UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

'MINNA, THE MODEL' AND OTHER STORIES:

Gender roles in an English textbook series for Finnish lower secondary schools

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Oppikirja on tärkein opetusväline suomalaisissa kouluissa. Silti useat tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet, että oppikirjat sisältävät paljon sukupuolistereotypioita ja vahvistavat siis perinteistä roolijakaumaa sukupuolten välillä. Tämän tutkielman tarkoitus on selvittää, millaisia sukupuolirooleja englannin kielen oppikirjat suoraan tai piiloisesti edistävät. Tarkastelun kohteena ovat kaksi yläasteen oppikirjaa, jotka muodostavat kokonaisuuden: *The News Headlines Courses 1-4* (WSOY 1995) ja *Courses 5-8* (WSOY 1996). Tutkielmassa analysoidaan oppikirjojen tekstit, ääninauhat ja kuvat, sekä vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Ovatko sukupuolet tasapuolisesti esillä oppikirjojen teksteissä, otsikoissa ja kuvissa? 2) Esittävätkö oppikirjat molempien sukupuolten edustajia tasapuolisesti erilaisissa rooleissa, etenkin ammatti- ja perherooleissa? ja 3) Tukevatko oppikirjat yleisesti sukupuolten tasa-arvoa vai vahvistavatko ne sukupuolistereotypioita piilo-opetussuunnitelman kautta?

    Aineistoa luokiteltiin kontekstisen sisällön analyysin avulla. Määrällisessä osiossa selvitettiin, kuinka monta mies- ja naishahmoa oppikirjoissa esiintyy, kuinka moneen heistä viitataan erisnimellä ja kuinka paljon ja millaisia ammatti- ja perherooleja he edustavat. Lisäksi tarkasteltiin kielen mahdollista seksismiä selvittämällä, kuinka moni ilmaus ja kappaleen tai artikkelin otsikko viittasi kuhunkin sukupuoleen. Laadullisessa osiossa keskityttiin yksityiskohtaisemmin sukupuolten erilaisiin rooleihin.

    Sukupuolet eivät olleet tasapuolisesti esillä oppikirjoissa. Kaikista hahmoista 71 prosenttia edusti miessukupuolta, ja sukupuoleen viittaavista ilmauksista noin 70 prosenttia viittasi miehiin, samoin yli neljä viidesosaa henkilöön viittaavista otsikoista. Noin yhdeksässä kymmenestä henkilöä tai henkilöitä esittävästä kuvasta esiintyi mies, kun vain reilusti alle puolessa esiintyi nainen. Naiset olivat aliedustettuina ammattirooleissa, sillä vain viidesosalla naishahmoista oli ammatti verrattuna 41 prosenttiin miehistä. Miehet puolestaan olivat aliedustettuina perherooleissa, sillä vain 15 prosenttia miehistä esitettiin näissä rooleissa verrattuna 31 prosenttiin naisista. Laadullisen analyysin tulokset tukivat näitä havaintoja ja osoittivat lisäksi, että urheilu, sankaruus, historia, tiede ja teknologia yhdistettiin miehiin huomattavasti useammin kuin naisiin. Oppikirjat vahvistivat muitakin sukupuolistereotypioita. Esimerkiksi naiset kuvattiin usein hoiva-ammateissa, miehet vastuuta tai vaaroja sisältävissä töissä. Oppikirjat vahvistivat siis monella tavoin stereotyyppisiä rooleja ja asenteita piilo-opetussuunnitelman tavoin.

    Opettajien tulisi olla tietoisia siitä, että oppikirjat saattavat edistää opetussuunnitelman periaatteiden ja tavoitteiden vastaisia sukupuolirooleja. Koska opettajat ovat tärkeässä asemassa nuorten sosialisaatioprosessissa ja välittävät oppikirjojen informaation oppilaille, heillä on mahdollisuus vähentää sukupuolistereotypioiden merkitystä tekemällä piilo-opetussuunnitelmasta näkyvää esimerkiksi asettamalla stereotypiat kriittisen keskustelun kohteeksi. Opettajat saattavat kuitenkin tarvita lisäkoulutusta oppikirjojen seksismin tunnistamiseksi ja osatakseen käsitellä asiaa luokkahuoneessa.

Asiasanat: **textbook. gender roles. sexism. stereotype. hidden curriculum. content analysis.**

Säilytyspaikka: **Kielten laitos**

Muita tietoja

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Teachers and educational authorities often encourage parents to be a part of their children's education process and to find out the objectives of schooling from the national curriculum. The curriculum document is useful, as it contains the descriptions of the most important aims of each school subject and the general educational goals of comprehensive school. One important general goal mentioned in the Finnish national curriculum is supporting equality between the sexes (Framework Curriculum for the Comprehensive School 1994:15, 17, hereafter called "Framework 1994"; The Education System of Finland 2001:61). However, teachers easily forget the curriculum and all the fine principles as they enter the classroom with textbooks under their arm. Textbooks are not the same as the curriculum, but current teaching practice is heavily based on them (Kari 1988; Lahelma 1990b:53; Mikkilä-Erdmann et al. 1999:436). Most of the teachers use textbooks, as the material is easily available, and moreover, because the ready-for-use material lightens considerably teachers' burden when they plan the lessons.

Because of this influential position of the textbooks, it is important to pay attention to these materials that are used all over the country to educate the next generations and to find out what kind of values they promote on the side of grammar rules and multiplication tables. These values are a part of the manifestation of a so-called hidden curriculum, which entails many requirements pupils are expected to fulfil that are not mentioned in the official curriculum (Broady 1986:14-15, 33). For instance, according to the Finnish national curriculum, pupils are required to learn English, but through the hidden curriculum they may learn things that have nothing to do with English and that are different for girls and boys, for example, which occupations are suitable for each gender. Teachers themselves hardly have time to think about these values behind the explicit content of textbooks, as they dedicate most of their time to pedagogical issues and the informative side of the teaching material. This is also why it is important to study the textbooks, as it helps teachers to become aware of the hidden values in the material and thus they can discuss them openly with pupils.

Gender roles in textbooks have been extensively studied during the past few decades. Especially during the 1990s, many studies were conducted in Finland. Examples are Palmu's study on the gender ideology in three Finnish primers (1992),

Lahelma's study on the ways in which genders are differentiated in the Finnish curriculum including textbooks (1992), and Lindroos's study on the ways in which gender is constructed in the classroom discourse (1997). Many Master's theses were also written on the issue, including Härkönen and Viitala's analysis of three series of English textbooks used in Finnish lower secondary schools (1995) and Hjorth's analysis of English textbooks used in upper secondary schools (1997). The conclusion of the studies on gender roles in textbooks is often the same: most of the textbooks contain sexist presentation of either or both genders.

This conclusion is not perhaps surprising, but what is interesting is that the publishers and authors of textbooks continue making teaching materials that promote stereotypical gender roles, despite the studies that show how harmful sexist stereotyping can be to the developing self-image of children and teenagers (see Michel 1986). Textbook studies are often conducted for the people who make the textbooks so that they could use the knowledge and change the sexist patterns in them, but the writers and publishers do not seem to succeed in bringing about the necessary changes. As a consequence, the present study analyses one more textbook series to determine whether the values implicitly promoted in Finnish textbooks have changed for the better. As Michel claims in her book *Down with stereotypes!* (1986), new studies on the issue must be conducted at least as long as authors and publishers of textbooks keep promoting sexist values among children and teenagers.

A starting point for the present study is a feminist view that socio-political life is prejudicial to women. According to Gatens (1991:1), one task of feminists is to show how the genders are treated differently in our society, and how the economic, political, and social arrangements maintain the prejudices against women (see also Delmar 1986:8). The present study has similar ends as these feminist theorists, but since the study is not based on any particular feminist theory, the different theories are not discussed in more detail. Another theoretical premise of the present study is social constructivism, which is a school of thought in sociology. According to constructivist view, people construct and reproduce social reality by interpreting and conceptualising it in cooperation with each other and wider society. Thus, the differentiation between masculine and feminine, for example, is not a biological fact, but an attempt to interpret and conceptualise reality, and this interpretation has become a generally accepted and institutionalised view in certain cultures. (eg. Berger and Luckmann 1966; Alasuutari 1989:93-104; Gatens 1991:4-8; Gilbert and

Taylor 1991:5-43.) This is precisely the view that the present study takes on gender roles.

