier studies on gender in school textbooks by stating that there are stereotypical descriptions of both boys and girls, men and women, and that the most obvious this is in the textbooks for upper grades and in the descriptions of grown up men and women. Lahelma also cites Pitkänen-Koli (1987: 97), who writes that the textbooks reinforce the traditional conception of the roles assigned to men and women in society: the image of social reality presented in textbooks tends to be that of the past, as women work in a much wider variety of fields than depicted in the books, and the girls are given a narrower range of possible models to identify themselves with than the boys. In her own study, Lahelma analysed the contents of textbooks from the perspective of gender order, essential features of which were considered to be the division of labour between the sexes, the concentration of the responsibility of the next generations in the hands of women and the concentration of power in the hands of men. Lahelma found that the textbooks did not directly address the division of labour between the sexes, nor did they explain its background. The issues of gender equality were mainly ignored in the contents of textbooks as well as curriculum documents, and officially comprehensive school was portrayed as being gender neutral. However, the obtained results were similar to those by Cleve (1984) and Palmu (1992) presented above: caring was female territory, the male sphere being broader, more visible and related to social power. Mother was mentioned twice as often as father, and her position in the family was central. In the history books women were practically invisible.

Lindroos (1997) studied how the meanings "girl" and "boy" were produced and constructed in the classroom discourse. Lessons of five

teachers were taped and transcribed, and the textual materials used in the lessons were also collected. The teachers were also interviewed twice during the research process. The study also involved an analysis of the parts of textbooks used in the classes at the time. Lindroos used three methods of analysis: quantitative discourse analysis, ethnomethodological analysis and content analysis. Her study suggested that boys tend to rule the classroom discourse: they talked more and tended to receive more attention than the girls. The boys also had a more active role in constructing the teaching together with the teachers. In the learning materials and the classroom discourse 75% of the references were to men and boys and 25% to women and girls. The meanings attached to the two genders were traditional and in accordance with the findings reported from other related studies. Lindroos (1997: abstract) sums up her findings as follows: "a woman is still a mother or a person who takes care of other people, and a man is a person who works and whose position is publicly referred to".

In her ethnographic study of mother-tongue lessons in Finnish lower secondary school, Palmu (2003: 1-5, 26-32, 103-138, 153-154) analysed classroom discourse and teaching materials. Similarly to Lindroos, she also included interviews with teachers and pupil writings in her data. Her aim was to explore how gender was produced in the texts at school. The textbook analysis showed that in general gender was stereotypically depicted, and especially the literature extracts revealed an emphasis on masculinity. In accordance with other studies, also this study showed that females were more often referred to by their family status than males, and males in general held more active roles and positions as leading characters. The number of masculine historical characters was more than double compared to that of corresponding female characters. In the classroom discourse boys got more attention than girls and the latter had to work harder to earn appraisal and to be considered as gifted.

Lempiäinen (2003: 14, 29-31, 168, 172-173, 202) studied gender and sex in hundreds of sociology textbooks used in the Universities of Helsinki and

Tampere between the years 1946 and 2000. Her focus of interest was in how sex and gender are treated in the textbooks and how men and women are defined. The analysis showed that sex and gender were not central issues in the field of general sociology. However, from the existing references Lempiäinen could conclude that men and women were positioned in a different way: men were often present without any reference to women, whereas when women were mentioned in the texts, a relationship to men was often brought up. Lempiäinen inferred that women were considered as the marked gender, as opposed to men as the neutral gender. In addition, women were often positioned in nurturing roles, whereas men held leading positions.

At the University of Jyväskylä sex and gender in textbooks have inspired a body of master's theses during the past decade, mainly in the departments of languages and pedagogy. Hjorth (1997) studied presentation of men and women in a textbook series for EFL students in the upper secondary school. The concepts of sex roles and stereotypes in relation to the process of socialisation were central in her work. In the analysis Hjorth adapted the analytical checklist presented by Michel (1986). The illustrations were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods: they were counted, then divided into categories first based on the sex of the depicted characters and then on the basis of the activities presented. For the texts, Hjorth used a relatively complex definition of "character" as opposed to the more general references to people in the texts. The characters were listed and categorised on the basis of their gender and whether or not they were assigned with an occupation. Her findings indicate that male characters were more numerous and presented within a wider range of activities than female characters. Important observations were that whereas both genders were set in some traditionally sex-appropriate professions, only female characters had in some cases non-traditional occupations, and that in some isolated, but recurrent cases, female characters were presented in comical or ridiculous situations.

Salmu (2002) examined three Finnish textbooks in terms of male/female representations and ideology, and approached her data from a feminist angle. The method was a combination of content analysis and discourse analysis. Text and images in the books were analysed and all the sex-specific references and images were counted. Salmu also studied the material to identify roles and characteristics assigned to each gender. She concluded that both women and men were presented in stereotypical roles in the professional as well as private spheres. However, stereotypes related to women were more often negative than those related to men. Women were also slightly more often described by their appearance and physical features than men – the difference was perhaps not significant but systematic throughout the data.

Kallio and Rehn (2003) studied how the hidden curriculum from the gender perspective (the double hidden curriculum) was conveyed in five textbooks for mathematics on the third grade of comprehensive school. The method was a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. Elements supporting the theory of the double hidden curriculum could be found in all of the textbooks. For example, boys and men outnumbered girls and women in the illustrations and exercises. The roles assigned to each gender were stereotypical: boys were positioned in active roles, whereas girls were presented more often as passive bystanders. The textbooks tended to offer more role models to boys, and again females were depicted as “the other sex” or as the marked gender.

Piironen (2004) examined two English textbooks from a series for the upper levels of comprehensive school. As a method she used contextual content analysis combined with a qualitative analysis of sex roles found in the textbooks. Like many of the previous studies, also Piironen showed that women were underrepresented in occupational roles and men in family roles, and that the number of male characters (70 %) exceeded noticeably that of the female characters. Men also ruled the spheres of technology, science

and sports. Similarly to Kallio and Rehn (2003), also Piironen confirmed that elements from the double hidden curriculum were present in the textbooks.

Much of the findings from the previous research in Finland confirm the five types of sexism in foreign language textbooks suggested by Sunderland (1994: 55-56). First, there is an **unproportioned number of references to male and female characters**. Porecca (1984: 706) considered this as an example of undervaluation of women and their achievements and actions being secondary when compared to men's. Second, there can be found **occupational stereotyping** when men are presented with a wider range of professional roles, and women's occupations are associated with home, children and caretaking. Third, **women are seen more often in relation to men than vice versa** (e.g. Lempiäinen 2003), which can lead one to think that women are the "second" sex. Fourth, in terms of personal characteristics, **men are often depicted as strong and active**, women as passive and in need of help. In textbooks men are presented as doing sports such as weightlifting and women as dancing and reading fashion magazines. Finally, Sunderland (1994) brings up the explicit and blatant form of sexism, which degrades women through jokes and generalisations. This type of sexism was not reported in the Finnish studies, except for Hjorth (1997) and to some extent Salmu (2002). In general Sunderland (1994: 55-56) states that the female characters in textbooks are "neither authentic nor positive role models".

This section discussed the school textbook as a popular educational tool and introduced research on sexism in textbook conducted in Finland. Regardless of the approach or method, the findings tend to confirm that men and women, femininity and masculinity are not treated equally in textbooks, and that gender bias continues to be a problem. Studies conducted in the 1990's and later tend to confirm that in spite of the strongest stereotyping being discarded, occupational roles tend to be distributed by gender, and the general male-domination seems to persist to change. As long as there is such discrepancy between the goal of equality stated in the core curriculum and the double hidden curriculum realised in the textbooks, more research is

needed. More specifically, there seems to be a need for analysis from the perspective of language teachers: how do gender ideologies manifest themselves in the textbooks and how can the traces of gender discourse be made visible to the pupils? Although the present study does not extend as far as providing the teachers with the appropriate tools to deal with ideologies in classrooms, it can be a first step towards enhancing language awareness of students and teachers. The next section will take a closer look at discourse, ideologies and language awareness – all central concepts in critical discourse analysis and feminism.

4 FEMINISM AND CDA

The underlying conceptual structures for the present study are derived from critical discourse analysis (CDA), which can be seen to work as a broad theoretical framework. This section presents the tenets and concepts of CDA and feminist linguistics central to the present study. Chapter 4.1 introduces the concept of discourse and discusses language as a social phenomenon. Chapter 4.2, in turn, considers the relationship between ideology, power and school as an educational institution. Texts and gender identities are the focus of chapter 4.3. Chapter 4.4 shortly presents the goals shared by CDA and feminist studies in relation to the present study. Finally, it sums up the theoretical background.

4.1 Discourses in textbooks, textbook as discourse

Discourses are seen as possible ways of representing the world, or as larger systems of meaning that help to make sense of the world (Sunderland 2006: 47; Fairclough 2003: 124). Discourses can also be understood as broad systems of meaning that link individual comments and text strings to historical processes and changes of conceptual systems (Vuori 2000: 81-82). Discourses can be durable over time, on the one hand, but may undergo

transformations on the other. Citing Talbot (1998: 54), Sunderland (2006: 48) points out that although discourses themselves are not visible, they can be recognised by analysts through their linguistic manifestations or "traces" (see also Fairclough 1989). For example, in textbooks there may be found traces of what could be called "sexist discourse", for instance ridiculing women or depicting men as aggressive, or "traditional gender discourse" that could depict mothers as housewives, describe girls as weak and pretty, and fathers as being strict and mainly interested in sports, politics and work. In addition, there may be found discourses that challenge the traditional or sexist discourse: for example females may be positioned as heroes, the feminine sphere may be valued and representations of both femininity and masculinity may be found to transgress the traditional boundaries. These discourses I shall call "feminist" or rather "new gender discourses".

Inherent in the concept of discourse is also its close and dialectical relationship with the social reality, which is paramount in the theory of CDA. In Fairclough's view,

there is no external relationship between language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship. Language is part of the society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena. (Fairclough 1989: 23.)

To put it simply, language is regarded as a social practice: it is a part of society and a socially conditioned process at the same time. Linguistic phenomena are social in the sense that the use of language, sending and receiving messages, coding and encoding meanings are socially determined and have social effects. For example, in politics terminology is used in incompatible ways and definitions are often disputed. In the school context, classroom language does not only result from the social relationships between the participants, it also contributes to them. The way women and men are talked about does not only reflect what we think about gender and sex roles, it also maintains and changes our thoughts. For example, referring to Tarja Halonen as *naispresidentti* (female president) is probably due to the

fact that all our previous presidents have been men, but also the prefix *nais-* (female) indicates that a man as a president is the standard of which we are now making an exception (compare e.g. male nurse, lady lawyer, child soldier).

In the present study the school textbooks are understood as part of their context: not seen as isolated texts, but as part of social processes. Textbooks are socially conditioned for example through the factors influencing the publishing and editing process of the textbooks (see Haines 1994: 130), the educational goals set in the curriculum, the political processes behind those goals, and the students' and teachers' responses to the textbooks. What is in the textbooks can be regarded both as traces of the process of production, as well as cues that serve as a basis for interpretation (Fairclough 1989: 25).

This being said, textbooks can also be regarded as mass media: as Selander (1991: 35-39) points out, they reach a large audience and contribute to the worldview of a generation at a time. Textbook analysis gives information on changes in society and its values at large: the educational role of textbooks together with their structure, contents and pedagogical approaches change along with society and its shifting values. Similarly to any other text, also textbooks reflect the attitudes, values and beliefs of their authors and of their culture. At the same time they also reproduce them, have an effect - even if a slight one - on their audience, the teachers and the students.

Some of the representations in the textbooks are probably well thought out regarding the ideology and world view they provide, aiming at contributing to the goals stated in the curriculum. For example, many language textbooks today directly treat issues such as racism, cultural prejudice or sexism in language - even if the treatment is usually short and superficial. However, these are separate instances and it is likely that most of the ideology or world view offered by a textbook is probably there without the authors being aware of it. For instance, when presenting possible career choices to students in upper secondary school, the book authors probably

give some consideration to the options they offer to boys and girls and even aim at breaking some of the stereotypical settings. In many other cases, however, the stereotypes pass the guards of the authors: for example the picture editor of the textbook probably finds a picture of a male soldier or female nurse in a picture bank, and without thinking most people probably write “mom was cooking” instead of “dad” because in many cases and at least in the childhood of the authors it really was the mother who took care of the kitchen work. To sum up, school textbooks reflect the reality, traditions and ideology as perceived by the authors or the editorial team, whether the people contributing to the product are conscious of it or not.

4.2 Ideology and power

From the point of view of CDA, the concept of ideology is a significant aspect of establishing and maintaining power relations (Wodak 2001: 10). Fairclough (1992: 87) describes ideologies as constructions of the physical world, social identities and social relations built in the various dimensions of discourse practices. Van Dijk (2001a: 115) defines ideologies shortly as “the basic social representations of social groups”. To put it simply, ideologies form the basis for the attitudes and knowledge of groups, featuring the principal ideas and attitudes that organize other attitudes. Van Dijk makes an example of a racist ideology that may direct the attitudes about immigration, and of a sexist ideology that may organize attitudes concerning labour market, education, and social security.

Embedded in the discourse practices ideologies may become naturalised, achieving the position of “common sense” (e.g. Fairclough 1992: 88). As van Dijk (2001b) points out, as members of our own culture its structures and ideologies seem natural to us, and it is very difficult to be aware of the ways in which the words in our own language convey values, attitudes, and presumptions. Furthermore, people may find it difficult to understand that normal practices in contexts such as school or work may

have ideological dimensions. My claim is that in most of the meetings in work places the coffee is still poured by women, and that this practice is so naturalised that people seldom are aware of it, and that it both results from and contributes to the traditional positioning of women as caregivers and servants to men.

The concept of ideology is closely related to power and dominance. According to Fairclough (1995b: 219-220), in today's developed capitalist countries power is mainly exercised through consent and ideology rather than through coercion and physical force. This results in the enhanced role of language in the exercise of power: "it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt", Fairclough writes. According to him, this makes the role of the mass media and the educational system more important - and not only as distributing channels for elites and their ideologies, but also as powerful institutions and information gatekeepers themselves. Moreover, the educational system is also involved in educating people about the practices of other domains such as the world of work as well as about the social order in general.

Institutions are important factors in conveying ideologies and controlling people's interests, opinions and world views. Van Dijk (2001b: 357-358) suggests four ways in which power and dominance of institutions are involved in the mind control:

- recipients tend to adopt knowledge, attitudes and information from what they believe to be authoritative and trustworthy sources such as scholars or reliable media
- in some situations recipients are obliged to participate in the discourse
- in many situations there are no alternative beliefs available in the public discourse, or the views are generally considered to be extreme or marginal
- recipients do not often have the knowledge and beliefs demanded for challenging the discourses they are exposed to

Especially in the school context these points are worth serious consideration.