The present study concentrates on a textbook series for Finnish lower secondary schools that has been widely used all over the country. It has two parts: *The News Headlines Courses 1-4* (WSOY 1995) and *Courses 5-8* (WSOY 1996), hereafter called "*News 1*" and "*News 2*". The series consists of two textbooks, thirteen tape recordings, and four workbooks, but the workbooks are left outside the scope of the analysis because they mainly contain similar material as the texts and the tapes. I have chosen this particular series for the study because, as the most popular English language textbook series in Finland during the school year 2002-2003, it probably best reflects the type of material Finnish youngsters work with during their English lessons (Eero Lehtonen, personal communication, June 2004; http://w3.wsoy.fi/oppi/index.jsp?I=YA&a=EN; http//:w3.wsoy.fi/oppi/index.jsp). Also the age group, thirteen to fifteen-year-olds, for whom this series is targeted, is probably more vulnerable to hidden values of the material than more experienced sixteen to eighteen-year-olds, who study in upper secondary school. Furthermore, as an aspiring English teacher, it is insightful to study these particular textbooks and the hidden curriculum before starting to teach the same material in some lower secondary school.

The objective of the present study is to analyse the texts, the tapes, and the illustrations of the *News* series and to find out what kind of gender roles the textbooks explicitly or implicitly promote. The analysis concentrates on three aspects of gender roles: 1) whether the genders are equally present in the texts, headings, and illustrations; 2) whether the textbooks present both genders equally in different roles, especially in occupational roles and family roles; and 3) whether the textbooks in general promote gender equality or reinforce gender stereotypes through the hidden curriculum. In order to find out the answers to the research questions, the study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The first part of the analysis categorises the data quantitatively, and the second part describes and compares the data qualitatively. The quantitative analysis reveals, for instance, whether the textbooks introduce more male than female characters, or vice versa, whether either gender appears more often in the headings of chapters, and whether either gender has more many-sided occupational roles than the other has. The qualitative analysis in turn concentrates more carefully on the types of roles characters have in the

textbooks and on certain themes that seem relevant from the point of view of gender, including history, science, and technology.

Before the actual analysis, however, it is necessary to become acquainted with the concept of the textbook and its characteristics, which is the topic of Chapter 2. Chapter 3 in turn discusses gender roles and their development, and Chapter 4 presents some central concepts relating to the textbook analysis. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the past studies concerned with school textbooks and gender roles, and Chapter 6 deals with the methodology and the data of the present study. Chapters 7 and 8 finally present the actual analysis of the textbook series and discuss the results of the study, and Chapter 9 presents the conclusions and discusses their implications.

2 TEXTBOOKS AS THE OBJECT OF STUDY

This chapter introduces the concept of the textbook and discusses the characteristics of textbooks. The chapter contains two sections, the first of which presents the different types of textbook research. They include the studies that deal with 1) ideology in textbooks, 2) the use of textbooks, and 3) the development of textbooks. Section 2.2 in turn discusses the characteristics of textbooks as a teaching medium.

2.1 Types of textbook research

Many scholars have found the concept of the textbook problematic. For instance, there has been discussion on whether the definition of textbook should include any book used in the classroom or only the books designed and written specifically for classroom use. (Johnsen 1993:24-26.) In the present study, the definition of the term is straightforward: a textbook is a book designed specifically for educational purposes and for a specific level of a particular school institution. For instance, the research material of the present study consists of two English language textbooks aimed at pupils in Finnish lower secondary schools.

Textbooks have been objects of study for decades. Johnsen (1993:28) divides textbook studies into three main categories: 1) ideological research traditions, 2)

studies dealing with the use of textbooks, and 3) studies dealing with the development of textbooks. The present study belongs to the first category, which includes the studies that focus on the underlying assumptions and prejudices of textbooks. Typical studies belonging to this category investigate to what extent certain groups, for example women, have received attention in textbooks, and what kind of attention considering the language and the context. They also try to find out what is the ideology behind the selection of the material and what are the attitudes taken in the presentation, in other words, what is the hidden curriculum of the textbooks. These studies make use of a method called content analysis, which includes, for instance, counting the frequency of certain key words in a text. (Johnsen 1993:28-29, 67-153.) Chapter 6 of the present study discusses the method more thoroughly. Ideological textbook studies based on content analyses are the most common type of textbook research (Johnsen 1993:28-29).

The second type of textbook research includes the studies that deal with the authority, accessibility, and effectiveness of textbooks, in other words, the issue of how teachers and pupils use the textbooks (Johnsen 1993:28-29). Authority studies investigate, for instance, to what extent textbooks control the teaching process and how much time the class spends on them. Accessibility studies in turn concentrate on the language and style of the textbooks and try to determine whether they are too heavy, difficult, or boring to a certain age group. Finally, effectiveness studies aim at finding out whether the material in a textbook is motivating, informative, and easy to remember, in other words, whether a particular textbook is a good educational tool. (Johnsen 1993:157-238.)

The third category of textbook research includes the studies that deal with the development of textbooks. The term 'development' refers to the processes of conceptualisation, writing, editing, approval, marketing, selection, and distribution of textbooks. (Johnsen 1993:28-29.) Typical studies belonging to this category investigate the effect of authors, publishers, authorities, and curricula on the content of textbooks (Johnsen 1993:241-324). Thus, the analysis of gender roles in textbooks could have taken also this perspective, but since the content analysis seems to be an effective method of studying the ideology in textbooks, the present study uses that approach.

2.2 Textbooks as a teaching medium

Many studies concerning the ideology in textbooks take as a starting point the view that textbooks have "a strong controlling position in the classroom", as Johnsen puts it (1993:176). In other words, textbooks are seen as the main teaching medium used in every classroom, and the ideological effect of textbooks on pupils is based on this conception. This is also the starting point of the present study. Although some scholars do not agree with this view, Johnsen (1993:145, 162-184, 313-314) refers to a considerable body of research that indicates that textbooks do dominate in classrooms, especially in foreign languages, and they may have an important position outside the classroom as well. Also in Finnish schools, the textbook is considered as the most important teaching medium and as having a central position in the teaching process (Kari 1988; Lahelma 1990b:53; Mikkilä-Erdmann et al. 1999:436; see also Huttunen and Happonen 1974:27).

Textbooks have been described as one of the most powerful ways of transmitting standards, values, and ideologies. The younger the children, the more powerful the effect of the textbooks on their worldview, as young children are not equipped to resist for example stereotypes that make them see the conventional characteristics and weaknesses of the opposite sex. (Michel 1986:20, 23.) According to Lahelma (1990b:53), pupils easily identify with the characters of textbooks and become thus influenced by them. Huttunen and Happonen (1974:25-26) compare the influence of textbooks to the effects of mass media, as in both cases pupils are likely to learn through identifying with the models and imitating them.

Textbooks may be even more influential than the mass media, as people usually choose from the media only the information that conforms to their existing attitudes. At school, however, pupils cannot usually choose the material they work with. Whether the material is in accordance with the pupils' attitudes or not, they are expected to study it thoroughly. Furthermore, teachers and parents praise pupils for adopting the material well and it helps them to succeed at school and later in working life. Therefore textbooks may have a considerable influence on the attitudes of children and youngsters either by reinforcing the existing attitudes or by conflicting with them and hence offering alternatives. (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:25-26; Lahelma 1990b:53-54.)

Another factor that reinforces the effects of textbooks on pupils' conceptions is the teacher's contribution to the learning process. As Huttunen and Happonen (1974:26-27) point out, the information conveyed by the textbooks feels rarely true to life, as it is only one-sided communication, but when another human being (a teacher) reinforces or otherwise interprets the information, the influence may be powerful. Hence, teachers are in a key role in conveying the one-sided information of textbooks to pupils, and it depends on their conceptions whether they question the traditional views presented in textbooks or present them as a prevalent and acceptable situation (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:27).

According to Huttunen and Happonen (1974:51), school textbooks can be divided into groups according to whether their authors have many or few opportunities to affect the gender roles presented in the textbooks. The factors that have an effect on the authors' opportunities are whether the material is based on real events or on fictional stories, and whether the author has a large or restricted selection of material to choose from. For instance, history and religion are subjects that are based on an interpretation of real events, and hence the choice of material is partly restricted. In these cases, the authors do not have as many possibilities of affecting the content and promoting non-stereotypical gender roles as some authors of other subjects have.

Languages, in contrast, are subjects that can use material solely based on fiction, and there is also an endless selection of material for authors to choose from (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:51-52, 55-56). For example, English language textbooks can contain English short stories, poems, songs, cartoons, articles, fairy tales, columns, letters, and almost any kind of material based on fiction or on real events. Hence, the authors of these textbooks in particular can have a great influence on the content. They may choose unconventional and modern characters for textbooks and even select topics that discuss the prevalent gender roles in working life, for example.

Although increasing an awareness of gender roles and sexism is not a part of the language curriculum, the general goals of the Finnish national curriculum consider supporting equality between the sexes as an important educational objective (Framework 1994:15, 17). Since all Finnish textbooks are based on this curriculum, they are not supposed to promote inequality. As Huttunen and Happonen (1974:55-56) point out, textbooks convey a certain kind of gender ideology whether the authors are aware of it or not. It is hence essential that the authors and publishers are

aware of the gender ideology in their textbooks because only that way they can avoid promoting sexism among pupils.

In conclusion, the gender roles in textbooks are worth studying, as textbooks have a central position in many classrooms and are thus capable of affecting the gender attitudes of youngsters. The authors of language textbooks in turn have an enormous flexibility in their choice of material, and therefore they can be expected to fulfil both the general and subject-specific goals of the Finnish national curriculum, including supporting equality between the sexes. The next chapter discusses to what extent this gender equality is achieved in Finnish society, and how girls and boys learn gender roles.

3 GENDER ROLES

This chapter deals with the question of how gender roles are actually learned and acquired, in other words, how people become representatives of either gender. The chapter also pays attention to the type of gender roles prevalent in contemporary Finnish society in order to make a difference between a gender stereotype, which is a belief about a gender, and the actual situation between the sexes in Finnish society. But first, it is necessary to make a distinction between the two concepts of sex and gender.

3.1 Sex and gender

Oakley (1972) was one of the scholars who introduced the division between biological sex and social gender to Anglo-American feminist research in the 1970s (Sipilä 1998:29). The purpose of the division was to set women free from the position of weaker sex determined by biology (Lindroos 1997:26). After the division, the term 'sex' has been used to refer to the biological fact that there are two kinds of people who have different physical attributes: women and men. A person's sex can be identified, for example, on the basis of physiology, anatomy, genetics, and hormones. When talking about sex, the terms 'male' and 'female' are used. In

contrast, the term 'gender' has been used to refer to the psychological, cultural, and, above all, social aspects of being male or female. A person's gender can be identified, for example, by observing clothes, interests, attitudes, behaviours, and aptitudes. To describe the gender of a person, the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' are used. (eg. Oakley 1972:158-159; Delamont 1980:5; Lindroos 1997:25; Sipilä 1998:27, 29-30; cf. Forisha 1978:19-20.)

The sex of a person can generally be determined on the basis of biology irrespective of his or her cultural background, but the gender of a person is always tied to the particular culture and society he or she is a part of. As Oakley (1972:158) puts it:

> It is true that every society uses biological sex as a criterion for the ascription of gender but, beyond that simple starting point, no two cultures would agree completely on what distinguishes one gender from the other. Needless to say, every society believes that its own definitions of gender correspond to the biological duality of sex. Culturally, therefore, one finds the same biological distinctions between male and female coexisting with great variations in gender roles.

Therefore the view prevalent in Finnish culture and society at present on what distinguishes masculinity and femininity may be shared by other Nordic countries, but in some other cultures totally different characteristics and roles are assigned to each gender and considered natural and based on biology. For instance, Oakley (1972:128-157) reports on various studies that show how in some cultures and societies people assign the genders different characteristics and roles, so that for example cooking can be considered as an "exclusively masculine activity", while in Finland it is usually considered as feminine.

As Delamont (1980:5) observes, sex and gender are closely related concepts that are often used in a confusing way. For instance, several scholars talk about "sex roles", and some even use the term 'anatomical gender' instead of anatomical sex (eg. Forisha 1978:19). Although 'sex roles' is a commonly used term, the roles people play in society are essentially related to social behaviour, rather than to biology (Delamont 1980:5). Therefore the present study favours the term 'gender roles', as the social nature of the concept requires. Forisha (1978:4) defines the term 'gender roles' (or 'sex roles') as referring to the fact that girls, boys, women, and men face different role expectations at home, at school, and at workplace, depending on their gender. These expectations are based on beliefs about what is appropriate for

each gender, and children begin to adjust to these roles from an early age (Forisha 1978:4).

In the vast majority of cases, a person's biological sex corresponds to the gender identity and gender roles he or she acquires (Maccoby 1998:1). However, a person's sex and gender need not correspond to each other. For instance, a male may have a feminine social and cultural identity, which is the case with transsexuals (Oakley 1972:167-168). Thus, physical males do not necessarily have a masculine gender identity and females a feminine, which makes the definition of gender more complicated. Furthermore, some scholars have even questioned "the biological fact" that there are two kinds of people with different physiques by claiming that on the basis of chromosomes, gonads, hormones, fertility, and other factors, people can be divided not to two, but to seventeen different categories (Sipilä 1998:30; see Davies 1989:8-12). Hence, defining the terms 'sex' and 'gender' may seem like an easy task, but in reality, it is almost impossible to give exhaustive and satisfying definitions.

Since the aim of the present study is not to find a conclusion for the different theories about sex and gender, but to find out what kind of gender roles the textbooks promote, the analysis settles for the prevalent conceptions of sex and gender. Thus, the paper uses the terms 'sex' and 'gender' as defined at the beginning of this section (p.12-13): the term 'sex' refers to the biological nature of being a woman or a man, and the term 'gender' to cultural and social aspects of being masculine or feminine. However, since the only terms relating to gender seem to be the adjectives 'masculine' and 'feminine', the paper uses also the noun 'males' to refer to people of masculine gender, and the noun 'females' to refer to people of feminine gender. As was mentioned above (p.14), a person's biological sex and social gender are the same in the vast majority of cases, and hence this use of terms should not cause confusion. Thus, the paper moves on to discuss the development of gender roles and gender identity.

3.2 The development of gender roles and gender identity

This section deals with the complicated issue of how girls and boys acquire gender identity and learn gender roles. There are many studies and theories that attempt to explain the development of gender roles, but the results are generally inconclusive or

controversial. Some studies suggest that the gender roles might be a result of sex differences in biochemistry, and hence the gender differences would be innate (Mischel 1993:512-513). However, studies of individuals who have both male and female sex organs, ie. hermaphrodites, have shown that the gender identity of a person depends largely on his or her designated sex and rearing. In other words, a person who has been reared as a female will have a feminine gender identity, although she would be genetically male and have internal male genitalia and a male hormone pattern. These findings indicate that the biological factors do not contribute to the development of gender roles as much as cognitive and social factors do. (Mischel 1993:513.) Thus, this section mainly concentrates on the cognitive and social processes of learning gender roles.

Children acquire and learn gender roles before school age. As Maccoby (1998:121) notes, the first identification given to a baby is usually whether it is a girl or a boy. From then on, girls are dressed in pink skirts and boys in blue trousers; relatives buy dolls to girls and cars to boys; moreover, parents and teachers treat girls and boys differently, for example by allowing boys to break rules but requiring girls to obey them. Finally, the media dulls children with ideas of how women and men should behave, talk, and look. (Oakley 1972:173; Forisha 1978:22; Metso 1992:270-283; Maccoby 1998:122; Antikainen et al. 2000:237.) At an early age, children begin to understand that there are two kinds of people: one represented by mother and the other by father. Soon after this realisation, they categorise themselves as belonging to females or males. (Oakley 1972:173-188; Mischel 1993:513-515.)

Children acquire and learn the potential behaviours appropriate to their gender through cognitive and observational processes, but which behaviours they choose as a part of their gender identity depends on the expected consequences (Mischel 1993:515-516). For instance, a girl may observe some women playing football, and others not liking sports. She has then two different potential ways to behave that are both considered appropriate for her gender in that culture. As noted above, the one she chooses depends on the situational and motivational factors such as the expected consequences. If her parents, teacher, and friends encourage her to play football, she probably will choose that behaviour. In contrast, if she gets negative feedback and even reprimands for playing, she may choose not to like sports. Hence children begin to form their gender identity and learn gender roles by observing and trying different behaviours (Mischel 1993:515-516).

Children learn quickly that many things they try have different consequences for girls and boys. Mischel (1993:516) defines these "sex-typed behaviors" as "those that are typically more expected and approved for one sex than for the other and that lead to different outcomes or consequences when performed by males as opposed to females in the particular community". As a result of different consequences, girls and boys learn to prefer different activities and behaviours. Children face sex-typing pressure from several sources, for instance from parents, teachers, and athletic coaches, who tend to reward behaviour they consider appropriate for a sex and punish or ignore behaviour that is considered inappropriate. (White 1977:34; Mischel 1993:516-517.) According to Maccoby (1998:294-295), however, the pressure to conform to appropriate gender roles and to segregate the genders may not come mainly from adults, but from a child's peers. This is indicated by children's tendency to play separately even though parents and teachers make conscious efforts to treat them equally. The tendency to segregate the genders may thus also be passed on from one cohort of children to the next rather than be transmitted from adults to children. (Maccoby 1998:295.)