Corresponding to those of van Dijk above, my claims are that

- textbooks are considered to be well thought out, reliable sources of information and most students and teachers do not take a critical look at the teaching materials, but accept especially the way things are presented as given
- students seldom have the possibility to choose the textbooks used in class, and they are obliged to participate in the discourse at school
- although some of the sexism in the English language is directly addressed in some of the textbooks, the cultural assumptions and presentations are rarely challenged
- young people and especially children should be empowered and given tools for critical reading and the responsibility of teachers and of the school as an institution should be acknowledged

Furthermore, van Dijk (2001b: 357) emphasises, whereas some of the conditions of mind control result from the situation and are largely contextual, some are discursive: certain forms of discourse, certain structures and meanings of a language are more influential on recipients' minds than others. For example, defining topics tells people what is important and worth talking about, and beliefs that are communicated implicitly are less likely to be challenged than those directly asserted. In addition, the ideology gains cumulative force as it is repeated through many channels. For instance, sex role expectations are often learned at home, reinforced by peers and teachers, and repeated again in the mass media and school and work practices and communication.

4.3 Texts and gender identities

Chapter 4.1 regarded language as a social phenomenon. The feminist concept of gender as culturally produced and reproduced identity is closely related to this CDA theory. Much of this production takes place through language and texts. As Luke (1995: 14) points out, texts are not just something that humans use, but the media, through which identities are constructed,

learned, represented and lived. In addition, texts are not seen as containers of meaning, but as sites of negotiation (Mills 1995: 25).

Jane Sunderland (1994: 1-2) borrows the definition by Humm (1989: 84): human gender can be defined as “a culturally shaped group of attributes given to the female or to the male”. A culture includes social practices and institutions, beliefs and values. It shapes and genders the people within it according to their innate sex differences, and results as masculine conceptions of gender associated with males and feminine conceptions associated with females. Furthermore, culture also shapes the gender roles and relations at all levels from interpersonal to the structural. Gendering shapes gender roles: what men and women, boys and girls do in occupational and social situations. This social construction of gender tends to masculinise biological males and feminise biological females. However, Sunderland (1994: 2) points out that these concepts of gender are not static but continually reproduced in a two-way process. Culture with its institutions, practices and beliefs shapes gender, but is also shaped itself by gender roles and relations in turn. Also Davies (2004: 128) emphasises the current understanding of gender identities being constantly reconstituted through the discursive practices. The production of identity, our own sense of who we are, involves the learning of the categories that exclude some people and include others (e.g. male/female, father/daughter), allocating meanings to the categories through discursive practices, positioning oneself in relation to the categories and finally committing oneself to the category. In current society, individuals are required to base their identity on maleness or femaleness. However, masculinity and femininity are not inherent properties of individuals, but rather properties of the way society is structured. As children learn discursive practises, they learn to position themselves in a gender category. Davies (2004: 137) argues that many of the discursive practices are virtually incompatible with the goal of equality, as they structure dualistic maleness and femaleness that is mostly unrecognised by people.

4.4 Feminism, CDA and the aims of the study

Many of the goals and principles in the present study are shared by feminist linguistics and other critical approaches. Above all, CDA and feminist directions in pedagogy and linguistics are brought together in the study at hand through their joint aims.

Feminist pedagogy is a direction that rises from feminism and critical pedagogy, in which the idea to promote critical and reflective pedagogic thinking and action from the feminine perspective is central (Lindroos 1997: 178). In CDA the task of the analysts is to go beyond mere description of issues, seeking explanations in the properties of social interaction and social structure (e.g. van Dijk 2001b: 352) but also to endeavour to derive results with practical relevance (Meyer 2001: 15). Both CDA and feminism seek to denaturalise everyday language and make visible the patterns of symbolic exchange that are often invisible for participants (Luke 1995: 12), or to “make aware” of what seems to be neutral, “make strange” what seems to be ordinary, and make readers to consider a text in the light of gender (Mills 1995: 29).

In relation to the present study the goals above are essential, as they are the inherent motivation for the research, albeit they are not perhaps put into practice until later in my work as a teacher of English. The demand for “practical relevance” of the research results entails empowering the students and teachers by giving them tools to understand the constitutive power of language and to see and describe how texts represent the social and natural world (see Mills 1995: 29; Luke 1995: 12-13; Davies 2004: 138). More importantly, enhancing language awareness may provide a resource for reshaping discourse practices and power relations on a larger scale (Fairclough 1995a: 217).

Before moving on, a short summary of the theoretical background is perhaps needed. After the introduction, section 2 dealt with the issues of equality at school and in Finnish society, maintaining that in spite of the official goals, school often realises the (double) hidden curriculum by

teaching boys and girls different behaviour patterns, attitudes and values. This phenomenon has its reflection in society at large, as the gender segregation tends to continue later in the professional and personal spheres of life. Section 3 focused on the school textbook as an important educational tool and presented the traditions and findings from the earlier body of research. It was concluded that as long as the textbooks fail to implement the goal of equality stated in the core curriculum, there is a need for further research in the field. The present section (4) provided an overview on the assumptions, goals and principles derived from CDA and feminist theories. It dealt with the concept of discourse in relation to the social reality, considered the relationship between language, ideology and power, and discussed the construction of social identities through texts. Finally, it familiarised the reader with the goals shared by CDA and feminism introducing the demand for practical relevance of the research results. Section 5 will present the research design.

5 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The starting point for the present study was my interest in gender ideologies conveyed by school textbooks with an end to enhance my language awareness and skills as a mediator of the texts as discussed above (see chapters 3.2 and 4.4). Chapter 5.1 introduces the general goals and presents the research questions. The analysis was conducted at two stages, first on two textbooks for the 8th grade, and later with five textbooks for the upper secondary school, as is explained in chapter 5.2. Chapter 5.3 explains the methodological background and describes the shortcomings and benefits of two widely used tools, content analysis and analytical model suggested by Michel (1986). However, as none of the existing methods seemed applicable, chapter 5.4 describes the course of the analysis explaining the choices and principles that direct the focus in sections 6 and 7.

5.1 The research questions

The general objective of the present study is to explore how gender is constructed and represented in the EFL textbooks used in Finnish comprehensive and upper secondary school. In other words, the study examines the ways in which the official goal of gender equality is promoted or demoted in the learning materials: this includes the gender ideologies and sex roles conveyed by the textbooks, the possible struggle between traditional or sexist discourse and what might be called “new gender discourse” (cf. chapter 4.1) in the textbooks, and the role of features such as topic choices may also play in the process.

The first research question entails the general goal of the study and is concerned with the overall gender ideology/ideologies conveyed by the textbooks:

- 1) Do the textbooks in general tend to promote gender equality? Or do they rather contribute to the realisation of the (double) hidden curriculum?

Previous research has established that there is sexism in the textbooks. For example, the proportion of male characters in textbooks tends to be significantly larger than that of females and there can be found a clear-cut difference in the occupational roles, personal characteristics and actions assigned to each gender. The first, general research question is then operationalised in the following questions that were designed later in the research process (see chapter 5.4) to cover the quantitative and qualitative aspects of equal representation:

- 2) How is the goal of equality realised in the textbooks in quantitative terms; are the two sexes present equally often?
- 3) How are men and women, boys and girls portrayed in the textbooks; what types of characteristics, interests, action and roles are assigned to males and females?

The fourth, and the final, research question serves the purpose of improving the knowledge and awareness of the textual and other manifestations of gender ideologies in the textbooks. As a teacher of English this question is the most important:

- 4) What types of linguistic, visual, editorial and other devices contribute to the process of constructing gender ideology in the textbooks?

There is a wealth of research on gender in textbooks, and I already have some expectations on the findings. One of the requirements in CDA is that the analysts should make their position clear as they are mediators of the text, bringing their own interpretations to the analysis. Thus, albeit it is often avoided in qualitative research, I will give account on the hypotheses that are based on previous research and on my own perceptions and already contribute to the theory (see the circle of empirical research in 5.4).

It can be presumed that male characters outnumber female characters in the research material, but it can be expected that the presentation of the two sexes has become more proportionate in the recent textbooks. There will perhaps be stereotypical roles assigned to both males and females, but it is also likely that instances where the stereotypical settings are challenged will be encountered. The extent to which there can be found traditional or “new” gender ideologies cannot be predicted, and there can probably be found high variation depending on the textbook series in question. However, it can be expected – although not hoped for – that the textbooks still tend to promote, rather than contest, the prevailing gender ideology thus contributing to the realisation of the double hidden curriculum. For the features that contribute to the gender ideology, the options are numerous. However, I carefully expect that traditional sexism, such as the generic use of masculine pronouns and nouns, as well as instances of blatant sexism, can be difficult to find.

5.2 The research material

The study involved an analysis of altogether seven EFL textbooks for Finnish comprehensive and upper secondary school. Exploring the realisation of the double hidden curriculum particularly in EFL textbooks was natural, given my background as an English major and my future as an English teacher. However, the selection of research material can be justified through more than my personal interests and competence. According to Sunderland et al. (2002: 223), foreign language textbooks are important data as they present characters in verbal interaction and in social relationships. In addition, Sunderland (1994: 57) points out that foreign language textbooks invite sexism in several ways. First, the books often include several dialogues which are often unintentionally constructed to be male dominated. Second, a sexist phrase may be repeated on several occasions – for instance in a piece of text and then in different types of activities and exercises where the phrase is operated on and processed. Third, an author may intend to focus on a particular language aspect and this may distort the representation of the sexes. Finally, gender stereotyping has played a role as an amusing or motivating factor in foreign language textbooks, providing something that the readers can easily relate to and thus aiding comprehension.

Initially the idea was to examine textbooks directed at the lower levels in basic education. Soon it became clear that textbooks targeted to the upper comprehensive school would better suit the purposes of the study than those directed at the lower grades, because of their more versatile language and wider range of topics. The first set of research material consisted of two textbooks for the 8th grade (*Key English 8* and *This way up 2*). As the study was broadened after a preliminary analysis, five books from three textbook series for the upper secondary school were included (*Culture café 1* and *3*, *English United 2*, and *In Touch 1* and *3*). This was done for two reasons. First, the three biggest Finnish publishers – WSOY, Otava, and Tammi – had just released first parts of their new textbook series based on the recently introduced national core curriculum. As the new curriculum provided new

guidelines, it would be reasonable to think that this could also be seen in the textbooks. Secondly, upper secondary school textbooks provided topics that could be fruitful bearing in mind the scope of the study: professions, summer jobs, hobbies, and personal life among others.

The selection of the upper comprehensive school textbooks was based on my personal teaching experiences. The upper secondary school textbook series were under the process of publishing, and thus were not yet available in the libraries or bookshops. I sent an e-mail to the three main publishers asking for copies of the new textbooks available. I asked for courses 1 and 3 because of their general themes defined in the national core curriculum: *Young people and their world* and *Study and work*. Tammi had only the first two parts of their series available, and sent me *English United 2*, which deals with youth culture, hobbies, sports and travelling (*Communication and leisure* in the core curriculum). WSOY and Otava sent me the books I had asked for, courses 1 and 3 from their series *In Touch* and *Culture café*. As a detail I should mention that Tammi was the only publisher that expressed interest in the research, asking for me to get back to them with the results.

The whole body of research material now consisted of two books for the comprehensive school, and five books from three publishers for the upper secondary school. *Key English 8* (WSOY 2003) was first used in schools in the autumn 2004 and *This way up 2* (Otava 1999) was the oldest. The books for upper secondary school were all new at the time of the analysis: *English United course 2* (Tammi 2004), *Culture café 1* and *3* (Otava 2004), and *In Touch 1* and *3* (WSOY 2004). Henceforth the following abbreviations are often used to refer to the textbooks: Key (*Key English 8*), TWU (*This way up 2*), EU (*English United 2*), CC1 and CC3 (*Culture café 1* and *3* respectively), and IT1 and IT3 (*In Touch 1* and *3*).

In chapter 3.1 the concept of textbook was discussed and it was agreed that for the present study the textbook would be understood as being the actual book itself. Thus the material that was not in the written form, but on a CD, DVD, in a teacher's handbook or on the Internet, was excluded from the

research. Also the song lyrics in general, typical orientational materials in foreign language textbooks, were excluded, as in some textbooks they were printed in the book, and in others not. The great variety in the way the textbook contents were organised and presented in each series was a complicating factor: for instance, the comprehensive school textbooks were both accompanied by separate activity books not included in the research material, whereas the upper secondary school textbooks were of the all-in-one type, with exercises and activities, texts and grammar all between the same covers. In the latter type of textbook, also all types of orientating materials and exercises are included in the data if not indicated otherwise. In all of the textbooks, separate grammar sections, word lists and vocabularies, often situated at the end of the book, were left outside of the textual analysis. However, the content analysis of the pictures covered the illustrations from the front cover to the back, with no exceptions. Detailed descriptions of the textbooks are given in Appendix 1.

5.3 Content analysis and Michel's (1986) model

There is no general agreement upon the criteria by which textbooks should be evaluated, as Johnsen (1993: 23, 26) points out, but it is up to the individual researchers to select and combine the methods and approaches that best suit their purposes. CDA does not provide a unified method for analysis, either, but allows for researchers to work in a problem-oriented way. The present study was set to explore the gender ideology in textbooks in a way that would broadly cover the essential features rather than concentrate on an analysis on a single textual trait or specific aspect of gender in depth. In addition, the research material consists of multiple textbooks instead of just one. This orientation poses specific requirements on the methods: they need to be efficient, reliable and adjustable to the individual features of each textbook.

The present study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Johnsen (1993: 144) states that in the textbook research it is typical to treat these two approaches as opposites. Their advantages and disadvantages are pointed out in research reports, and one method or the other is picked as a solution. Johnsen describes this as being “symptomatic of the problem textbook research has with scientific validity” and sees it as the result of the textbook research being perhaps “too tied” to social sciences. He also points out that general educational history and humanistic research traditions should not be forgotten when the problems of textbook research are considered.

A variety of research methodology has been seen in ideological textbook research but it has mainly been dominated by content analyses (Westbury 1989: 479). According to Fiske (1993: 179-180), content analysis is quantitative in nature, its fundamental idea being to recognise and count the occurrence of certain, carefully selected units in the communication system. Basically, these units can be whatever the researcher wants to study; the only one criterion is that the units be easily recognised and their frequency is sufficient. Although many scholars acknowledge the importance and efficiency of content analysis as a method (e.g. Mills 1995: 11), it has also been widely criticised. For example, Gilbert (1989: 62) aims his criticism above all at the lack of attention given to the text sequencing and organisation, explaining that the units of analysis are most often treated as isolated elements of text, as if they were unaffected by their location in the text. Mills (1995: 11) shares Gilbert’s (*idem.*) view that the focus on content analysis leads to an oversimplification of the way by which the readers participate in the production of meaning as the context and the interpretative and productive processes are often forgotten.