The issue is controversial, and although studies are often unable to demonstrate that parents treat girls and boys differently, it is generally believed that they do have a strong influence on the development of their child's gender identity. For example, parents may play more roughly with little boys than with little girls and talk more often about feelings with girls than with boys. (Oakley 1972:173-178; Mischel 1993:517; Maccoby 1998:295-297.) The peer groups of girls and boys also differ from each other, as girls often play in pairs and in small groups, while boys usually play in large groups. Therefore girls and boys may learn different skills, so that girls learn to share secrets and listen to others empathetically, while boys learn to speak up and ignore derisive comments of others. (Lautamatti 1988:185-197.) There are many social forces that have an effect on the gender roles and the gender identity of a child in addition to the family, peers, and the school. These influences include, for instance, institutions, different groups, role models that are valued or disapproved of, and rules that are learned about what it means to be a girl or a boy. (Mischel 1993:516-522.) Children also learn sex-typed behaviour from "symbolic models", including films, television, and books (Mischel 1966:57; White 1977:34). This process whereby a child comes to share the concepts about gender in a given culture is a part of a larger process called socialisation (Mischel 1993:516-522).

Takala (1974:17) defines socialisation as "*the interaction process between the generations*, as a result of which *the new generation qualifies to function in different tasks of society and develop these further*, and takes *part in the culture of a community and becomes able to develop it further*" (emphasis original, translation by A-R.P.). In other words, the older generation teaches consciously or transmits unconsciously to the next generation the community's values, norms, customs, the positions of people in relation to each other, the physical and mental boundaries of actions, and the consequences of breaking these boundaries (Antikainen et al. 2000:35). In this process, the gender ideology of the community is also transmitted.

The earliest stage of the socialisation process is called primary socialisation, and it takes place in the early growth milieu of a child, usually in the family. The values and the norms acquired during this stage form the basis of the social and personal existence of an individual. (Antikainen et al. 2000:36.) Children are not, however, copies of their parents' values and norms, because each individual forms a personal relationship to the transmitted information during different stages of his or her life. These later stages are a part of a process called secondary socialisation, and it takes place mainly in peer groups, kindergartens, schools, and in working life. The significance of the secondary socialisation is especially high during adolescence, as that is the time when youngsters question the values and the norms of their parents most. (Antikainen et al. 2000:36.)

Schools are an important part of the secondary socialisation, as they have some power in transmitting values and norms to children and youngsters. Although there is not a school subject that would teach, for example, gender-appropriate behaviour for girls and boys, many implicit structures and processes in the school institution teach pupils how women and men should behave (Delamont 1980:2-3; Lahelma 1992:42, 118). An example of these implicit processes is a school textbook that promotes stereotypical gender roles while explaining grammar rules. However, schools reflect the society they are a part of, and thus it would be exaggeration to claim that schools produce certain kinds of gender roles in spite of the surrounding society (Eggleston 1977; Delamont 1980:2-3). Nevertheless, as important socialisation agents, schools have an enormous effect on the lives of pupils, and hence they have some responsibility in transmitting gender roles that increase equality in society.

3.3 Gender roles in contemporary Finnish society

In order to make a difference between a gender stereotype, which is a belief about a gender, and the predominating situation between the sexes in society, it is necessary to take a look at the gender roles in contemporary Finnish society. Finland has been a pioneer country in advancing equality between the sexes, as Finnish women were the first in Europe to receive the right to vote in national elections and the first in the world to be granted the right to be electoral candidates in 1906. From then on, there have been many legislative acts that aim to guarantee equality between the sexes. (Statistics Finland 2003:3-4.) During the years, Finnish women have found their place in political domain, as almost 40% of the members of parliament are female, and the composition of the cabinet is nearly equal (44% of the ministers are female and 56% males). Half of the chairpersons of Parliamentary groups are also females. (Statistics Finland 2003:77, 80, 82.) The latest examples of the rise of women in Finnish politics are probably President Tarja Halonen and Prime Minister Anneli Jäätteenmäki.

However, as Saarnivaara (1990:102) points out, although formal equality has increased, the gender differences are reproduced simultaneously at school, in working life, and in the family. For instance, by looking at the percentages of women and men in different sectors of study in vocational institutes and polytechnics of Finland, it can be verified that the occupational roles are heavily distributed according to sex. For example, in the engineering, manufacturing, and construction sector, more than 80% of the students are male, both in vocational institutes and polytechnics. Instead, in the health and welfare sector, approximately 90% of the students are female. Women also dominate the education sector, where approximately 70% of the students are female. At the universities, 79% of the students in the field of engineering, manufacturing, and construction are male, and 73% of the students of health and welfare and 81% of the students of education are female. (Statistics Finland 2003:23-25.)

This means that in the future, women and men will continue to consider the occupational role of a nurse as feminine, because most nurses are female, and the role of a technician as masculine, because most technicians are male. This in turn restricts both women's and men's choice of occupations, as to be the only male nurse in a hospital or the only female technician in a construction site is likely to require

much strength of character. Hence, many women and men do not even come to think that they could have an occupation in some other field than the traditionally feminine or masculine field. In the light of the statistics, it seems thus that it is easier for women to choose a traditionally feminine occupation and for men a traditionally masculine.

It is an interesting fact that although Finnish women take more certificates or degrees than men do in upper secondary schools, vocational institutes, polytechnics, and at universities, their labour market situation is worse than that of men. For instance, men are able to find work easier than women do in every general sector of working life, including the traditionally female dominated fields like health and welfare sector and education sector. (Statistics Finland 2003:24-27, 32-34, 44-45.) Education is also a good example of the distribution of power according to gender, as in all the levels of education, 60-85% of heads, principals, and vice-chancellors are men, but about 70% of teachers in comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools are women. At the universities, 80% of professors and assistant professors are men, but women control more than half of the teachers' posts. (Gordon 1991:210; Statistics Finland 2003:28, 91.) As a result, schools give to children and young people an example of an unequal situation where men supervise and women do the work in actual practice (Lahelma 1990b:72-74).

When looking at the statistics, it has to be confirmed that the stereotypes often have some foundation in reality. Namely, the most common occupations of women in Finland are shop assistant or cashier, cleaner, secretary, nurse, and office person. Instead, the most common occupations of men are ADP (automatic data processing) director or programmer, manager of a business enterprise, lorry driver, machine and engine mechanic, and mechanical engineer or technician. (Statistics Finland 2003:43.) This means that it is not grave stereotyping to present women as nurses and men as technicians in textbooks, as it only reflects the predominating situation in contemporary Finnish society.

However, as Michel claims, textbooks should strive to broaden the worldview of children and youngsters, and it is therefore questionable to present the prevailing unequal situation such as it is without any criticism or suggested alternatives, and thus help to reproduce the division of labour according to gender (Michel 1986:48-49; Lahelma 1990b:55-56). This is important especially because women's occupations are traditionally lowly paid. For instance, society pays more for the

people who take care of the machines than for the people who take care of the next generation of children (Lahelma 1990a:13). Women also get less salary than men do for the same amount of work in every general sector of working life, including education sector (Statistics Finland 2003:47-51; Yli-Kovero 2004). This is the prevailing situation in Finland, but I think any educational material should not accept it as a satisfactory state of affairs.

Generally, men are presented as athletic and interested in sports in textbooks (Michel 1986:52). According to the statistics, however, Finnish women exercise as often as men do and they also have as many different forms of exercising as men have. Both women's and men's most popular forms of exercise are walking, working out at home, cycling, and swimming. (Statistics Finland 2003:99-100.) The traditional roles of women and men are more clearly seen at home, where women spend markedly more time on housework than men do. Housework is also divided according to gender, so that women generally prepare the meals, clean up, take care of the children and clothes, go shopping, and wash up. Men in turn usually take care of the maintenance and repairing of the car, the maintenance of heating and water supply, and all kind of repairing and construction work. (Statistics Finland 2003:94-95.) According to the statistics, however, Finnish men in general do more housework today than in the 1980s, and this development will probably continue. It would thus be practical if textbooks presented both genders doing housework, taking part in family life, and performing tasks that require technical skill, instead of reinforcing the traditional gender roles.

Finally, it is important to know what women and men themselves think about the situation in Finnish society today. According to Statistics Finland (2003:101), 54% of women and 70% of men think that equality is implemented well at workplace, and 82% of female students and 89% of males think that equality is implemented well at schools. However, 85% of women and 64% of men think that men's status in Finnish society is better than that of women (Statistics Finland 2003:101). Equality is therefore not fully achieved in contemporary Finnish society, although there have been many improvements since the turn of the 20th century.