Content analysis is the basis also in the three step analytical model created for the Unesco programme and suggested by Michel (1986: 49-50), who argues that the analysis of sexism in textbooks should always be based on the number and statistics of female and male characters in the text. Much

of the previous textbook research has also adopted this view, as the number of characters provides results that can easily be compared to findings from other studies. The second stage of analysis is concerned with the qualitative analysis of content, and the aim is to provide “a statistical comparison of the characteristics attributed to male and female characters”. The third level of analysis considers sexism inherent in the language: for example choice of vocabulary, use of grammar, and “innocuous insinuations” that conceal a sexist message.

The model can be criticised for several shortcomings. To begin with, as it is based on content analysis, it ignores the context in which expressions or words occur: an expression may be indisputably sexist on one occasion, and non-sexist on another. However, the most severe problem with the model is that it masks subjectivity of the researcher under the seemingly objective statistics. When units are categorised and counted, the reader easily forgets the fact that the categories themselves and the criteria and process of categorisation are created and performed by the researcher or a team of researchers. In addition, the method asks for differentiation for example between conventional and nonconventional activities and traits – a practice, which albeit based on some cultural knowledge and theories is at least partly open to personal judgements of the researchers. This subjectivity, filtering through the analyst, is of course completely acceptable, but it should be made openly and written out explicitly in the report.

I found the idea of using a readymade model of analysis too restrictive, as I doubted that it would prescribe the analysis to an extent where perhaps the most important research goal, obtaining broad knowledge on the features that contribute to the gender ideology, would not be met. On the other hand, a “free” analysis directed only by the aspirations of the researcher and the features of the texts was out of the question, as for example close reading – a technique popular in literary and feminist criticism – carries the risk of the data can be used to back-up almost any judgement by the analyst, and findings that contradict the original hypotheses may pass ignored (Mills

1995: 11-12). Thus, together with findings from previous studies, content analysis is used as a starting point for the present study and as a basis for qualitative analysis of the textbooks: it is intended to secure a ground on which the categorisation and analysis can be anchored. The following chapter is closely related to the present one: it describes the course of the analytical process and explains the methodological choices in detail.

5.4 The analytical path

Content analysis seemed to be an effective way of exploring the data, but it would not be able to yield results that would satisfy all of the research questions. In addition, I was reluctant to let the course of research be dictated by any particular analytical model or directly repeat the practices of any previous study. Thus the only solution was to use the research material itself as the starting point. The traits and features to be analysed would be selected and the applicable tools picked during the research process. The previous textbook research would provide hints and directions on what could be worth looking for, and the theoretical background would offer a set of concepts that could be used to organise and describe the findings.

What resulted was a chain of constant interaction between the research material, goals of research and method of analysis during the whole process of conducting and writing the study. Meyer (2001: 19) presents a model of empirical research (Figure 1) that truly characterises the process:

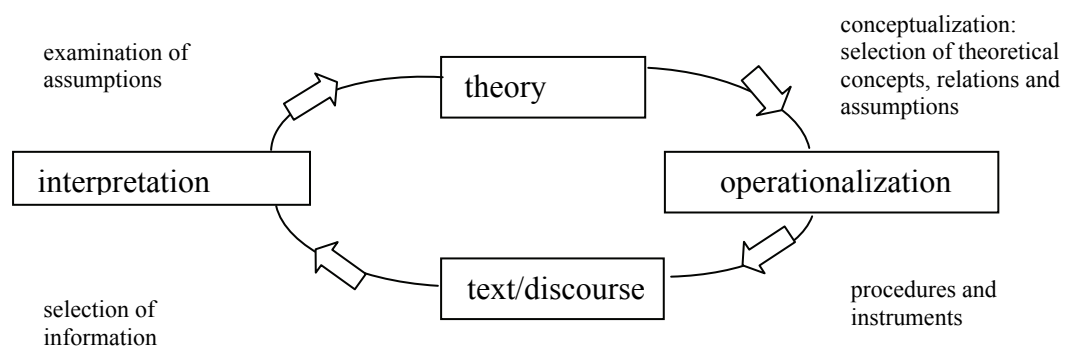


FIGURE 1. *Empirical research as a circular process*

N.B. Source: Meyer 2001: 19.

Regardless of being an over-simplification of the process, the model above has the benefit of presenting theory as a constantly building and changing entity of knowledge, ideas and insights the researcher has at any certain point of the process, whether they are based on an “official” theory, or on the researcher’s own conclusions and notions (Meyer 2001: 19). In other words, theory is not understood as given, or as being able to be changed only by some solid results in the end, but being built in a dialectical relationship with the research material.

The analysis started with a tentative reading of the two comprehensive school textbooks, *Key* and *TWU*. At this stage attention was focused on the textual contents, topics, characters, photographs, drawings, and layout. My “theory” was already building at this stage, as I had familiarised myself with for instance the research conducted in the 1970’s and 1980’s for the Unesco programme and published in *Down with stereotypes!* by Michel (1986). In addition to the three-staged analysis, Michel (1986: 69) also presented an analytical checklist to help critical evaluation of textbooks in order to find sex-role stereotyping (see Appendix 2). The checklist guided the analytical reading of the textbooks at the first stage, directing the attention to numbers of female and male characters, occupations and actions assigned to females and males, possible sex-role stereotyping, blatant sexism and sexism inherent in the language, such as the use of generic pronouns and nouns, and instances where sexist language was explicitly dealt with (e.g. *IT3*: 67; a discussion of *-man* and *-ess* suffixes in words for professions).

The first reading did not seem to provide much to serve as a basis for analysis. For example, there seemed to be equal number of female and male characters, practically no use of generic nouns or pronouns, and a wide variety of themes and topics offered to the students. The texts were also representations or imitations of various genres: newspaper and magazine articles on various subjects, poems, literary extracts, e-mails and cartoons, to mention a few. Unlike in most of the textbooks for lower comprehensive school, there were no central characters that the textbooks would build

around, and girls and boys seemed to be equal in number in contexts such as presentations of their home countries (*Key*) or writers to a problem corner of a magazine (*TWU*).

The following step was to use quantitative content analysis as a tool for obtaining knowledge on the numeric proportion of male and female characters in the research material. In the textbooks today the visuals play a significant role as motivational and organisational factors (see Hatva 1987: 10-16) and images are used to complement and repeat the textual contents by for example giving a physical appearance to the characters in the text. Therefore, a content analysis of the images was also considered to be an effective way of getting a good overall view of the research material. The results of this analytical stage will be presented and discussed in section 6. Chapter 6.5 already combines quantitative and qualitative approaches and places findings from content analysis of the pictures in context.

After the analysis of the images, the next step taken was an overall analysis of whose voices were heard in the main texts and what they were talking about. Because authors had used variable methods of constructing their textbooks, no unitary and reliable method of analysis could be found. For example, the *Culture café* -series provided a variety of real texts from magazines and newspapers with a reference to the original source and usually a general standpoint, whereas *In Touch* appeared to rely more on stories told from a perspective of a young person - whether real or invented, cannot be told - and with source references only to literary sources. Without a method that would reliably reach the multitude of voices in the textbooks, the analysis remained on a very general level, and provided only suggestive results presented in chapter 7.1.

Based on the results from the previous studies (see chapter 3.4), on the analytical tools presented by Michel (1986) and Mills (1995: 159-160), and on the findings from the content analysis of the pictures (in chapter 6.5), the next step involved an observation of the following features: sex-specific expressions, references to occupations, references to family roles, leisure

activities and personal characteristics assigned implicitly or explicitly to each sex. Also extra-textual features, such as layout, genre, choices offered to students, and images related to the texts were perceived to have implications for the hidden curriculum. This analytical phase lead into arrangement of findings around four main categories: presentation of teenagers in the textbooks, family roles (especially those of the mother and the father), occupational roles of females and males, and the use of celebrities, historical and other real characters in the textbooks. The findings and discussion from this stage of analysis are presented in chapters 7.2 - 7.5 further below.

This section prepared the ground for the analysis by describing the research design. It started by an introduction of the research questions and research material in chapters 5.1 and 5.2. The benefits and shortcomings of content analysis and a three-staged analytical model suggested by Michel (1986) were discussed in 5.3. The course of the analytical process and the formation of the method were accounted for in chapter 5.4. Section 6 will present the results from the content analysis of the images.

6 CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE IMAGES

The specific purpose of the content analysis in the present study is to provide results that could be both comparable to those from the previous research and that could serve as a solid basis for qualitative analysis of the material. As content analysis provides quantitative results, this section is designed to answer the second research question concerning equal representations of females and males in quantitative terms. Slight alterations to the analysed features and analytical principles were made after the research material was expanded with the upper secondary school textbooks. Thus the results concerning the two sets of research material are not combined, but given in separate chapters. Chapters 6.1 and 6.2 treat the comprehensive school textbooks *TWU* and *Key* in terms of equal representation of female and male

characters; the first analyses the photographs depicting males or females, and the latter considers the number of characters in the pictures. Corresponding to chapter 6.1, chapter 6.3 deals with the photographs in the upper secondary school textbooks (*CC1&3*, *EU*, *IT1&3*), and chapter 6.4 analyses the characters first in the photographs and then in the drawings of *CC*, *IT* and *EU*. Chapter 6.5 returns to the comprehensive school textbooks, presenting and discussing the roles and actions assigned to females and males. It also sums up the results that bore implications to the general qualitative analysis presented in section 7.

6.1 In TWU and Key 40 % more photographs of male characters

As the purpose of the content analysis of the images was to investigate whether the treatment of females and males was equal in quantitative terms, it was initially decided to focus on the photographs depicting present-day characters that usually present the central characters in the textbooks. In addition, students were thought to be more likely to identify themselves with characters that are more like themselves. Moreover, previous research has shown that history and science are traditionally dominated by men in textbooks, and leaving out the historical characters at this point served to prevent the results from distortion.

The photographs were distributed into three categories: pictures presenting only female characters, those depicting only male characters, and pictures where both male and female characters were present. The last category also included the few photographs where the characters' sex could not be concluded. Although leaving room for interpretation, these instances were rare and can be considered not to bear significance to the results. On some occasions, the related piece of text was used to help the interpretation, as sometimes a character's gender was more easily revealed there. This practice can be considered to be justified: in school textbooks the pictures and text work hand in hand complementing each other, and pictures only

rarely stand on their own. In most cases, text directs the interpretation of the pictures and the pictures support the textual content. Therefore, relying on the text for identification of the characters provides more correct information than just discarding the pictures from the data.

Table 1 shows the quantitative distribution of photographs of present-day characters, based on the gender of the characters in the photographs:

TABLE 1. *Photographs presenting males and females in TWU and Key*

	This Way Up	Key English	All
Female	37 (35%)	40 (24%)	77 (28%)
Male	52 (49%)	84 (49%)	136 (49%)
Both	17 (16%)	46 (27%)	63 (23%)
Sum	106 (100%)	170 (100%)	276 (100%)

The table shows that in both books almost half (49%) of the pictures present only male characters. The more recent of the two books, *Key*, had noticeably more photographs, but they were in general smaller and the same images were often repeated. Although the proportion of pictures depicting males in the two books was equal, there was a difference in the proportion of pictures portraying only females: in *Key* it was less than a quarter (24%), in *TWU* more than one third (35%). Respectively, *TWU* had fewer photographs presenting females and males together (16%). What this could suggest is that when the proportion of images depicting only females is increased, it is not the number of images on males that decreases, but the number of images depicting males and females together.

The numbers and proportions can be considered from yet another angle, as the title of the present chapter suggests. Male characters are present alone in 136 photographs and depicted together with females in 63 photographs. In other words, there is a male character depicted in 199 of 276 photographs (72%), whereas the respective figure for female characters is 140

(51%). What this means in practice, is that there are 42% more photographs depicting males than those depicting females. Next chapter will take a closer look at the images in *TWU* and *Key*.

6.2 Male characters outnumber females in all categories

The analysis was then elaborated from the number of photographs to the number of characters in the pictures. Also the data included in the analysis was extended from present-day photographs to cover all the images, illustrations, comic strips and photographs. As mentioned in chapter 3.4 above, Palmu (1992) used eight analytical categories for the textbook characters in the primers: men, women, boys, girls, feminine and masculine fantasy characters and feminine and masculine animals. For the present study the categorisation was based on whether the image was about

1. individuals (close-up, 1-3 characters)
2. group (more than three people, in some cases three working as a group e.g. football players)
3. foreign cultures, cultural symbols (e.g. a gondolier)
4. history
5. celebrities, well-known characters
6. fantasy characters

As each category can have both male and female characters in them, the total number of analytical categories raises up to twelve. The six categories were mutually exclusive, in other words characters in each picture were classified only in one category. The characters in a comic strip were counted only once. The criteria in the classes 3-6 were pre-eminent in the sense that, for example, a group of people in a historical setting was set to class 4, not class 2. This way, the classes 1 and 2 represent only present-day characters from the western world, and correspond to the number of photographs as analysed just above.

Counting the number of characters in group pictures (cat. 2) proved to be problematic. Completely excluded were pictures of very large groups and masses of people in cases where the focus was more on the situation or place

than on the people, e.g. general views on a crowded street or at an airport. However, when the focus was clearly on the people (for example men watching an ice-hockey game) were included, but for practical reasons the number of people was set to ten independent of whether they were fifteen or fifty. Admittedly this procedure leaves some room for interpretation, and another type of solution would probably have given slightly different figures. However, the general results would have most likely remained unaffected. Moreover, the images are placed in the textbooks for students and teachers, not for researchers, and for example the masculinity conveyed by a picture of a large group of men watching football is hardly influenced if the number of men grows from ten to twenty. On the following page Table 2 shows the distribution of male and female characters in the 6 categories:

TABLE 2. *Distribution of male/female characters in six categories*

	1 Individ.		2 Groups		3 Foreign		4 History		5 Famous		6 Fantasy		All	
	TWU	Key	TWU	Key	TWU	Key	TWU	Key	TWU	Key	TWU	Key	TWU	Key
Female	63	55	22	44	1	10	9	5	7	3	3	0	105	117
Male	59	62	30	71	8	4	18	48	22	16	5	9	142	210
Sum	122	117	52	115	9	14	27	53	29	19	8	9	247	327

It can be noticed, that the numbers of feminine and masculine characters in **pictures of individuals** (cat. 1) are almost equal in both of the books, 63/59 in *TWU* and 55/62 in *Key*. Most of the pictures in this category present central characters of the texts, and it may be concluded that there is at least an attempt for equality by the textbook authors in terms of selection and presentation of the main characters. The proportion of women is made larger by the fact that girls are often portrayed in pairs, as close and intimate friends. Boys are usually either alone, or a part of a larger group in the pictures. This finding is backed up by an analysis of **group photographs** (cat. 2), in which over two thirds of the characters are male. Many of the

photographs in this second category are of team sports, presenting either players or audience; a field dominated by men in actual life, too.

Data in **the foreign cultures category** (3) is limited to the extent that no conclusions can be drawn based upon it. In *Key* the number of women is raised by a picture of Indian women washing clothes. Both books have a section dedicated to Jamaica, of which a picture of Bob Marley and The Wailers was categorised in class 5. This group of seven men alone would have been sufficient to turn the proportions upside down in a category this small.