4 THE CENTRAL CONCEPTS OF THE TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the three key concepts of the present study: stereotype, sexism and the hidden curriculum. The terms 'stereotype' and 'sexism' are closely connected, as a large number of stereotypes in a textbook is an indicator of sexism, which means discrimination based on sex (Michel 1986:15). Stereotypical gender roles are common in textbooks, and they form a part of the hidden curriculum that instils into girls and boys limited views on their own and the opposite sex (Michel 1986; see Broady 1986). The next section defines more thoroughly the concept of the stereotype; Section 4.2 introduces the concept of sexism; and Section 4.3 discusses the significance of the hidden curriculum.

4.1 Stereotype

In general, stereotype means "something confirming to a general pattern and lacking individual distinguishing marks or qualities" (Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary 1995). In the course of years, however, the term has acquired a more common pejorative meaning: it is "a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and represents an oversimplified opinion, emotional attitude, or uncritical judgement" (Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary 1995). According to these oversimplified opinions and uncritical judgements about gender, women are traditionally described as weak, intuitive, dependent, passive, emotionally expressive, submissive, and nurturing. Men, in contrast, are portrayed as strong, analytical, independent, active, unemotional, dominant, and inexpressive. (eg. Forisha 1978:23-24; Saarnivaara 1990:89; Johnson 1997:61.) These are typical gender stereotypes that place women and men on the opposite ends of a continuum of personal traits, which is where the term 'opposite sex' has probably originated (Johnson 1997:61).

According to traditional stereotypes, women's most important sphere of life is home and the family, in other words, the private life, while men belong to work and to wider society and represent the public life (Forisha 1978:23-24; Saarnivaara 1990:89-90). Thus, gender stereotypes crystallise the beliefs and the ideas about women's and men's nature, purpose, and position in society (Saarnivaara 1990:89).

They are assumptions and expectations about the characteristics and the tasks of women and men, but unfortunately they easily become a part of people's self-image and worldview, thus restricting the choice of different roles and identities (Määttä and Turunen 1991:18).

Several studies have been made in order to demonstrate the differences between women and men, but the results have usually been inconclusive or even contradictory. The largest differences are naturally found in the area of physical abilities, but otherwise the differences are modest. (Forisha 1978:25-28; Mischel 1993:510; Hyyppä 1995:22-31, 116-118.) Several studies have found few differences between women and men in cognitive and emotional areas, and in these cases, only the averages of test scores have been different. In other words, although men on the average are often found to be more aggressive than women are, some individual women may still be more aggressive than most men are. This is because these kinds of studies do not tell much about the individuals behind the average scores. (Forisha 1978:25-28; Hyyppä 1995:22-31, 116-118.) Furthermore, as Mischel (1993:510) points out, many studies have found that the same individual behaves very differently across situations, and it is hence difficult to determine to what extent a person is masculine or feminine. It may also be complicated to decide whether a particular characteristic of males or females results from biology, and is hence an inherited and innate feature of a certain sex, or whether it is learned and acquired in social interaction and results thus from the culture that the individual is a part of.

In conclusion, the differences between the sexes are based more on people's imagination than on reality. However, these imagined differences create sexist stereotypes that appear also in school textbooks. The stereotypes in textbooks in turn may have far-reaching consequences for both boys and girls. Chapter 5 discusses these effects together with other studies on textbooks and gender roles.

4.2 Sexism

The undue use of gender stereotypes can be called sexism, which means all kinds of discrimination based on sex. Sexism includes all the "practices, prejudices and ideologies that treat one sex as inferior to the other in worth and status". (Michel 1986:11, 15.) Hyyppä (1997:21) defines sexism as all kinds of underestimation and

disparaging of women. He states that sexism can be seen in the distribution of labour and in the fact that masculine characteristics are often considered as positive and feminine as negative. In school textbooks, sexism can often be detected in the grammar, vocabulary, and in certain expressions that seem innocent but nevertheless conceal a sexist message. These kinds of expressions are, for instance, "she is as fast as a boy", "she has succeeded even though she is a woman", or "she has done quite well for a girl", because they imply that it is a handicap to be born female. It is also sexist to use masculine pronouns when referring to people in general, or to use common occupational words only in masculine forms, as in *postman* instead of mail carrier. (Action Handbook 1985:46; Michel 1986:53-54.)

A textbook is generally defined as sexist if it depicts women and men in stereotypical activities that do not correspond to the diversity of their activities in reality. Some scholars also suggest that a textbook which depicts the prevailing unequal situation without criticising it or offering alternatives is also sexist, because it helps to transmit the stereotypes and consequently sustain the prevailing inequality. (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:51; Michel 1986:48-49; Lahelma 1990b:55-56.) Scholars do not agree on this last point, but as the Finnish national curriculum considers the equality between the sexes as "an important part of the value basis for the school" (Framework 1994:17), in the present study, I will take the perspective that textbooks can be expected to transmit open-minded and unprejudiced values, despite the possibly prejudiced prevailing situation in real society.

Several studies conducted on the request of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) support this conclusion. For example, according to Dunnigan's study that was conducted in Canada,

> They [textbooks] are supposed to be *educational tools.* Young people should be able to find not only a reflection of their environment mirrored therein, but other topics, capable of broadening their intellectual and creative horizons and preparing them for further changes in society. (Dunnigan 1982:176 as quoted by Michel 1986:48; emphasis original.)

According to the same source, textbooks should also depict new career possibilities that may not have been available for previous generations, but which are potential options for contemporary young people. As was mentioned above, these goals are in accordance with the Finnish national curriculum (Framework 1994:17). In conclusion, it is not enough that textbooks present a neutral and non-stereotypical

view of gender roles, because pupils are overwhelmed with traditional gender ideology promoted by the media and the environment. To be able to advance equality in society, the gender ideology promoted in textbooks has to be modern and even path breaking. (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:51.)

4.3 The hidden curriculum

The concept of the hidden curriculum refers to a phenomenon that researchers found in the United States in the 1960s (Broady 1986:101). This phenomenon can be described as a partial contradiction between the official curricula and the actual things learned in classrooms. Jackson (1968) found that what pupils learned during the lessons was not only English, geography, or whatever the topic of a lesson – but above all – waiting, sitting quietly, ignoring one's own experiences, and being patient. The term 'hidden curriculum' refers hence to all the requirements pupils are expected to fulfil that are not often a part of the official curriculum. (Rinne 1984:88-93; Broady 1986:33; Lahelma 1990b:27-28; Antikainen et al. 2000:224-225.)

Jackson (1968:11-19) observed that the hidden curriculum was not teachers' intentional indoctrination, but rather a result of routines that were endlessly repeated during a school day. Thus, neither teachers nor pupils may be aware of the things that are learned during school days in addition to the official curriculum, or even contrary to it. The formation of the hidden curriculum does not therefore depend on teachers' actions, but it is a cause of the conditions of schoolwork. (Broady 1986:15.) Lundgren (1972) named these conditions as the "frame factors of the teaching process", and they include the time, the content, the space, the number of pupils, and the composition of the group. These factors refer to the artificial circumstances of schoolwork, including the length of a lesson, the segmenting of teaching into subjects, the hierarchy of school, and the system of certificates, for example. Other factors that influence the hidden curriculum are the gap between the schoolwork and the pupils' own experiences, the teachers' and pupils' background, and the social duties of school, for instance, selecting pupils, preparing them for the labour market, and educating them as responsible citizens. (Broady 1986:15, 115-116.) As a consequence of the hidden curriculum, children and youngsters learn much that is not mentioned in the official curriculum and may adopt some skills and values even

contrary to it. For example, apart from learning to wait and to sit quietly, pupils may also learn to value the contribution of boys more than that of girls, or to consider girls as unsuitable for certain working careers because of their sex.

Although the official aims of educating girls and boys have become more uniform and equal during the past two decades, the hidden curriculum may still function as an agent that sustains the division of labour according to gender in the everyday life of school (Lahelma 1992:41-42). This phenomenon is called reproduction, and it means recreating the right conditions for the sustaining of some hierarchy or ideology in society: the class structure or the position of males and females in the labour market, for example (Broady 1986:53; Antikainen et al. 2000:226, 235-236). According to Lahelma (1992:42, 118-120), there are several implicit structures and processes in the school institution that differentiate the sexes and can be seen in the practices of school. For instance, teachers often take up a different attitude towards girls and boys and expect different things from them. Some teachers are, for example, more attentive to boys and stricter towards girls. The stereotypical role models in the teaching material also affect pupils' views about their own and the other gender. Finally, the school gives an example of the division of labour according to sex, as men usually hold the administrative posts and lead the school, although most teachers are women. (eg. Michel 1986:23-33; Lahelma 1990b:22-27: 53-54, 72-75; Metso 1992:270-283; Antikainen et al. 2000:237.)