In the category of **historical characters** (4), the male dominance is clear, as was already hypothesised in chapter 5.1 on the basis of earlier research. The most striking this is in *Key*, where 48 (91%) of the 53 characters in this category were male. Partly this can be explained by the fact that in general women are far less visible in the history and historical documentation than men. On the other hand, finding material presenting females should not be impossible, had the authors made conscious attempts. In *This way up* this kind of a compensating attempt has clearly been made: next to the picture of Charles Lindbergh, the first man to fly over the Atlantic Ocean alone, is a picture of Amelia Earhart, the first woman to have done the same (*TWU*: 82). In *TWU* the numbers concerning historical characters were slightly more even, with 18 male characters (67%) and 9 female characters (33 %).

Also category 5, **celebrities**, is significantly unequal in proportions: 76% (*TWU*) and 84% (*Key*) of characters are male. There were only a few **fantasy figures** (cat. 6) in each of the two books, the most of them masculine. The celebrities and historical characters will be returned to in chapter 7.5.

Of all the characters in the pictures 43% (*TWU*) and 36% (*Key*) were female, leaving an average of more than 60% for male. The disproportion is not devastating, but clear enough to evoke both questions and discussion. The significant proportion of images on male characters is a possible trace of an overall appreciation of the masculine sphere of life. The textbook authors perhaps look for pictures and themes that they think most of the students are

likely to find interesting and motivating. Either girl pupils are expected to be more adaptive, being able to be sustaining motivation and identification with masculine characters, or the masculine characters are considered to be more interesting for pupils of both genders.

6.3 A slight decrease in the proportion of male characters

The analysis of the upper secondary school textbooks included five textbooks from three series: *Culture cafe 1 and 3 (CC1 & CC3)*, *English United 2 (EU)*, and *In Touch 1 and 3 (IT1 & IT3)*. Similarly to the first set of research material, the analysis started by categorising photographs on the basis of whether they portrayed only females or only males, or whether they presented both together. Some researchers (e.g. Piironen 2004) have included also pieces of art, such as paintings and pictures of statues, in their data, but in the present study they are excluded. This practice is based on the idea that within the textbook context for example Mona Lisa, the Oscar, or the Statue of Liberty are less of gender representations and more of cultural artefacts or symbols. Any type of artwork, whether a painting or a statue, is thus left out of the data. Table 3 below shows the findings:

TABLE 3. *Photographs presenting males and females in CC, EU and IT*

	CC 1	CC 3	EU 2	IT 1	IT 3	All
Female	12 (23%)	16 (26%)	17 (38%)	28 (32%)	22 (33%)	95 (30%)
Male	23 (44%)	25(41%)	19 (42%)	35 (41%)	28 (42%)	130 (42%)
Both	17 (33%)	20(33%)	9 (20%)	23 (27%)	17(25%)	86 (28%)
Sum	52 (100%)	61 (100%)	45 (100%)	86 (100%)	67 (100%)	311 (100%)

Compared to the findings from the comprehensive school textbooks as presented above in Table 1, the proportion of images depicting males is smaller – slightly, but consistently throughout the research material. For the comprehensive school textbooks it was suggested that 49% of the pictures

portrayed male characters, the corresponding percentage for the textbooks analysed here varying between 41 and 44%. However, the proportional number of pictures portraying only females (30 %) was not increased as much as the proportion of images where both masculine and feminine characters were presented (28 %). The most even figures were provided by *English United 2*, with 38% of pictures on females, 42% on only males, and 20 % of the mixed type. *Culture café 1* had the greatest proportion of masculine photographs (44%) and also the fewest of the feminine type (23%). Excluding the mixed photographs gives a 42/58 % general ratio for female/male presentation with the general figures of 30% of female, 42 % of male, and 28 % of mixed type photographs.

Table 3 above also shows a great variance in the general number of photographs in each book. *In touch 1* leads with 86 photographs, *English United 2* holds the last position with only 45. However, these figures do not reveal the actual number of photographs altogether, but tell the number of pictures with human characters in them. Especially in *English United* there are a lot of photographs that are not counted here; for instance Unit 4 has a great number of pictures of food.

6.4 Comparing photographs and drawings in CC, EU and IT

Following the lines set in the analysis of the comprehensive school textbooks, the study was continued by counting the amount of male and female characters in the pictures. A categorisation similar to the first set of analysis seemed not to be applicable here for several reasons. Firstly, other than modern realistic characters were rare: there were only a few clearly fictional or fantasy characters (e.g. Hägar the Horrible, and a king and a storyteller from a fairytale), and only some historical characters such as Einstein and Leonardo da Vinci. Pictures of distant cultures and ethnic groups were almost absent, and already in the first set of analysis the category 3 had proven to be too small for any conclusions to be drawn. Secondly,

celebrities, scientists and other more or less known real characters will be discussed later in their own section (7.5). Also the differentiation between group and individual pictures was discarded. This simplification was done for two reasons: firstly, unlike the comprehensive school textbooks, the upper secondary school books did not have very many sports pictures to distort the count, and secondly, there were a lot of group pictures with both male and female characters in them. Instead, a distinction between characters in drawings and those in photographs was made.

Table 4 presents the number of female and male characters in the upper secondary school textbook photographs:

TABLE 4. Female/male characters in the photographs of CC, EU and IT

	CC 1	CC 3	EU 2	IT 1	IT 3	All
Female	49(51%)	44(36%)	26(33%)	53(41%)	59(44%)	231(41%)
Male	48(49%)	77(64%)	53(67%)	77(59%)	74(56%)	329(59%)
Sum	97 (100%)	121 (100%)	79 (100%)	130 (100%)	133 (100%)	560 (100%)

There were altogether 560 identifiable characters in the photographs, 231 (41%) of them female and 329 (59%) male. This is very close to the 42/58 ratio of the number of feminine/masculine pictures suggested just above. One detail seems striking: *Culture café 1*, previously shown to present the most uneven proportion of photographs presenting males and females, now is the only one reaching over 50 % in female characters. How is this possible? The explanation has to be sought in the way girls and boys are presented in the photographs: in the particular textbook series girls are often presented in pairs. Moreover, unlike in the comprehensive school textbooks, there are no group photographs of men and boys in sports-related situations, but the male characters are often presented alone in the focus of attention. In the individual case of *Culture café 1*, the first chapter alone explains 14 of the female occurrences with the numerous photographs of one of the book

authors, Raquel with her sister, and an exceptional group photo of girls in a group activity in a ballet class.

Unlike the comprehensive school textbooks, the upper secondary school series have no separate exercise books, and the drawings that are often used to illustrate exercises are numerous. Therefore, a distinction between photographs and drawings was considered to be needed. Although drawings are perhaps not as strong objects of identification as photographs are, they are specifically designed for each textbook series (vs. photographs being mainly selected from a picture bank). Table 5 presents the numbers of male and female characters in the illustrations made specifically for the textbooks. It should be noted that all kind of material adopted from external sources, such as CD-covers, paintings and comic strips, are not included here.

TABLE 5. *Distribution of female/male characters in the drawings*

	CC 1&3	EU 2	IT 1&3	All
Female	58(34%)	8 (44%)	17 (38%)	83 (35%)
Male	113 (66%)	10 (56%)	28 (62%)	151 (65%)
Sum	171 (100%)	18 (100%)	45 (100%)	234 (100%)

In the drawings the proportional difference between male and female characters is slightly greater, almost two thirds (65 %) of the characters are male. Choices made by an individual illustrator seem to have a significant effect on the male/female ratio in a book. In the *Culture café* -series 66 % of the characters in the drawings are male, in *English United* 56 %. The illustrations for the first series are mainly by Anssi Keränen, for the second Hanna Holma. Part of the difference may be explained by the gender, although one has to be careful not to draw too straightforward conclusions on the matter.

What explains the illustrators' general tendency to prefer male characters? The illustrations are often comic – is it the good old comedians like the Marx brothers and Stan & Ollie that are reanimated in these figures? The drawings and sketches also have the difficult task of conveying a clear message with only a few lines: in a way, they have to extract the essential from the reality in a way that is easily understood by their audience. To do this, the pictures and cartoons often seem to rely on stereotypes and clichés. This results in a rather stereotypical view, where the waiter almost unexceptionally wears a black suit and an arrogant face, teachers are middle-aged people wearing eye-glasses and dressed in tweed, and thieves have slanting eyes and a wry smile. Perhaps this could explain why in the drawings studied here the doctor is always a man, as well as are the sailor, the professor, the coach and the janitor – typical representatives of these professions are traditionally male. But why does the ordinary guy has to be a guy? The only explanation seems to be that the male represents the norm, female is the marked gender. This is also supported by the observation that in general the masculine characters do not seem to need any specific distinctive marks to signal their sex, whereas female characters often have plump lips, long lashes or big breasts. In the sample for the present study, especially in *Culture café* the illustrator seems to have exaggerated the female characteristics. The illustrators of the *In Touch* –series have clearly chosen a different approach, aiming perhaps at a more neutral presentation: identifying the sex of the characters was often impossible as they bore no obvious gender signals.

Chapters 6.4 and 6.5 have dealt with images and characters depicted in the five upper secondary school textbooks. The division of characters into categories was abandoned and the photographs and drawings were considered separately instead. The final chapter in this section returns to the comprehensive school textbooks and takes a step towards qualitative and more contextual analysis by reviewing the roles assigned to male and female characters in *TWU* and *Key*.

6.5 Male and female roles in *Key* and *TWU*

A closer analysis of the picture contents in the two comprehensive school textbooks was performed in order to get an idea of actual roles male and female characters are assigned with. The images in the two books, *Key English* and *This Way Up* were examined again, the attention now on what male and female characters do in the pictures, or what role, profession, or hobby they represent.

In spite of the initial idea to place the findings into appropriate categories, the results are displayed in the form of a list. This format appeared to be more suitable for a couple of reasons. First, the amount of material was relatively limited and the references to, for instance, professions were scarce. Furthermore, the great variety of themes (e.g. hobbies, summer jobs, sports, education) would have caused the categorisation to be either very fragmented, or more or less artificial. In some cases the distribution would have caused problems hardly worth considering (e.g. a professional sportsman – in the sports or professions category?) as the analysis was intended to form only a small part of a larger study.

A tentative analysis also proved that repetition was rare except for some popular sports (ice-hockey, football) or most common summer jobs, so the number of occurrences of each activity was not counted. The few pictures depicting Asian and African cultures and events of the past were also excluded, as the role of the woman is very different. Also the pictures of celebrities were left out, when a celebrity or a famous person was thought to stand for themselves, not representing a certain profession. For example, Madonna and Nelson Mandela can be considered to stand for much more than just their professions as a singer and a president.

The findings are presented in table 6. First the results are explained for each textbook independently, as the analysis showed the authors of the two textbooks having adopted different strategies for the implementation of the goal of equality.

TABLE 6. Roles, action and professions in Key and TWU

<i>Key English</i>		<i>This way up</i>	
Male	Female	Male	Female
student snowboarding diving fishing sheep farmer tourist priest musician football player shopping (child) street basketball Amer. football	student fishing tourist musician shopping (mom) baseball (girls) cheerleader canoeing tobogganing (girls) hiking rock-fans parade watching TV reading a magazine choosing clothes talking on the phone reading a book shopping for clothes Miss Universe cat owner at a rock festival hugging bathing in snow	student riding a bike manifestation At school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • talking • playing a game at break • editing a newspaper • laboratory work doctor collector (4) man who eats everything dancer (a drawing) ice-hockey player karate (riding a bike) jogging hiking hugging conciliator (dad) computer work gondolier musician horseman soldier paper boy boys playing on the street police officer	student judo manifestation At school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • talking • playing a game at break • editing a newspaper • laboratory work • playing netball patient mixing at a studio collector dancer snowboarding (judo) tai'chi jogging (a drawing) riding a bike hiking hugging argument (mom, daughter) on the phone, magazine (3) shopping for food doing her hair astrologist tourist musician

N.B. The action in brackets is rementioned, if the reoccurrence is necessary for comparison.

The results indicate that in *Key* the male sporting roles tend to show more variation: men are depicted in 12 different sporting roles compared to the women's 5. Furthermore, many of the sporting males are grown-ups, whereas for example the tobogganing and baseball playing girls are small children. Adult women do not seem to play sports at all.

Another area where women seem to be absent in *Key* is the professional sphere: women do not seem to participate in the working life. Men, instead, have a wide variety of roles: fire-fighter, pianist, rally driver, sheep farmer, and market salesman. In some cases this is simply realistic: for example a

catholic priest cannot be a woman. But in general the almost total absence of women in this particular sphere seems strikingly strange.

The pictures in *Key* tend to portray a rather traditional, stereotypical role of girls and women. This arises not only from the actions and roles assigned to females, but also from the context and co-text where the pictures appear: for example, where there is a picture of an American football player, there is also a picture of a cheerleader, when boys are depicted playing ice-hockey or skateboarding, girls are selecting clothes or talking on the phone.

The authors of *This Way Up* appear to have aimed at breaking the stereotypes deliberately, using several techniques that are perhaps designed to specifically project a more diverse image of the two sexes. For example, a photograph of dancing girls has an illustration of a male dancer next to it, a story of martial arts is illustrated with pictures of male karateka and female judoka, and the main character in a story and pictures of snowboarding is a young woman. In *TWU*, women were actually presented in nine different sporting roles, men in seven. Only men seemed to play ice-hockey, but on the other hand netball, judo and tai'chi were in the women's domain.

There were no descriptions of working life in *This way up*. A bit surprisingly, much of the professions appear in the final unit of the textbook with Ireland as the central theme. The pictures in this unit were very masculine, increasing the number of men in professional roles: there are musicians, horsemen, soldiers, a paperboy, and a police officer. Women's professions are few: a musician and an astrologist in all.

According to CDA theories, what is not in the pictures is almost as important as what is in them. There are only two pictures of computers in the comprehensive school textbooks, but both of them have male characters in them. One of the worries of many teachers is that especially the girls do not meet the growing demands for technological skills and are not able to keep up with the boys in school in these terms. Clashing with the concern is the fact that at least in 1999 women in almost all age groups used computers a bit more frequently than men (*Naiset ja miehet Suomessa 2001*). Whether the

concerns of the educators are realistic or not, there is no reason for neglecting the girls in relation to computers and technology: it neither promotes the goal of equality nor reflects the reality.

In the pictures dealing with physical appearance, clothes and beauty, the characters were almost unexceptionally females: girls going shopping, selecting clothes from the wardrobe and doing their hair. Also shopping for groceries seemed to be a women-only area. Photographs about friends were very feminine: a typical picture shows girls embracing each other, sitting close to each other, talking on the phone or reading magazines together. Boys were depicted either playing something together, or just hanging around, but the pictures tend not to convey a similar sense of intimacy as the pictures of girls do. Feelings and tenderness between boys and girls could be found only in one picture in *TWU*, where a boy and a girl were cuddling. Sexual intimacy appears to be non-existent in the comprehensive school textbooks.