According to Lahelma (1992:42), the hidden curriculum is one of the factors that helps to reproduce the distribution of work and power in society according to gender. She also thinks that pupils learn the importance of males and the "otherness" of females through the hidden curriculum. As Michel (1986:23-24, 31-33) describes it, girls adopt the stereotypical models and choose to become nurses rather than doctors, while boys get confirmation for their competence to pursue the highest positions in working life. This way the hidden curriculum may have an enormous effect on pupils' lives. At first, pupils learn, for instance, that what boys do is more important than what girls do, but when these lessons begin to accumulate, pupils may adopt whole value systems that are based on sexism.

Therefore the hidden curriculum is often seen as a negative factor that hinders and restricts pupils from using their full potential at school, and this may also affect the pupils' opportunities later in life. However, some scholars do not see the hidden curriculum as so negative a factor. According to Meri (1992:214-215), the hidden

curriculum may be useful as it helps pupils to acquire such working habits that are needed during their studies. Meri also suggests that the official curriculum and the hidden curriculum may work well together and teach pupils a lot about the changing world and different phenomena. Moreover, teachers may better educate children and youngsters when they are allowed to bring their personality into the teaching process, rather than strictly follow the curriculum and try to avoid any deviations from the official plans (Meri 1992:215). However, Meri does not deal with gender roles in his study, and therefore in the present study, I will take the perspective that the hidden curriculum is harmful when it teaches children and youngsters limited views on gender roles according to the traditional stereotypes.

In conclusion, stereotypes and other forms of sexism in textbooks are a manifestation of the hidden curriculum that may instil into youngsters limited views on gender roles. Before finding out whether the *News* series contains these kinds of stereotypes and sexist language, it is necessary to examine the body of research on gender roles and textbooks, which is the topic of the next chapter.

5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON TEXTBOOKS AND GENDER ROLES

This chapter deals with several studies that have been concerned with school textbooks and gender roles. The first section presents three Finnish studies that show what pupils themselves think about gender roles. This is an important question, because stereotypical gender roles in textbooks are less a problem, if pupils have non-stereotypical and equal conceptions of gender despite of them. If pupils do, however, have stereotypical gender attitudes, it is important that textbooks do not reinforce them but strive to change them to more open-minded views. Section 5.2 gives an overview of the type of gender roles Finnish textbooks generally promote. There are numerous studies conducted on the issue. Finally, Section 5.3 discusses the effects of sexist stereotypes in textbooks on pupils.

5.1 Pupils' conceptions of gender roles

This section presents three studies on Finnish pupils' conceptions of gender roles. Tarmo (1989) concentrated in her study on primary school pupils' conceptions of gender. She asked ninety-two girls and 116 boys aged seven to twelve years to write two essays, one on the theme "An ordinary girl" and another on "An ordinary boy". The purpose of these essays was to find out whether the girls and boys had stereotypical conceptions of the opposite or their own gender. The results of the study indicated that an ordinary girl was depicted as calm, quiet, dutiful, and tidy in her appearance. In general, the girl was described in terms of daily routines and social relationships more often than the boy was. The girl was also portrayed as obeying rules and liking to take care of animals and other things. (Tarmo 1989:14, 62-67.)

The ordinary boy, instead, was described more often than the ordinary girl was in terms of sports and activities, entertainment he likes, skills, and success at school. He was described in terms of what he owns and what he wants to do when he grows up. An interesting feature also associated with the ordinary boy was distracting others and breaking the rules. Boys themselves almost as much as girls brought this feature up in their essays. (Tarmo 1989:62-67.) As Tarmo (1989:56, 66) points out, this may mean that boys are in a way proud of their disobedience and therefore want to bring it up in their descriptions of the ordinary boy. Another interesting point was that boys disparaged the ordinary girl much more than girls did the ordinary boy. Only a few girls disparaged the ordinary boy by calling names, but boys used also intentional nonsense and sexual disparaging when describing the ordinary girl. (Tarmo 1989:59.) Although only a small minority of boys disparaged the ordinary girl, according to Tarmo, it indicated that boys saw a woman as representing two controversial roles: empathetic caretaker and mother on the one hand, and sexual object on the other.

The general conclusion of the study was that pupils do have some stereotypes about gender, because they associate characteristics to a person only by knowing his or her gender. The stereotypes in turn are in accordance with the traditional roles of women and men. As we saw above, the girl, or the future woman, takes care of her duties, obeys rules, and nurtures others; the boy, or the future man, is an individualist interested in sports and entertainment, and he can disobey rules. The development of

these kinds of gender roles could be seen also in what pupils emphasised in their essays. Girls emphasised rules, duties, and emotional attitude towards things, whereas boys emphasised appearances, skills, and success at school. According to Tarmo (1989:70), the boys' way to describe their peers reflects the role of a man, as success and appearances are important in public life, and the disparaging of the ordinary girl may be an indication of the power that men seek in relation to women.

In another study, Turunen (1991) used a similar method to Tarmo to find out what kind of conceptions of gender children and youngsters have. She asked forty-seven girls and thirty-seven boys from different levels of the Finnish education system to write an essay relating to gender. Girls wrote on the theme "If I were a boy" and boys on "If I were a girl". The purpose of these essays was to find out how girls and boys depict each other and what attributes they relate to each other. (Turunen 1991:220.)

The results of the analysis showed that the youngest pupils (eleven-year-olds) seemed to consider the two sexes as most different. They differentiated the occupations of males and females, so that if a boy were a girl, she would be a hairdresser, a caretaker, or a nurse, and if a girl were a boy, he would be a mason, a pilot, or an engineer. Boys and girls described how they would wear different clothes, have different friends and hobbies, and behave differently, if they represented the opposite gender. Boys depicted girls as tender, tidy, and hard-working, while girls described boys as unruly, untidy, and badly-behaved. An interesting detail was that while most of the girls reported that they were happy being females, most of the boys also reported they would prefer to be girls. (Turunen 1991:220-225.)

Pupils on eighth form of secondary school (fourteen-year-olds) differentiated the genders notably less than the younger pupils did. They found many things in common with the opposite gender relating to leisure time activities and school, although there were also differences. For example, girls thought that boys were interested in cars, motorcycles, and repairing things, while boys saw girls as interested in fashion, boys, and their own looks. Pupils also thought that girls had to do more housework compared to boys and that boys were freer to come and go compared to girls. At this age, most of the boys and also half of the girls reported that they would prefer to be males. (Turunen 1991:221-225.)

The oldest pupils (seventeen-year-olds) could already see alternatives for the prevalent gender system, but they also had stereotypical conceptions of gender in many ways. For instance, boys were seen as striving for high-income occupations and girls for a good husband and a family. They also thought that a man should be the breadwinner and the head of a family. Thus, although the youngsters seemed to be aware of the arbitrary nature of society's expectations and norms for genders and expressed a wish to change the unequal situation, their own lives seemed to fulfil these traditional expectations and norms. At this age, girls saw positive as well as negative sides in being a boy, but boys almost despised the idea of being a girl. (Turunen 1991:221-225.)

Because the sample of the study was only eighty-four pupils and the method of interpreting pupils' essays leaves many questions about the validity of the results, the conclusions of the study are only suggestive. Turunen concluded that girls seemed to be content with their role and possibilities in primary school, but when they reached adolescence, they became increasingly confused and uncertain of their role and possibilities in society. In contrast, boys' contentment with their gender seemed to increase with the age. Turunen came to a conclusion that especially during adolescence, girls and boys need support from adults to be able to make choices that differ from traditional gender roles and expectations. (Turunen 1991:221-225.)

The final study presented here deals with girls' and boys' conceptions of heroes and heroines, but the topic enabled the examination of pupils' ideas of gender roles as well. With the help of questionnaires, Näre (1991) studied the conceptions of gender roles of nearly 500 pupils, half girls and half boys, aged nine to fifteen years. The results of the study indicated that nearly half of the boys and 29% of the girls described a woman as a physical being: beautiful, weak, or emotional. Emotionality was defined as a physical characteristic, because it was used almost solely as a sign of women's weakness and as if it was a biologically inherited characteristic. Pupils also associated with women mental and intellectual weakness, social vices, and traditional roles. (Näre 1991:60-62.)