The relationship between the sexes is further illustrated by the following parallels found in the data. In one picture a young fireman is stepping out of a boat carrying a wet cat in his arms, at the background one can see an old, worried looking lady, probably the owner of the cat. On another occasion, there is a drawing of a patient and a doctor – woman and man, naturally. Rescuer and rescuee, helper and helpee are traditional male-female positions. Several other examples like these can be found in the textbooks. The most obvious example, however, can be found in *Key English*. The final unit, titled “Heroes”, presents a collection of photographs intended to serve as an orientation for conversation on role models and heroes. Next to a picture of Superman there can be found an ice-hockey player, a rock artist, a pianist, a rally driver, and a fireman – all of them male. What makes this appraisal of masculinity particularly striking is the only female role model presented on the page: Miss Universe.

In conclusion, the quantitative analysis confirmed that males are more prominent in textbooks. Men and boys were depicted in nearly half of the photographs analysed, whereas less than one third portrayed females.

Comparing the numbers of male and female characters revealed a general 60/40 male/female ratio. A further analysis suggested that females tended to be particularly rare among celebrities and historical characters in textbooks. When the photographs and drawings were compared, the role of the choices by an individual illustrator was detected. The unproportioned representation of males may be a trace of an overall appreciation for the male sphere of life, or an indication of femininity being perceived as the marked gender and masculinity representing the norm. The section was finished by an analysis of the roles and actions assigned to males and females in *Key* and *TWU*. A comparison of the textbooks indicated that the authors may have adopted different strategies for implementing the goal of equality. The results obtained will serve as a basis for further, qualitative evaluation of the textbooks presented in section 7.

7 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTBOOKS

The first part of analysis presented in section 6 above indicated that the number of male characters tends to exceed that of female characters, and that males and females are assigned with different roles, occupations and actions. In general the male sphere of life appears to be more visible in textbooks. However, transgressions of the traditional boundaries could be found in one of the two textbooks in terms of roles and actions assigned to males and females (see chapter 6.5). The second part of analysis blurs the boundaries of qualitative and quantitative methods and aims at a twofold goal: to find out what features contribute to the way females and males are portrayed in the textbooks, and to describe what these representations are like, or, what the gender ideologies conveyed by the textbooks are (cf. research question 3). The analysis pays attention to text and images, but also other features of the textbooks are considered: layout, topics, visual effects, and text types, for example.

Chapter 7.1 treats the textbooks in terms of whose voices can be heard and what topics are dealt by females and males. However, I was not able to create a systematic model of analysis to cover the variety of text types found in the textbooks. Thus the results can be considered to be indicative. Chapters 7.2 - 7.5 present the findings and observations concerning four categories. Chapter 7.2 takes a look at the presentations of children and teenagers according to their gender in the textbooks. Chapter 7.3, in turn, shows how adult men and women are portrayed and positioned, particularly in relation to the family. Chapter 7.4 explores the professions and jobs assigned to males and females. Finally, chapter 7.5 explores the position of celebrities and other real characters as role models and possible objects of identification.

7.1 Voices and themes

I wanted to find out who is speaking in the textbooks and about what. For each main text in the textbooks it was identified whether it was a text with no identifiable voice (for example a newspaper article without a name of the writer), or whether there was a person (real or invented)/several characters either telling the story or participating in a dialogue. In addition, the topics of the texts were explored in relation to the gender of the characters or text authors. The great variety in the type of material each textbook featured posed problems on developing a unitary and effective method of analysis.

Above, the content analysis of the photographs indicated that around 60% of the characters were male. However, an analysis of the voices in the texts suggested a tendency of girls and boys being almost equally heard in the comprehensive school textbooks. This may be a result of a conscious effort by the authors that are responsible for the texts but often not for the pictures. In *Key* many of the texts were stories told from the perspective of a teenager or teenagers, and in 21 of the texts a male voice was clearly present, in 18 a female voice. In *TWU* most of the texts were general presentations of a topic, or newspaper articles, which did not represent the perspective of an

identifiable character, and the writers of which were not mentioned. In stories, where there was a clear main character or several characters, the number of females and males were fairly equal.

The five upper secondary school textbooks (*CC1&3*, *EU2*, *IT1&3*) blurred the boundaries between a textbook and authentic materials further. The majority of the texts were not specifically written for the textbooks, but were materials originally published elsewhere: real newspaper articles, poems and extracts of novels selected and occasionally edited to best suit the learning purposes. As opposed to the comprehensive school textbooks, in these books the writers of the articles and stories were often mentioned, sometimes given even a short introduction with a photograph of them. In general, these textbooks showed a tendency of following the 40%/60% female/male ratio suggested by the pictures.

In the two books from the *Culture café* -series, seven articles or text extracts were by male authors, other seven by females. The rest of them did not mention the writer, and in one case there were two co-writers, the other of which was female and the other unknown. Fourteen of the characters in the focus of the texts were female, twenty one were male (40%/60%).

In *English United* five articles were written by males, two by females. The texts in this book had altogether fourteen central characters, nine of which were male and four female. Many of the texts in *English United* dealt with general issues with no specific personal approach or individual perspective, and thus had no central characters.

The two books from the *In touch* -series had more traditionally textbook-type material, with a named author for only six pieces of text, four male and two female. On the other hand, there were a lot of fictional or realistic characters, the most of which communicated in first person directly to the reader. These characters were almost evenly distributed between 18 males and 17 females.

There appeared to be no striking difference in the themes that male or female characters talked about. This is probably due to the fact that the

central characters in the books are mainly realistic but fictional. That means that they have been created by the authors to serve the educational and learning purposes set in the curriculum. The language the characters use and the themes they deal with are fitted to the carefully planned entity of the course and curriculum. This is the case especially with the comprehensive school textbooks in the sample, and those secondary school textbooks that have less of the authentic material. It is also likely that the textbook authors of today really pay attention to the gender equality issues when selecting the main characters. The selection of real texts, on the other hand, is perhaps more likely to be guided by other factors than that of the authors' gender: availability, linguistic features (vocabulary, grammar), and assumed interest to the readers.

No clear distinction between the themes in the texts by female and male authors could be perceived – with one exception. All of the articles on sports were by male authors except for one about being fit and healthy in *TWU*. The main themes handled in the textbooks were travelling, holidays, English speaking countries such as Ireland and the USA, school, hobbies, personal relationships, happiness and teenage problems. Of the comprehensive school books *Key* had a more personal approach from the point of view of the youth whereas *TWU* presented more general articles. Of the upper secondary school textbooks *In touch* tended to be the most personal (or interpersonal) and the others more general. Most authentic the material seemed to be in the *Culture café* -series.

Using authentic material limits the textbook authors' possibilities of balancing gender issues, as finding suitable texts may be difficult. For example, finding an appropriate sports article regarding the vocabulary, learning goals and skills of the pupils may be hard, and finding such article about a sportswoman or by a female journalist may be virtually impossible. Writing their own texts gives the authors a chance of controlling not only the learning contents, but also the world view they provide the students in terms of attitudes, values, roles and so forth, regarding general and specific issues

such as gender. However, the realistic characters invented by the textbook authors may be considered to be posing an ethical issue: the students are likely to identify with them at least to some extent, and at the same time it is difficult to remember that the characters are not real. From the viewpoint of gender and equality the significance of this depends solely on what the fictional but realistic characters do and say, and how the students react to them. Although a certain amount of stereotype-breaking qualities and interests may be required of textbook characters, they cannot, however, be perceived to be unrealistic and weird by the students as this would perhaps risk of being counter effective to their learning and motivation.

7.2 Teenagers in the textbooks

In chapter 7.1 above it was observed that no clear conclusions could be drawn on the topics covered through the perspective of male or female characters or text authors. However, the method was not able to detect the association of female and male characters within certain spheres, as many of the texts were articles without a specific main character. The analysis of the images in the two comprehensive school textbooks (*TWU* and *Key*; chapter 6.5) suggested a tendency of female and male characters being associated with certain themes. This chapter presents the findings regarding the roles, characteristics and activities assigned to teenage boys and girls by the text, images, layout and other textbook features.

Girls were more prominent in the pictures and texts about fashion, friendship, personal problems and seeking advice. The absence of boys in this sphere is a possible trace of the male-myth, where boys and men are not allowed to be sensitive and problematic, or at least they are not supposed to seek help. A typical example is presented in *TWU* (chapter 18, *Dear Melissa*; pp. 50-53). Three pages provide an imitation of a problem corner in a youth magazine. Of the six fictional advice-seekers five are girls, and have problems related to shyness, nail biting, boyfriend and parents. The only

male writer, "A non-sportsman", does not like P.E. lessons at school. Thus he deviates from the male myth in two ways: he seeks for help in a female-dominated forum and is not strong and interested in sports. *Key* (p. 105) features one problem-corner letter, the writer of which is a girl. Books also have extracts of girls' diaries (*Key*, 69-70; *TWU*: 19), but not of boys', except for the famous diaries by Adrian Mole (*TWU*) by Sue Townsend. The secondary school textbooks did not contain material from this genre. However, on two occasions youth problems and depression were touched upon. In *Touch 3* (p. 19) provides instruction on advice-giving, and the text is supplemented with a portrait of a troubled-looking girl lying on her bed. In *Culture café 1* (p. 60) there is a story about a depressed teenager, Jamie, whose mother consults a psychologist to help her son. Although in the latter the person with problems is male, it is the mother who actually is in focus with her concerns. According to Mills (1995: 153) there exists a common framework that places women as having problems and in need of advice. This view of women is continuously produced in the women's magazines, and the textbooks seem to reflect this pattern.

In chapter 6.5 it was concluded that in the comprehensive school textbooks no pictures of girls using a computer were found. The analysis of the text supported this observation. For example, in the unit on USA-experiences in *Key* the girl's story is written in the form of a diary, whereas the boy's experiences are written in an e-mail format (*Key*, 69-70; 79-80). *TWU* (pp. 56-57) introduces a boy who has a relationship on the Internet. The other part of the relationship is a girl, but the perspective in the story is that of the boy. Something about the setting and roles is told by the nicks of the virtual couple: "007" and "Princess". However, the upper secondary school textbooks present contrasting results: In *EU* (pp. 95-96) there is a whole chapter pretending to be e-mail communication from a girl to her friends, and on another page there is a picture of girls using a computer (p. 89). In *IT1* (p. 48) there is also a chapter of e-mail correspondence mainly between two girls. This type of clear change may indicate that the authors have made an

attempt of bringing girls and computers together in the books, or that the situation has improved so that the combination of femininity and technology has become naturalized and that the choice of the girls in focus is not planned but accidental. It is also possible that girls today use e-mails more for personal communication than boys do, and that the computer has replaced the telephone – a device often associated with girls in the school textbooks.

The text analysis also supports the boys' dominating role in sports as was found above with the analysis of the pictures and suggested also in the relationship of writers and themes (chapter 7.1). However, strong differences between the textbook series seem to appear in the way female characters are placed with sports. For example in *Key* boys mention football often when talking about their own country or describing other countries (e.g. pp. 12, 18). In the USA-section baseball, basketball and American football are presented by a boy (*Key*: 63-64). Female characters in general do not mention sports when it is not in the actual focus of the text, but in *TWU* they do appear in the centre of sports articles like the one about dancing lessons (*TWU*: 26-28) or a longish interview with the snowboarding international bronze-medallist Minna Hesso (*TWU*: 11). The *Culture café* series seems to focus on other issues than sports.

The policy selected by *IT* authors seems to be heading towards equal presentation, if not quite reaching there: in a chapter where teenagers tell about their hobbies a boy describes his attempts on horse-riding (traditionally a girls' hobby), a girl talks about roller-skating, and a boy again about kick-boxing that he learned to like through his girlfriend (*IT1*: 28-29). A few pages later there is a collection of pictures presenting young people in their hobbies: a girl painting, another listening to music and yet another playing the flute; correspondingly a boy catching a fish, another playing with a dog and the third running with a surf-board on a beach. This is yet an example where the girls are positioned in quiet, thoughtful and artistic roles and the boys are set in the physically active sphere. The difference between

the portrayal in the pictures and in the texts is perhaps the result of the textbook authors making conscious efforts for a fair representation of females and males and challenging the traditional gender ideologies, whereas the picture editors are perhaps completely unconscious of these aims when selecting the pictures.

In *English United* there is a whole unit about sports (pp. 53-70). The viewpoint is very masculine: on the eighteen pages there are no pictures with female characters in them. The orientational poem and the two main texts are written by men, and the focus is on cricket, football and rugby, with an article on the football player Aki Riihilahti. This example of completely ignoring the female students (57% in the upper secondary school) during one fifth of a course is probably unintentional. In my opinion it could indicate the authors' assumption of girls being able to keep up their motivation and conform to the masculine viewpoint, whereas the boys are thought to be interested in sports and in need of text contents tailored to fit their interests. It is as if the boys are allowed to be non-motivated if the subject does not fit their interests, because imagining a whole study unit from the feminine perspective, with no references of any kind to male characters seems absurd. On the other hand, this phenomenon has been supported by for example Maccoby (1998: 45), who writes that in general girls' interests are broader and more eclectic than boys'. First, researchers have reported the girls to be more interested in masculine toys and games than boys in feminine toys and games. Second, television producers generally agree that whereas boys seldom watch girl-type programs and have difficulty in identifying themselves with a feminine main character, girls watch also action and adventure programs with a boy as the leading character. The question remains, whether the goal of equality entails the textbooks challenging these premises or obeying them.

Other traces of the contrasting role expectations of boys and girls as students can be found in the research material, as the following two examples illustrate. *In Touch 3* (pp. 37-38) introduces two students and two

schools. The first student is a boy called Craig Whitley, and the title is "I'm not the world's most dedicated student". In his story Craig tells about having been a trouble-maker in the lower grades, and having chosen the school because "it's easy to get in". He also says that sports and more specifically cricket and athletic teams are the best things about school. The question about what he has learned at the school is answered "Not a lot, really". On the following page there is a girl, Elsa Clay, telling about her all-girls Catholic high school. The text is titled "It's cool to be hard-working". She tells about the school uniforms, basketball games and mentions the possibility of coming to school on Saturday mornings for history, physics and chemistry classes.

In *Culture café 3* there is a similar setting of female and male students in the school context. A chapter giving advice on how to do better in school does not mention boys or girls separately, but the photographs attached to it do make a distinction. On p. 7 there is a picture of three girls focused on books. On the following page there is a picture of a boy sitting in class and looking bored. His thoughts are illustrated further by the placement of a giant clock behind his back, and his eyes are directed towards it as if he is just waiting for the lesson to pass.

Keeping in mind what is known about the gender and school, and the teachers' different expectations of girls' and boys' role in the classroom, portraying the girls as hard-working and dedicated, and the boys as uninterested and trouble-making cannot be found to be surprising. However, it can be expected of the textbook authors as experts of pedagogy that they would seek to change, not maintain these attitudes. As long as these expectations are imposed on the students, it is difficult for the boys to be hard-working and dedicated, and the girls to be anything else than conforming and quiet.

This chapter dealt with the representation of teenagers in the textbooks. In general, the roles assigned to girls and boys tend to be traditional and even stereotyped. Although there are instances when stereotypes are broken

- for example the horse-riding boy in *IT1* - these exceptions tend to remain on a superficial level, as the boys are generally presented as active, sporty and not interested in school, and girls as interested in relationships, fashion and school. The following chapter will take a look at the roles assigned to parents and other grownups in the textbooks.

7.3 Parenting roles: breadwinners and caretakers

Although identity and relationships are in focus in many of the English courses, family members and issues rarely rise into the focus of texts. Most of the units in the analysed textbooks deal with issues not directly related to the family or home, such as travel, school and studies, and friendship. Probably this is due to two reasons - one has to do with the learning aims and one with the assumed interests of the pupils. To begin with, both the family vocabulary and the linguistic tools for describing the family are already learned in the lower grades. They are often revised and elaborated later in the upper levels, but mostly the revision is done in the exercise books and thus is outside the scope of this study. Secondly, and more importantly, family issues are not in the centre because teenagers are in the phase of life where the home and parents are beginning to be perhaps less important, and the children are becoming more independent, orienting towards life as grownups.

In the texts the parents are not in the focus, but often present in relation to their children, most often as facilitators or obstacles of a teenager's life. Parents cook, give money and advice, or forbid going out to a certain club. Parents are not in the core of the texts, and thus what is said about mothers and fathers perhaps provides interest information on the gender ideologies constructed in the textbooks. In other words, I assume that the way parents and grandparents are represented in the texts is likely to be a product of more unconscious processes than of careful consideration in terms of

educational goals. Thus it is possible, that the representation of these secondary characters may reveal naturalised ideologies.

Parents were not referred to often in the textbooks, for example in the five upper secondary school textbooks the father appears on less than ten occasions. Despite the limited number of occurrences, there seemed to be a pattern as of these five occasions three concern giving money to the children and two are about work. These functions are in accordance with the traditional role of the father as the supporter of the family, whose main field of interest is outside the house. In the comprehensive school textbooks, too, the father was often described in relation to his profession as the following examples (1-3) indicate:

- (1) Ian Champion, a boy from Cambridge, England, is spending a year at a school near Wellington. His father is working on a project at Wellington University. (*TWU*: 8.)
- (2) Eppu, 14, is living in São Paulo, Brazil. [...]. His father is a forestry engineer, who is controlling the afforestation of Brazilian rainforests. (*TWU*: 15.)
- (3) Well, my dad has been there on business. (*Key*: 21.)

What makes these few extracts noteworthy is that no similar types could be found about mothers: the mother's works tends not to provide reasons for the whole family to move to another country or to explain a child's knowledge on a foreign city.

Fathers are presented as having other functions in the family, but often as giving money or being concerned with the achievements of their children. Example (4) is a note on the table from a father to son, and (5) is an extract of a novel by Tim Bowler:

- (4) Robbie, congrats on passing your driving test. Third time lucky, eh? Now for your two favourite words – cheque enclosed. Love Dad (*IT1*: 20.)

- (5) Jamie's father is obsessed with the idea that his son will one day be a world squash champion, and succeed where he has failed. [...] 'I've come to a decision', said Dad over breakfast. 'I'm stopping your money'. Jamie stared at him, then at Mum. But she was avoiding both their eyes. He sensed that she and Dad had already argued over this; and he would have come off best as usual. (*IT1*: 41.)

Later in the text the reader finds out that Jamie's father is also violent, and hits both Jamie and his mother. From the short extract above it becomes clear, that the mother has tried to stand up for her son, who has not been winning lately. Although the two examples (4) and (5) are very different in terms of length and genre, and the fathers are different in nature (violent and punishing vs. encouraging and humorous), both extracts highlight the same two aspects of the father's role: providing financial support and demanding or rewarding for achievements.

An extract from another novel in *IT3*, however, provides a different image of a father. In the extract a father takes his five-year-old son to school for the first day, and describes the fears and worries the father has of turning his son "loose among all the cynicism and spite of the lousy modern world" (*IT3*: 51-52). This passage is one to bring the father more in the centre of the family, tying him emotionally to the children. In *Culture café 1* (p. 58) there also is a collection of photographs from family albums, where there are more pictures of fathers than of mothers: one is holding his small children in his lap, one bathing a newborn baby, one giving a ride to his family on a riksa tricycle, and one apparently helping out his graduate son in moving out of the parents' house. Whether this non-traditional depiction of fathers reflects a change in the ideology that has become naturalised, or whether it is a trace of the textbook authors' attempt to contest the traditional discourse, cannot be judged. Whichever is the case, it is a representation of the change that may be gradually taking place in the gender ideology.

Mothers are rarely mentioned in relation to their work outside the house. In *Key* and *TWU* the work of a mother is named only once (6):

- (6) Mom works for the local bakery so she had already left for work by car[...]. (*Key*: 118.)

In this example the job of the mother is mentioned only in order to explain why the father and daughter are alone in the house early in the morning. However, in the secondary school textbooks mothers are described through their professions a bit more often (examples 7-9):

- (7) Mum was clearly warming to the subject. She is a psychologist, so she could probably go on like this forever. (*EU2*: 11.)
- (8) My stepfather has his own building firm, and he usually works around the clock to keep us kids in expensive jeans and trainers. My mum works part-time as a nurse, and the rest of the time as an unpaid cook and cleaner at home. (*IT1*: 58.)
- (9) My mum works late (my parents are divorced and my sister and I stay with my mom). (*EU2*: 87.)

Noteworthy here is that in these examples the work of the mother is supposed to tell something about their character or explain an aspect of the family life. In (7) her being a psychologist is telling about her tendency to talk and analyse for long stretches of time, and (9) explains why the family is busy and does not often eat together. In (8) the mother works part time, but she is very much needed in the house because the step-father works long days in order to support the family. In the light of these examples and all the others above, it seems that the father's job is the most important and the entire family may move to the other side of the world with it (1 & 2), he is the main supporter of the family (4, 5 & 8), but in the single parent households also mums work late (9). These may be rather drastic conclusions based on a limited sample, but the lack of opposite or contradictory examples supports the conclusions.

In general mothers are mentioned slightly more often than fathers - and often the context of taking care of the children or the house. Mom is said to be cleaning, doing the laundry or making the children eat chicken soup or

tidy up their room (*Key*: 105, 111; *TWU*: 102; *IT3*: 20). Mother is usually the parent who knows better their children's concerns (*TWU*: 47), who lets or does not let the boyfriend stay over the night (*CC1*: 59), and who is asked for the permission of not going to school (*TWU*: 19). Mothers in general seem to be the ones who take care of the communication with the school as the example (10) below illustrates. The extract is part of a scene where a family – mom, dad, and daughter – plan a holiday trip together. At the end of the conversation the mother, Sandra, delegates the responsibilities and says to her daughter and husband George

- (10) I'll have to talk to your headteacher about you missing school.
George, will you go to the travel agency tomorrow and book the holiday? (*TWU*: 87.)

In this example, too, the distribution of responsibilities is that the mother takes care of the issues related to the child, and the father works actively outside the house and makes the reservation at the travel agency. In this fictional family, too, the father is depicted as being the one who brings the bread to the table and takes care of the living expenses. He is also the one to accept the price of the vacation as reasonable during the conversation.

Also other fathers pay for the hobbies and entertainment of their children. A boy describing a day with his family at Linnanmäki amusement park tells about his father complaining of “having spent a fortune there” (*Key*: 126). The father is the one who pays, even if he is unemployed: a boy telling about his school trip says that he could afford the trip only because his drinking and gambling father had bet on the right horse and won. In the whole body of data only once the mother is mentioned as giving money: *In touch 1* provides a true story about Sir Richard Branson, the founder of the Virgin records. At the beginning of the story young Richard starts a student newspaper, and his mother gives him the four pounds needed for envelopes, stamps and phone calls. The almost total absence of mothers as money providers seems odd, because most of the families today have two working

parents. Perhaps this is a trace of the times when the mothers used to stay at home.

Fathers are also more interested in politics (e.g. *TWU*: 92), according to their children have the most knowledge in the family (e.g. *Key*: 65-66) and are the ones who drive on a family car trip (*Key*: 126). Also noteworthy is that fathers are quoted more often than mothers, and that the quoters are usually their sons.

The parents' roles and distribution of household chores is well illustrated by chapter 13A in *Key* (p. 60), where an exchange student tells about going shopping at a mall with his American host family. The mother went shopping for groceries, whereas the father headed enthusiastically towards hardware and garden stores. The daughter went to the movies, but the son went – a little surprisingly maybe – shopping for clothes. The youngest child was left to play at a playground where he later on started to miss his mother. The mother bought an enormous amount of food and household supplies and the father spent hundreds of dollars on tools. Does this mean that everybody was having fun, doing whatever they liked the best? Either the mother went shopping for groceries because she enjoys it, or the mother is the one giving up her own interests for the good of the others. Whichever is the case, the representation can be regarded as supporting the myth of the mother as self-sacrificing and dutiful. Tools and hardware are of course used for household work, too, but the tone of the text suggested that this was more a hobby for the father than a duty. Also the activities taken by the teenage daughter and son are equally interesting: I cannot prevent myself from thinking that the sequence of affairs was perhaps first written differently, and that the roles were later changed to make the story less stereotypical.

The father's role in the family is somewhat limited to that of the breadwinner, which I find to be unfair to both of the parents. In addition, women suffer from lack of appreciation as equal supporters of the family. This issue I find to be unfair to both sexes: On the one hand, it can be a sign

of not appreciating women's work and seeing the mother's role as the less earning parent as natural. More speculatively, it can also tell about how money is divided in the family – the mother takes care of the household costs, clothing and food, and thus seldom has any extra money left to be asked for, whereas the father has a lot of his salary left on his account and for personal expenditures. On the other hand, men suffer from the pressure of having to be the better earning parent and being able to support their families in all circumstances. If masculinity and fatherhood are measured with the financial terms, in the days of uncertainty in work life many of the men are likely to feel vulnerable and stressed.

Also grandparents and especially grandmothers are present in the fictional families of the textbooks. Their main role seems to be supporting and giving advice to their grandchildren, and they are close to boys and girls equally. They are interested in the ideas and projects of the children, providing knowledge of the general and family history. Grandmothers seem to be more free from stereotypical roles than for example mothers: grannies take the Route 66 (*TWU*: 98-99) or fly to Las Palmas with their grandchildren, swimming, scuba diving and catching sharks (*Key*: 24). Grandfather is mentioned only on some occasions, twice in the upper secondary school textbooks: in *Culture café 1* the granny talks about meeting the grandfather, and in *English United 2* the grandfather is remembering how he threw out dad's punk records.

In conclusion it can be said that the presentation of parents was traditional, especially in terms of the distribution of responsibilities in the household. It seems to be that fathers remain the main breadwinners of the family whereas mothers are the core of the family life and the ultimate comfort to their children. Women are also described as making sacrifices for others. In spite of the multiple family models there can be found today, in textbooks the nuclear family tends to rule as a norm. The most adventurous and norm-breaking roles are perhaps surprisingly assigned to grandmothers, as if women were allowed to break the rules of femininity only when they

get old. Besides parenting, another aspect of adult life presented in the textbooks is the world of work. In this chapter the subject was touched upon in relation to mothers and fathers and their role as breadwinners. In the following chapter professions and jobs from the gender perspective are looked at in greater detail.

7.4 Occupational roles of males and females

In the comprehensive school textbooks professions were not mentioned often, maybe because the work life and even summer jobs are still further away from the sphere of life of the students than they are later in teenage. It is perhaps not surprising that the most often mentioned profession was the teacher. An interesting detail is that in *Key* the teachers were generally female (Miss Greenleigh, Miss Rademacher, Mrs Williams), whereas in *TWU* they were male (Mr Greene, Mr Bates). This may be the result of a conscious effort by the *TWU* authors, as professions could be found to break traditional stereotypes: a male dance teacher, a female karate teacher (*TWU*: 26-28, 35), and school principal (*TWU*: 14). This type of transgression may also be found in *Key*, where a girl visiting the NASA headquarters meets an astronaut who is referred to as "she" (*Key*: 90). However, a nurse is unexceptionally female; a doctor is a man as well as the fire-fighter. Also school inspector, TV-producer and engineer are men. In other words, women tend to appear in extraordinary, marked jobs but not in the traditional male jobs. By these choices the textbook authors are perhaps doing more harm than good to the goal of equality.

In *TWU* there is a character transported in the future, and presented to be deeply surprised when the social worker he meets is a man, as the extract (11) shows:

(11)

SW27 Hello. I'll be your social worker and help you deal with one or two little matters now that you're ready to leave the hospital.

FW59 Social worker? I thought they were all women.

SW27 Really? Why?... Oh well, it doesn't matter. (TWU: 70.)

It is possible that the idea behind this scene is making the students think how certain professions instantly make us presume the sex of the professional. It is also possible, that the purpose is not to point attention to the fixed thought patterns, but bringing them about in a text may only signal how naturalised they actually are. The fact that the dialogue takes place in an imaginative future and the course of the dialogue also may indicate the authors making a suggestion of traditional boundaries between female/male professions changing in the future. Interviewing the textbook authors on these themes and on the actual process of editing the texts would give a more reliable answer of what actually is the intended function of this dialogue.

The analytical approach was once more altered when the focus was shifted to the upper secondary school textbooks. Firstly, the secondary school textbooks tend to deal with professions, studies, summer jobs and future plans more extensively than the comprehensive school learning materials. Therefore there was more material to be analysed. Secondly, the structure of the textbooks demanded a change in the method: the boundaries between texts and exercises were often blurred, as for example reading comprehensions are presented as a type of smaller texts.