When Näre counted together all the characteristics that emphasised women's physical, mental, or social weakness, she found that nearly half of the girls and 66% of boys saw women either physically, mentally, or socially subordinate to men or otherwise weak. In contrast, 75% of the pupils associated men with physical, psychological, or social strength. In conclusion, while 66% of the boys described

girls with characteristics that emphasised weakness, only 21% of the girls depicted men as weak. Furthermore, 75% of the boys saw their own gender as physically, mentally, or socially strong, while half of the girls emphasised the mental, intellectual, or social strength of their gender. (Näre 1991:60-61.)

Näre came to a conclusion that a woman represents an object especially for boys, while a man represents an active being for both genders. These different attitudes towards men and women only grow stronger in the course of years, as boys continue adopting society's prevailing conceptions of women. Girls also begin to look at themselves through the eyes of masculine society and adapt to their role. Hence masculinity becomes a dominant factor in the pupils' conceptions of gender. As boys become aware of the advantages of their gender, their tendency to favour their own sex increases. It seems thus that although pupils accept equality of genders as a principle (about 79% of girls and 73% of boys gave support to equality in the study), it is still difficult for boys in particular to internalise it. (Näre 1991:62-64.)

Näre also thought that pupils' resistance of traditional gender roles ends up reproducing the prevailing power relations in society, because children and youngsters lack functional ways of affecting the predominating dispositions about gender. Although youngsters are already aware of the shortcomings of the system, they will finally give in to the prevailing gender ideology. A change in the prevailing system would require, in addition to the change of general attitudes, that pupils actively resist the prevalent gender ideology. (Näre 1991:68.) School textbooks could give some support for this change by depicting women and men in more diverse roles that are not necessarily in accordance with the prevailing gender ideology.

In conclusion, all the studies indicate that the predominating gender ideology is too powerful for pupils to resist it on their own, and they will thus adopt stereotypical attitudes towards their own and the other gender. The studies also indicate that children and youngsters need more support for their resistance of the prevailing gender ideology – perhaps school textbooks could be one of the ways of giving it.

5.2 Gender roles in school textbooks

Gender roles in school textbooks have been extensively studied during the past decades. Especially after the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural

Organisation (UNESCO) launched a programme against sexism in children's literature and school textbooks in the 1980s the number of studies dealing with gender roles in textbooks increased all around the world (Michel 1986:7, 11-12). Because gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles in some societies differ from those of Finnish society, this section concentrates only to studies dealing with gender roles in Finnish textbooks. This is practical also because the body of research on gender roles in textbooks is overwhelming and needs to be restricted for this report. According to Metso (1992:277-278), Finnish teachers do not pay much attention to gender roles in textbooks because they believe the authors concentrate on the gender issue and that the textbooks do not therefore contain gender stereotypes. This section will examine whether the Finnish studies support this conclusion. The studies are presented in a chronological order so that the most recent and thus the most relevant studies are presented last.

Sumu (1968) was one of the first Finnish researchers who conducted a study on the gender roles in Finnish textbooks. She studied the textbooks of the Finnish language, Swedish, religion, history, civics and vocational guidance used in 1966 in lower secondary schools in Finland. The method of the study was content analysis. The results showed that 70-75% of all the gender-specific expressions in textbooks designated males. Males and females were also depicted in traditional occupational roles, and they had stereotypical attributes: women were generally depicted as weak and small, men strong and tall. (Sumu 1968:219-234.)

Huttunen and Happonen (1974) conducted a small-scale study on gender roles in two textbooks used in vocational guidance in Finnish lower secondary schools in 1974. The method of the study combined quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The results of the study showed that the illustrations of the textbooks portrayed males two times more often than females. Furthermore, from the illustrations that portrayed a person in occupational activities, more than two thirds portrayed a man. Although textbook authors appealed equally often to both men and women when talking about different occupations, none of the expressions relating to work of higher status was directed to women. The conclusion of the study was that the textbooks implicitly direct girls and boys to traditional occupations through expressions that appeal to stereotypical characteristics. The domination of males in illustrations may also discourage girls from pursuing certain careers. Finally, the analysed textbooks emphasised the division of labour according to gender by

portraying men in traditionally masculine occupations and women in traditionally feminine ones. (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:75, 78-92.)

In her study, Cleve (1984:330-333) concentrated on English language textbooks used in Finnish primary and secondary schools in 1984. The aim of the study was to find out how the textbooks depicted women. The results of the analysis showed that the textbooks promoted traditional roles for both boys and girls. Most of the women were presented as housewives or in low-income jobs, an academic career was not presented as appropriate for a woman, women took care of the housework and were rarely seen outside home. These depictions were not dependent on who the authors of the textbooks were, as one of the textbooks was written by four women and it still contained similar role models. This led Cleve to wonder why the textbooks presented such stereotypical depictions that did not correspond to the reality in Finnish society, but she did not come to a conclusion of whether it was intentional politics or just unintentional reflection of the prevailing attitudes. (Cleve 1984:330-333.)

Palmu (1992) studied the gender ideology in three primers used in Finnish primary schools at the beginning of 1990s. The method combined quantitative and qualitative content analysis, which was based on following categories: men, women, girls, boys, feminine and masculine fantasy characters, and feminine and masculine animals. The results of the study showed that the primers were male-dominated in almost every area of the analysis. Men and boys appeared more often than women and girls in the headings of two primers out of three, and the headings referring to males were often proper names, while headings referring to women were common nouns like mother and granny. Out of 1,108 gender-specific expressions in the primers the largest amount referred to boys. The gender-specific illustrations in turn portrayed girls and boys and men and women nearly as often, but the illustrations that portrayed a fantasy character depicted mainly masculine characters. From the illustrations portraying animals only 25% depicted a female. (Palmu 1992:301-313.)

The realistic characters of the textbooks represented traditional gender roles: the father was depicted going to work and to a music shop, and the mother taking care of home and the family. The textbooks mentioned only a few occupations for females, for instance, teacher, but males were offered several different occupations. The historical persons presented in the textbooks were males. The fictional characters were also mainly males and they talked more than their female counterparts. Palmu concluded that the difference between masculine and feminine realistic characters

was not notable, but the masculine animals and fantasy characters seemed to maintain the masculinity of the primers. (Palmu 1992:301-313.)

Lahelma (1992) studied the ways in which the genders are differentiated in the Finnish national curriculum. The aim of the study was to find out, for example, how textbooks reflect the division of society according to gender and how the curriculum itself reflects the aspirations for gender equality. The textbook analysis concentrated on the subjects that explicitly dealt with gender equality, for example, environmental studies, civics, vocational guidance, and history. An English textbook series was also included in the scope of the analysis. (Lahelma 1992:3-4, 58-59, 69.)

The results of the textbook analysis showed that the life sphere of males was more often in the centre of the attention than that of females. For example, in a history textbook, there were only two female leading characters, a wife and a daughter, in contrast to thirty males. Women were absent both in chapters dealing with political history and chapters describing the everyday life of common people. Thus, although the textbooks did not explicitly deal with the division of power in society, the hidden curriculum indicated a domination of males. The history books seemed hence to take for granted the idea of the importance of the life sphere of males compared to that of females. (Lahelma 1992:74, 77-79, 117-120.)

The presentation of working life in the textbooks in turn reflected the division of labour prevalent in Finnish society. For instance, although the texts did not mention the gender of a representative of an occupation, the illustrations portrayed a person of certain gender according to the prevalent situation in society (a male technician, a female nurse). The textbooks did not seem to support the idea of dividing the responsibilities of parenthood and nurturing more equally between women and men either. For instance, in an English language textbook series, the role of the mother was dominant and included housework and scolding and worrying about the children. In contrast, the role of the father was smaller and included leisure time activities with children outside home. The mother was never depicted in this kind of a role, and the father was never depicted doing housework or worrying about the children. (Lahelma 1992:69-71, 74, 77-79, 117-120.)

The general conclusion of the study was that the education is the same for boys and girls, but the school seems to guide boys towards technology and science, and girls towards languages, aesthetic environment, and the knowledge of human nature. Lahelma concluded hence that the subject choices and the groupings based on gender

reinforce the division of life spheres between girls and boys. The seemingly neutral official curriculum reinforces hence the gender differentiation, and transmits society's gender ideology to pupils through these practices that are often considered self-evident and natural. (Lahelma 1992:117-120.)

Lindroos (1997) studied the ways in which gender is produced in classroom discourse through discursive strategies. She observed and analysed three lessons from five teachers in two Finnish primary schools, and included the textbooks and other teaching materials used into the scope of the analysis. The study combined several different methods, including quantitative content analysis. The results of the content analysis of classroom discourse, textbooks, and other teaching materials indicated that only 26% of all the gender-specific expressions designated females, while 74% of them designated males. (Lindroos 1997:3-4, 111-116.)