I counted all the professions and jobs, whether they were mentioned in the texts or exercises, or presented in the pictures or illustrations. Attention was also paid on the possible overrepresentations of certain professional roles, but no significantly repeated occurrences could be found within single books. Table 7 shows the results:

TABLE 7. *Male and female professions and jobs in CC, EU and IT*

	Males	Females
Culture cafe 1 (12/0)	waiter, chef, clerk, psychiatrist tattoo artist, piercer psychologist, GP janitor, teacher ice-hockey player Canadian Mountie	
Culture cafe 3 (27/20)	PhD open university tutor teacher professor dry cleaner cleaner sports and leisure host waiter busboy soldier fast food restaurant worker au pair army officer tailor doctor conductor of an orchestra painter bodyguard janitor coach chef TV licence enquiry officer RAC patrol officer forensic scientist plumber sailor entrepreneur	hairdresser admissions office worker dean professor dinner lady waitress dry cleaner fast food worker coffee shop worker sports and leisure hostess busgirl shop assistant ice cream seller au pair gardener priest photographer news anchor life coach unemployed
English United 2 (11/2)	bus driver carpet fitter van driver policeman inspector principal coach presenter chef bagpipe player street performer	street performer psychologist
In touch 1 (7/4)	trainer professor chairman writer headmaster building firm owner hospital staff	teacher part time nurse hospital staff air hostess
In touch 3 (10/11)	engineer research assistant scuba diving instructor chef manager baker shoe polisher interpreter biology professor personnel manager	maid nanny zoologist laboratory worker headmistress sales assistant mounted police officer construction worker junior editor ice-cream seller bicycle messenger

Most notable is probably the absence of female professions in *Culture café 1* and with a few exceptions in *English United 2*. Only in one textbook, namely *IT3*, the number of female working roles exceeded that of the male roles. The total of different male professions was 58, 16 of which were considered to require academic training (28%). Female professions totalled as 35 if nanny and au pair are considered to be the same job. Ten of these require academic training (29%). Notable is that chef is mentioned in four of the five books, and female chefs are not present. Around 57% (20) of the female jobs are in the service and care sectors, as opposed to 36% (21) of male professions. These figures are consistent with the statistics from Finland: for example in health services 86 % of the employees are women, in cleaning and estate services the figures are almost even, and in transportation 78% of the jobs are held by men (*Naiset ja miehet Suomessa* 2001). However, in the sample academic professions and jobs in the sports and leisure section are overrepresented, and the construction, repair and manufactory work almost forgotten. This has not so much to do with gender equality, than with the low status and lack of interest in many of the more basic occupations.

The material showed also a clear attempt at breaking some traditional stereotypes concerning male/female occupations. This was most obvious when summer jobs for students were considered. In many cases a picture depicted a boy and a girl doing the same job: this is the case for example in *Culture café 3*, where dry cleaners, au pairs and waiters are both boys and girls. Traditional roles are broken in some cases: a female priest (CC3), construction worker, mounted police and bicycle messenger (all IT3) with no masculine counterparts. However, boys do not seem to be released from their masculine roles as easily: the only exceptions are au pair and cleaner (in CC3) in the context of summer jobs with feminine counterparts, and a research assistant to a female zoologist (in IT3).

This chapter presented the findings concerning occupational roles of women and men. It showed that conscious efforts have been made by the

textbook authors to provide alternative role models, especially when part time work and summer jobs are in question. However, the professional sphere of males still is remarkably wider. Furthermore, the exceptions and transgressions of the traditional roles are usually related to women, and the exceptions are marked. In other words, women are not presented as doctors but as astronauts, not as managers but as construction workers. It seems that when the textbook authors are inventing characters, they either rely on the naturalised ideologies on men and women, or break them in a striking manner. The following chapter deals with the roles and qualities of the characters not invented by the textbook authors, namely celebrities, historical and other real characters.

7.5 Celebrities, historical and other real characters

References to celebrities, historical and other real characters can be found in the contemporary textbooks in many instances. Pop songs and artist presentations are probably the most typical examples, but also authors of novel extracts and short stories are often given a few lines of introduction, albeit not all of the textbook series follow this practice. Sometimes there are interviews with or stories about more or less generally known people that the authors have considered to be interesting to the students. In some cases there are short fact lists on scientists or historical characters. Pictures or short texts on celebrities, sports and film stars or television performers are also often used as a source of inspiration for exercises in oral communication.

Of the two comprehensive school textbooks, *Key English* has a lot more well known personalities on its pages (43) than *This way up* (20). The number of more or less known characters is highly variable depending on the criteria used. Thus the numbers above include all real characters, whether they appear in a picture, are mentioned in a text, have written a novel extract or performed a song. However, writers of for instance newspaper articles and song lyrics are excluded, as well as the realistic but most likely fictional

teenagers and their family members in the textbooks. Bands, the members of which are not separately identified (e.g. Beatles in *Key*: 105) are counted as one character.

Of the 43 characters in *Key English* 38 are male. On the pages mentioned are for instance Tom Cruise, Abraham Lincoln, Nelson Mandela, Elvis Presley and the Indian chief Geronimo. The range extends from sportsmen (e.g. Babe Ruth) to the McDonald's founder brothers and the Beatles. Finns mentioned are Paavo Nurmi, Linus Thorvalds and Mika Häkkinen among others. Famous women are very few - only Princess Diana, Tove Jansson and Madonna are named. In addition, there is the previously mentioned picture of Miss Universe (chapter 6.5), but her name is not given.

Six of the male characters were mentioned in a story about the history of transportation. This seems natural, as the scientists and engineers in the history have been mainly men. However, with no such example of the female sphere, it also may be regarded as a symptom of the overall appreciation of the male achievements in history. The book also provides introductions of nine male characters (Elvis Presley, Walt Disney, David Beckham and Isaac Asimov among others), and only two females, the above mentioned Madonna and Diana.

In *This way up* there is a total of 20 identifiable characters, and the numbers by gender are more even with eight female and twelve male characters - or groups such as Bob Marley and the Wailers and The Supremes. The characters are mainly musicians, as the song lyrics in TWU are accompanied with a picture of the artist (10 cases, four of them female), or writers (Betsy Byars, Sue Townsend, Pie Corbett). There are two longer stories of male characters and an interview with a snowboarding champion Minna Hesso. In addition, there are short introductions of one female character and two male characters, and a short opinion by a male ice-hockey player against smoking. Although the numbers are more even than in *Key*, only the number of female writers exceeds that of male writers. Furthermore, it should be added that the central characters in both of the novel extracts by

Townsend and Byars are male: Adrian Mole and Bingo Brown, and Adrian Mole is probably more famous than his creator.

The type of celebrities presented changes especially as one moves from the comprehensive school materials to the upper secondary school textbooks. The method of analysis was found to be not entirely satisfactory, and for the upper secondary school textbooks it was adjusted and targeted for more exact and systematised findings. The alteration was also needed, as the upper secondary school textbooks contain significantly more literary texts and presentations of novels and authors, whereas for example the number of sports articles and pictures is smaller. Characters were categorised into five main classes and one miscellaneous category and grouped by gender, as figure 2 indicates:

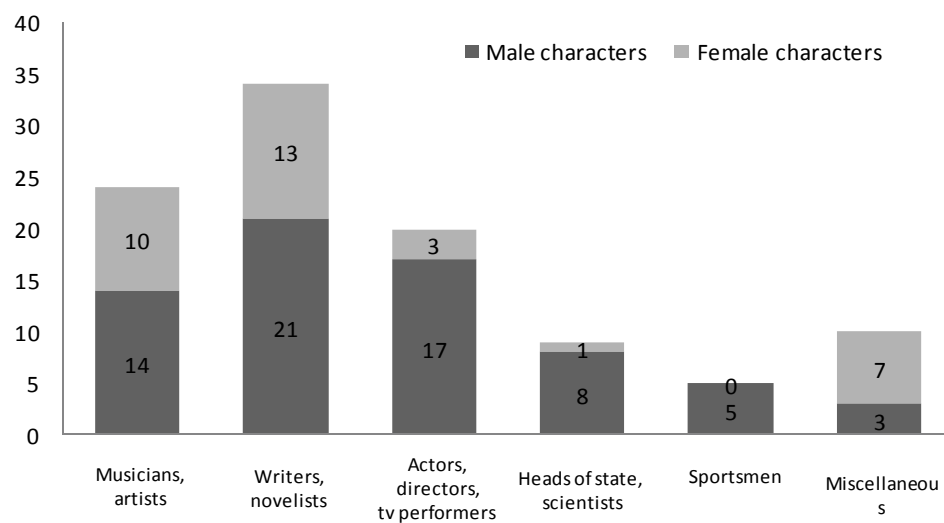


FIGURE 2. *Real characters in CC, EU and IT*

Figure 2 gives an overall picture of the types of male and female characters that can be found in the textbooks. Male characters tend to dominate in all but one of the categories, and in most cases in great proportions. The total of

masculine characters is here 72 as opposed to 36 female characters (67%/33%).

It should be noted, however, that the information conveyed by the table is highly reduced. For example, it does not reveal that Shakespeare was quoted on two occasions and mentioned in altogether three of the five textbooks, and that Zadie Smith was mentioned once, but also an extract of her novel *White teeth* featured as one of the main texts in *Culture café 1*. The table lists all of the characters equally, despite of whether they were shortly referred to within a text, presented in a picture, or had a short introduction or a whole article written about them. The information on the particular textbook in which the characters were found is also omitted, and as the analysis of the comprehensive school materials showed, individual differences can be great. Therefore, a closer examination of the characters and representations in each category is given to get a better picture of the situation.

The upper secondary school textbooks do not have many pop songs. The examination of the artists presented indicates that probably a conscious attempt has been made to provide lyrics and songs from female and male artists and groups equally. In *Culture café 1* there is one song by a female artist (Björk) and two by male artists (Harry Belafonte, Bill Withers), in *CC3* one by each (Donna Summer, Uriah Heep). In *IT1* there is a song by Bon Jovi and a song by Jennifer Paige and in *IT3* a song by Alannis Morrisette. In *English United* there is a song by Kate Bush, and the artist is also shortly introduced. In *IT1* there is also a picture with a line of text of Britney Spears, an exercise with a picture and text on Marilyn Manson (male artist) and another exercise with a picture and text on Madonna. These examples would suggest that there are more female characters brought into focus in the music section. However, as the figure 2 above indicates, there are more male characters in the category. Mainly this is, because male musicians are mentioned more often in texts that deal with other artists or the music scene in general. For example, in *English United* there is a story about The Virgin

Records, and Sex Pistols and Phil Collins are mentioned as examples of artists that the recording studio was able to sign. In my opinion the slight overrepresentation of men in the musicians category can thus be explained not by the lack of effort by the textbook authors, but by the way in which many of the texts chosen for the books and not written by the authors themselves tend to refer to male artists rather than to females. This can be seen either as a true reflection of the reality or as a trace of an ideological construction where the masculine sphere and achievements are valued to a higher level than the feminine ones.

The type of name-dropping as presented above can be seen to explain the male dominance in most of the categories: male celebrities are often mentioned in newspaper extracts or magazine articles used in the textbooks. This is most visible in the category of directors and actors: 9 of the 17 male characters in the class are just shortly referred to in a text, whereas 8 of them are given an introduction. However, none of the 3 female actors in the category are introduced, and the names of Uma Thurman and Toni Collette are not even mentioned, but they appear only in photographs of the films *Pulp Fiction* (EU: 44) and *About a boy* (CC1: 53-55). In a chapter on the film *Educating Rita* (CC3: 15) Julie Walters (Rita) is left in the shadow of Michael Caine (Frank), as the short description of the plot is given through the eyes of Frank as the following extract shows:

(12) Michael Caine plays Frank, a disillusioned university professor, who's sick of his work, his students, his wife and his life in general. Julie Walters plays a hairdresser (Rita) who is fed up with her boring job and boring husband and who wants to change her life. She starts taking courses at the Open University. There she meets Frank, who at first is reluctant to help her, but who soon sees her rare qualities and accepts the challenge of educating her. (CC3: 15.)

The extract is then followed by a quotation from an autobiography by Caine, where he tells about transforming into the role. Of other people in the actors and directors section introduced or discussed shortly are Stanley Kubrick

and Quentin Tarantino (*EU*: 45). Television presenter Ainsley Harriott has an article written about him (*EU*: 74-75), and articles about Jamie Oliver, the famous chef, appear in *English United* and *Culture café* 3.

Writers and novelists appear in textbooks on many occasions. Some of the classical authors are quoted, some in many instances (Shakespeare, Kipling). Writers such as Aristotle, de Montaigne, Horace, Joyce and Beckett are also referred to within other texts. The textbooks often contain whole sequences from novels, the writers of which are naturally mentioned, and often introduced in a few lines. These types of introductions were a total of thirteen, of which five were of female authors and eight of male authors. The respective numbers for each textbook were *CC1*: 1/3, *CC3*: 1/0, *IT3*: 1/1 and *EU*: 2/4. In *English United* there were also "Don't miss" -boxes with suggestions for films to be seen and further readings. These suggestions directed towards the books by four female authors and six male authors. Altogether male authors were referred to 21 times, female authors 13 times in the textbooks.

Heads of state and scientists were combined into the same category, the observation of which supports the findings from the analysis of the comprehensive school textbooks presented above. The only female representative of this category is Queen Elisabeth II, who is the central character of the novel *The Queen and I* by Sue Townsend cited in *EU*. Prince Phillip and Prince Charles also appear in the novel, but the latter is also present in a photograph in *IT1*. Of the other eight male characters in the category, Churchill, Edison and Leonardo da Vinci are introduced in a preposition exercise in *IT3* (pp. 65-66).

The fifth category was titled "Sportsmen" after the realisation that there were no sportswomen presented in the upper secondary school textbooks. The sports unit in *English United* was previously accused of being overtly masculine in terms of the selection of writers and presentation of characters. Therefore, it is not surprising that four of the characters in the sports category are from *English United*, only Kasparov is mentioned elsewhere. The

small number of sports figures is somewhat surprising, but yet more astonishing is the complete absence of female sports figures in the books examined.

After the five categories there remained a bunch of characters that did not fit the other categories and had not much in common, hence the “Miscellaneous” category: the only one where the female characters dominate. Of the male characters, both Richard Branson and Dennis Tito were central characters of two main texts, the first in *IT1* and the latter in *IT3*. No such focus on female characters could be found, since Helen Keller and her teacher Anne Sullivan were a subject of a small listening exercise. A “Weird fact” is told about Eleanor Roosevelt in *CC1* (p. 49) and Virgin Mary is shortly mentioned in *IT 1*.

In conclusion, male celebrities, historical characters and scientists are more prominent in the textbooks than their female counterparts. Part of this can be explained by for example the smaller number of women among scientists or heads of state, but this does not cover the difference in the numbers of women and men in the other categories.

8 CONCLUSION

The present study was set to find out whether English textbooks for Finnish teenagers realise the goals of gender equality set in the national core curricula for comprehensive and upper secondary schools, or the hidden curriculum as defined by Broady (1989). The realisation of the hidden curriculum/equality as an educational goal in textbooks is obviously a wide research topic. The questions sought to be answered concerned equal presentation of genders in terms of the number of characters on the one hand, and the portrayal of females and males in terms of for instance roles, personal characteristics, and activities assigned to them, on the other. Moreover, the study was designed to cover the possible features that

contribute to gender ideology as widely as possible. Thus, the analysis was not restricted to one or two specific features beforehand. In the course of the study the attention was focused on issues such as sports, youth problems, occupations and professions, parenting roles and celebrities and other well-known characters as role models.

Altogether seven textbooks used in the Finnish comprehensive and upper secondary school were analysed. First, content analysis was used to assess gender presentation in the images. This stage involved for example counting and categorising the characters in the images, and analysing the roles and actions assigned to males and females in the images. Second, the textbook were analysed qualitatively.

Previous research has shown that in general male characters tend to outnumber female characters and men and women are presented in traditional roles. The male sphere of life is often associated with high esteem and social power, and the woman's role is in the home, cooking and caring. At a tentative look the modern textbooks appeared to be equal in gender presentation: for example the number of central characters was in most cases equally distributed between boys and girls. However, a closer analysis was consistent with the findings from the earlier studies, although the differences regarding, for example, the number of male and female characters in general seems to be decreasing.

The results indicated that less than one third of the photographs in the data portrayed female characters. Young boys and girls were presented in different ways in several contexts. Firstly, girls were more often associated with fashion, beauty and physical appearance on the one hand, and with self-reflection, close friendship and dedication to school work, on the other. Boys, in turn, were seen as active, sometimes trouble-making characters with interests in sports and technology, and a dislike for school. However, for example travelling and summer jobs were at equal availability for both boys and girls.

Family roles seemed to remain traditional. The breadwinner of the family was the father, and he was also more active outside the home in general. Whether she was working or not, the mother's principal role at home was being the caregiver and nurturer of the family, although fathers were occasionally shown to cook. The professional range of male characters was wider than that of females. This phenomenon was evident also when exploring the category of celebrities and well known characters. The range of male celebrities varied from scientists to computer nerds, rally drivers to presidents, television chefs to rock stars. Female celebrities, in turn, were mainly royalties and pop stars.

Although the results were mainly consistent with those from the previous studies, some tendency towards change could be noticed. In some instances, there could be detected an attempt to bring the fathers closer to the centre of the family, and women were assigned with less traditional professions. Stereotypical roles were most often broken by grandparents and teenagers, whereas the mother's role as the primary caretaker and the father's role as the financial support for the family seemed to be harder to break. Although the range of professions assigned to women was wider than before, some professions appeared to be off limits for men.

There appeared to be a struggle between traditional gender ideology and a contestant (feminist) ideology in the textbooks. The extent to which these ideologies were expressed appeared to be dependent on the team of authors, picture editors and illustrators of each textbook. Even if the book authors were aiming at breaking stereotypical representations, their attempts could be subverted by choices made by the illustrator. If the textbook authors are willing to promote the discourse of equality rather than sexism, they have to spell out the principle to the rest of their editorial team. In spite of the occasional acts of redeeming or repairing the gender ideology, in general the textbooks analysed can be considered to confirm the prevalent stereotypes rather than challenge them, and to realise the (double) hidden curriculum rather than the official equality goals.

The results also invite an interpretation that the less stereotypical representations result from the conscious efforts by the authors, whereas the “traditional” gender ideology surfaces when the authors’ attention fails. Although gender equality is promoted in several ways, such as the selection of characters, introductions of male and female writers and placing especially women in non-stereotypical professions, stereotypes and inequality are promoted even in more numerous ways: the structure and layout of the texts (e.g. diary/e-mail), construction of study units (Sports section in EU), traditional roles of the parents, implicit expectations of girls being nice, conforming and able to keep up their motivation, and equally implicit assumptions of boys being good at sports and able to settle their problems by themselves.

One of the goals of the present study was to try out a model of analysis that would be constructed during the research process and in an interaction with the features of the research material. This approach would probably have been less frustrating, had the research focused on one or two textbooks instead of seven. The variation in the organisation, structure and text types between the individual textbooks made the work difficult and the analysis complicated, as the analytical principles were constantly adjusted to best fit the research material. However, all this was to serve the end of attaining the essential features structuring the gender discourse in the textbooks. The hidden curriculum and gender ideology are multifaceted issues and work on multiple levels in the textbooks, and it is dubious whether a mere content analysis or an analysis strictly based on an existing model, such as that of Michel’s (1986) would have been able to obtain such complex knowledge.

One of the paramount problems of the present study was its wide scope. As often is the case, quality and depth of analysis do not go hand in hand with quantity and width. When studying a broad issue such as the realisation of the double hidden curriculum in textbooks, the analysis is bound to be relatively superficial and by no means complete. More and more linguistic and visual features could have been included and other methods

and approaches could have been tried out. Interviews with students, teachers and textbook authors would have brought an important aspect in the analysis, as well as observations on how the texts are treated in the classroom. After all, the important question that remains to be unanswered, is how the students react to the ideologies conveyed by learning materials, and whether the latter have an effect on the students at all.

With the hindsight it is easy to state that should I have put less energy on the analysis of for example occupational roles or the use of celebrities in the textbooks, which I found not to be providing important new information, I could have focused more on the representations of teenagers and parents in different roles, which I found to bring the most fruitful. In spite of the criticism presented here, in all I find that the present study succeeded in the combination of methods and was able to take a step away from the traditional textbook research that has been based on content analysis. I also intend to use the experience and knowledge obtained from this study in my teaching in the future, thus meeting the requirement for practical relevance of the results described in chapter 4.4.

There are virtually no limits to further studies, and many of the directions can be justified. The development of the educational goals, more open discussion on the hidden curriculum and on gender in education, and social changes are likely to set their mark on the textbooks. In EFL textbooks the linguistic contents changes as pupils grow together with their language competence – an interesting aspect would be a comparison of how gender ideologies manifest themselves in textbooks targeted at different levels. In addition, the Finnish textbook research tradition also shows a neglect of for example analyses on dialogues or speech acts, which would provide information from the angle of communication strategies associated with males and females.

Instead of focusing on the sexism in textbooks, one could examine the contesting ideologies, the efforts and strategies textbook authors already use

unconsciously or consciously to eliminate sexist language. There is a range of guidelines suggested by several scholars (e.g. Michel 1986, Mills 1995: 72-73) for gender-free language practice that could be used as a starting point for this type of an approach. Also the analytical toolkit used for the present study could be extended to, for example, analysis of transitivity choices or textbook dialogues. Important aspects would also be brought by interviews with the textbook authors, on the importance of the general educational goals set in the curriculum, and the ways they perceive and acknowledge the goal of equality in the making of the textbooks.

The present study supported the findings from the previous work in the field: there is sexism in the ESL textbooks. However, sexism has taken less explicit forms, and traditional gender discourses are also challenged in the textbooks. It has to be kept in mind that the EFL textbooks are first and foremost designed to promote language learning, and whether the sexism in textbooks works against that primary goal is a question unanswered. Although the importance of developing ideas on how the goal of equality could better be realised in textbooks and how the double hidden curriculum could be made visible cannot be undermined, the cleaning up of the textbooks is not sufficient. As Davies (2004: 138-139) points out, students should be seen as active participants and provided with the tools to understand the constitutive force of language and the ways in which they are positioned by texts. A central role in this empowerment is held by the teachers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Description of the textbooks

Key English 8. Courses 3-5. Textbook.

Publisher	WSOY, 2003
Authors	Paul Westlake, Raija Kangaspunta, Eero Lehtonen, Jyrki Peuraniemi (1 f, 3 m)
Editor	Sari Ylitalo (f)
Picture editor	Kirsti Paasivirta (f)
Design, layout, covers	Mauri Uusitalo (m)

Description

The book includes three courses: courses 3 and 4 consist of four study units and course 5 of three units. Each unit begins with an orientating *Ready!Steady!Go!* -section. The core of each unit is the *Key text* with the grammar and vocabulary related to it. *Carry on* provides discussions related to the topic of the preceding text, whereas *Key Talk* presents uses of English in important communication situations. *Key Info* can be found in some units and they provide information on the language, life and customs in the English speaking world, for example holidays (Halloween and 4th of July). *Key Grammar* and *Key Reference* are separate sections in the end of the book, the latter is a compilation of vocabularies, lists of irregular verbs, pronunciation guides, alphabet and such. A separate book for exercises and activities is available.

This way up. Texts 2.

Publisher	Otava 1999
Authors	Tarja Folland, Mike Horwood, Mika Lintujärvi, Arto Nieminen, Maria Tervaoja (2 f, 3 m)
Editor	Teija Lehmusvuori (f)
Layout and typography design	Riitta Hakala (f)
Illustrations	Jukka Murtosaari (m)

Description

The structure of the book is rather straightforward. In all, there are 34 texts and 3 extra texts, among which different types of texts are represented. There are listening exercises, interviews, newspaper articles, personal letters, song lyrics and emails, for instance. In the end of the book there are specific sections for grammar and vocabularies. Exercises and activities can be found in a separate activity book.

English United. Course 2.

Publisher	Tammi 2004
Authors	Louisa Daffue-Karsten, Hilpi Luukkonen, Kari Moilanen, Pirjo Pollari, Kati Venemies, Kirby Vincent (4 f, 2 m)
Editor	Teija Lehmusvuori (f)
Graphic design, layout	Marika Maijala (f)
Illustrations	Marika Maijala (f)

Description

English United 2 consists of five units. Each unit has two or three *Main texts* introduced by a *Kick-off* – usually an exercise or a piece of text orientating to the theme or vocabulary. Texts are followed by listening, speaking and writing exercises. *Time outs* are short sections focusing on language learning skills, *Phrase boxes* provide expressions and communication strategies in a nutshell. At the end of the book, a section titled *The rule book* sums up the grammar issues dealt in the texts, and the book is finished with chapter vocabularies, and verb and word lists.

Culture café.

Publisher Otava 2002.

Book 1.

Authors Raquel Benmergui, Anni Lampinen, Sanna Leinonen-Nuorgam, Jaakko Mäki, Teijo Päckilä, Riitta Silk (4 f, 2 m)

Editor Selja Saarialho (f)

Graphic design Anne-Mari Ahonen (f)

Layout design Anne-Mari Ahonen, Mirella Mäkilä (f)

Illustrations Anssi Keränen (main), A-M Ahonen and Maisa Rajamäki

Book 3.

Authors Raquel Benmergui, Anni Lampinen, Sanna Leinonen-Nuorgam, Jaakko Mäki, Teijo Päckilä, Riitta Silk (4 f, 2 m)

Editor Selja Saarialho (f)

Graphic design Anne-Mari Ahonen (f)

Layout design Mirella Mäkilä (f)

Illustrations Anssi Keränen (m)

Description

The Culture café –series is organised in a relatively complex way. In each book, there are five *Themes* that consist of different types of exercises and texts organised around a topic. Each *Theme* starts off with an *Appetizer* - an orientating text, exercise or a song, for example - followed by two main texts accompanied by relating exercises and assignments. *Today's special* provides practical information on learning and communication, and *Fortune cookies* offer culture tips. Towards the end of the book there is a large section titled *Recipe book*, a language learner's manual, and *Self service*, additional exercises suited for self study. Vocabularies and word lists are offered in the end of the book. Grammar is situated in a separate book that can be used throughout the studies.

In Touch.

Course 1. Up close and personal.

Publisher	WSOY, 2001
Authors	Mikael Davies, Annukka Kalliovalkama, Eero Lehtonen, Lynn Nikkanen, Tuula Sutela, Leena Säteri, Petri Vuorinen (4 f, 3 m)
Editor	Maria Kiiso (f)
Picture editor	Kirsti Kanninen (f)
Graphic design, layout	Mauri Uusitalo (m)
Illustrations	Ville Salervo (m)

Course 3. Get a Life!

Publisher	WSOY, 2002
Authors	Mikael Davies, Eero Lehtonen, Anna-Mari Mäkelä, Lynn Nikkanen, Tuula Sutela, Leena Säteri, Petri Vuorinen (4 f, 3 m)
Editor	Katja Merontausta (f)
Picture editor	Kirsti Kanninen (f)
Graphic design, layout	Mauri Uusitalo (m)
Illustrations	Hanna Holma

Description

In Touch 1 consists of four study units, In Touch 3 has three of them. Each unit is built with an introductory *Get going* section, one or two *Key texts*, a *Key listening* and an advanced text titled *Read on*. Texts are accompanied by exercises, assignments and project instructions. Small sections are sprinkled around in the books: *Tool box*, *Function junction*, *Culture tips* and *Quick fixes*. Grammar and vocabulary are situated in the end of the book together with vocabularies and word lists.

Appendix 2. Analytical checklist (Michel 1986)

1. Title of text/material
2. Subject matter
3. Copyright owner (year)
4. Author(s) and sex of author(s)
5. What activities/occupations are mentioned or pictured for girls/boys/women/men?
6. How many pictures of each sex are shown ?
7. How many times does the text mention women/girls and men/boys ?
8. What adjectives are used to describe girls/boys/women/men?
9. Describe the language used throughout the text. Is it non-sexist and inclusive in nature?
10. Are significant contributions of women or men omitted?
11. Are traditional stereotypes upheld for the different groups, in terms of activities, interests, family roles, occupations, etc.? What kinds of role models are depicted for boys and girls?
12. Is the material portrayed in a contemporary, realistic style?
13. Are there special sections dealing solely with women and ethnic populations?
14. How might these materials have an impact on educational/occupational aspirations for girls and boys?

Source: Michel 1986: 69, adapted by I.L.

Appendix 3. Celebrities, historical and other real characters

	Musicians, artists	Writers, novelists	Actors, directors, television performers	Heads of state, scientists	Sports	Miscellaneous
M a l i e	Boy George Bill Withers Pet Shop Boys David Dundas Elvis Presley the Beatles Harry Belafonte Uriah Heep Bon Jovi Sex Pistols Phil Collins Bruce Springsteen Marilyn Manson Picasso ----- total 14	Anthony Bourdain Felipe Fernandez-Armesto John Lanchester Roddy Doyle Joseph O'Connor Eric Newby Horace Michel de Montaigne Tony Parsons Rudyard Kipling Shakespeare Nick Hornby Ronald Gross Frank McCourt James Joyce Samuel Beckett George Mikes Roger McCough Robert Burns Aristotle Neil Jordan ----- total 21	Steven Spielberg Robert de Niro Tommy Tiernan David O'Doherty Stanley Kubrick Quentin Tarantino John Travolta Ainsley Harriott Jamie Oliver "Eric Forrester" "Ridge Forrester" Hugh Grant Michael Caine Brad Pitt Stephen Fry Tom Cruise Lewis Gilbert ----- total 17	Prince Charles Prince Philip Albert Einstein Winston Churchill Thomas Alva Edison Leonardo da Vinci Dalai Lama Henry Ford ----- total 8	David Beckham William Ellis Jonah Lomu Aki Riihilahti Gary Kasparov ----- total 5	Walter Mischel Richard Branson Dennis Tito ----- total 3
F e m a l e	Kate Bush Alanis Morissette Björk Donna Summer Britney Spears Whitney Houston Celine Dion Jennifer Paige Madonna Donatella Versace ----- total 10	Sue Townsend Meera Syal Zadie Smith Margaret Vessar Christy Brown Anabella Giles Annabella Levy Sue Townsend Isabel Archer Jane Austen Tracy Austin Sylvia Plath Philippa Gregory ----- total 13	Julie Walters Toni Collette Uma Thurman "Brooke Forrester" "Stephanie Forrester" ----- total 5	the Queen ----- total 1	----- total 0	Helen Keller Anne Sullivan Ruth Rogers Rose Gray Rosa Parks Virgin Mary Eleanor Roosevelt ----- total 7