Lindroos also noted that expressions designating females were usually related to family relations. For instance, the most common words designating females were 'mother', 'girl', 'woman', and 'wife'. In contrast, the expressions designating males were often related to other things, for example to occupation. The most common words designating males were: 'father', 'man', 'master', 'boy', 'Vikings', 'brother', 'emperor', 'batman', 'farmer', and 'officer'. Because there were almost three times more expressions designating males than females, the teaching material and the classroom discourse in general offered more variety in roles to boys than to girls. For instance, only three expressions designating females indicated an occupation, in contrast to thirty-seven indicating an occupation for males. Males were also half more often referred to by their names than females. (Lindroos 1997:111-116.)

Lindroos concluded that the school offers a narrow view of gender that is unquestioned, and it is teachers' responsibility to decide how they deal with the issue of gender and equality. However, most of the teachers do not pay attention to this issue, and thus they unconsciously convey the traditional views to the children, who do not question the teacher's views. Thus pupils adopt society's prevailing conceptions of gender as reflected through the teaching material and the classroom discourse. (Lindroos 1997:133-134, 172-173.)

In addition to primers, Palmu (2003) has studied the mother-tongue textbooks of Finnish language from the perspective of gender. She observed ninety mother-tongue lessons in two Finnish lower secondary schools during the school year 1994-1995, and analysed the classroom discourse and the teaching materials used, including the

textbooks. The data also included interviews of teachers and writings of pupils. The objective of the study was to find out how gender is constructed and produced in cultural texts at school. The method was ethnography, which emphasises the importance of the field where the research is conducted, in this case, the physical field of school. The study itself is a textual field that consists of descriptions and interpretations of the physical field. (Palmu 2003:1, 5, 26-32.)

The results of the textbook analysis showed that the gender differences manifested themselves in repetitive stereotypical depictions of gender. The portrayals of women and men especially in literature abstracts were narrow and emphasised masculinity. The words designating females in textbooks referred more often to marital status and family connection than those designating males. For example, the words 'wife', 'Miss', 'aunt', 'sister', 'godmother', 'bride', and 'Mrs' were typical expressions designating females. Masculine characters were presented more often than feminine characters in active roles and they dominated the positions of leading characters in stories. There were also at least two times more masculine fictional and historical characters than feminine ones. The classroom discourse in general indicated that boys got more positive attention for their work than girls did. Boys were also more often than girls considered as very gifted and rewarded for it, while girls had to work harder to earn good grades. (Palmu 2003:103-138, 153-154; Ylönen 2003.)

Lempiäinen (2003) conducted a study on sex and gender in 748 textbooks used in basic and subject studies of sociology in the Universities of Helsinki and Tampere during years 1946-2000. She was interested in how sex and gender are outlined in the textbooks and how the books define women and men. The results of the analysis indicated that sex and gender do not have an important position in general sociology. However, when the concepts were present in the text, Lempiäinen detected a difference between the positions of males and females. For instance, men more often than women were present in the text without any reference to "the other gender", but when women appeared in the text, the relationship between women and men was usually brought up. In other words, the texts presented society as "men's world", where men were more often than women present and considered as a neutral gender, in contrast to women, who were the marked gender. (Lempiäinen 2003:14, 29-31, 168, 172-173, 202; Sandström 2003.)

The gender difference that was apparent in the textbooks was the common stereotype that women were nurturers and men rulers. For example, the role of females seemed to be to nurture and please men, and the role of men to lead others. This caused Lempiäinen to conclude that the textbooks are partly sexist. She also called for more attention to the concepts of sex and gender in social studies in general and not just in women's studies, because otherwise researchers will not be able to notice the importance of gender in certain issues that are affected by it. (Lempiäinen 2003:14, 29-31, 168, 172-173, 202; Sandström 2003.)

Many Master's theses have also been written on gender roles in textbooks. For example, Härkönen and Viitala (1995) have analysed three series of English textbooks used in Finnish lower secondary schools before the publication of the *News*. The objective of the study was to find out whether the series supported the regulations concerning equality of the sexes in the Finnish national curriculum. The methods were both quantitative and qualitative. The results showed that males dominated nearly all the areas examined. The illustrations and texts offered more occupational roles and hobbies to males than to females. The roles of males were also more many-sided than those of females were, and most of the main characters of chapters were males. The number of clauses with male agents outnumbered those with female agents. The conclusion of the study was that the analysed textbook series did not support the regulations concerning equality of the sexes in the national curriculum. (Härkönen and Viitala 1995:1-3, 154-155.) Ruponen and Takala (1985) and Hjorth (1997) attained similar results in their theses on gender roles in English language textbooks, and Salmu (2002) reported similar results with Finnish language textbooks.

In conclusion, the sexist stereotypes in textbooks continue to be a problem from decade after another. In the 1960s, the textbooks seemed to contain very strong stereotyping in addition to being male-dominated. In the 1970s, the occupational roles in textbooks were heavily distributed according to gender, and books were also male-dominated. Even in the 1980s, the textbooks still promoted similar gender roles despite the feminist revolution. The studies conducted in the 1990s and more recently seem to confirm that although the textbooks may have got rid of the strongest stereotypes, they are still heavily male-dominated and promote traditional gender roles. Similar results have been attained in studies conducted in Europe and all around the world (see Michel 1986). Although the Finnish national curriculum is

neutral in relation to gender, the textbooks based on the curriculum seem to become gender-specific. They consider masculine as a norm and feminine as an exception from the norm. (Gordon and Lahelma 1992:314-325.) It would hence be in accordance with the Finnish national curriculum if the authors and publishers of textbooks paid attention to this problem and strove to change the situation.

5.3 The effects of sexist stereotypes in textbooks

The effects of sexist stereotypes in textbooks have been extensively studied during the past few decades. Michel (1986:31-33) reports on several studies conducted all over the world for UNESCO that show the effects of sexism on the education and career choices of girls. Girls are, for example, discouraged from studying technical and scientific subjects by teachers and textbooks alike and they are encouraged to choose traditional occupations such as nursing. Textbooks promote traditional gender roles and ignore women all together in subjects such as science. Studies also show how the stereotypes can distort the perception each sex has of the other. For example, children adopt quite early the traditional stereotypes especially concerning occupations, and thus boys tend to underestimate the career possibilities of girls, and girls often overestimate the ambition of boys. (Michel 1986:31-33.)

One of the clearest consequences of stereotyping, however, is called a "motive to avoid success" or "girls' fear of success". According to a study conducted in the United States, girls who are afraid of success often think that they cannot be at the same time both feminine and successful (Baruch 1974:199 as quoted by Michel 1986:32). In other words, they are afraid of not being feminine and socially acceptable if they succeed in their education and career, and it is impossible for them to combine success with stereotypical image of women. As a result, girls may not perform well at school. Girls' fear of success increases with age as the pressure to conform grows, and it reaches its highest point at the age of fifteen. (Baruch 1974:199 as quoted by Michel 1986:32; see Mischel 1993:525.)

In conclusion, the sexist stereotypes in textbooks may contribute to the development of a feeling of inferiority, low self-esteem, and a low level of creativity. They may also cause belittlement, fear of success, wrong and, above all, restricted career choices. (Michel 1986:31-33.) Sexist stereotypes also restrict girls'

independence and opportunities on the one hand, and inhibit boys from expressing their emotions and natural feelings on the other (Michel 1986:23). Sexist stereotypes at school and in the teaching material may hence have far-reaching consequences for both boys and girls.

6 THE METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH MATERIAL

This chapter presents the methodology and the research material of the present study. First, Section 6.1 presents the research questions and the hypotheses about the results of the analysis. Section 6.2 in turn describes thoroughly the method of the study. It is called contextual content analysis, and it involves quantitative categorising of the data and putting the observations into their context, which is the qualitative part of the analysis. Finally, Section 6.3 describes in detail the research material of the study: *The News Headlines Courses 1-8* series for Finnish lower secondary schools.

6.1 The research questions

The objective of the present study is to analyse the texts, the tapes, and the illustrations of the *News* series and to find out what kind of gender roles the textbooks explicitly or implicitly promote. The analysis concentrates on three aspects of gender roles: 1) whether the genders are equally present in the texts, headings, and illustrations; 2) whether the textbooks present both genders equally in different roles, especially in occupational roles and family roles; and 3) whether the textbooks in general promote gender equality or reinforce gender stereotypes through the hidden curriculum. In order to find out the answers to the research questions, the study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The first part of the analysis categorises the data quantitatively, and the second part describes and compares the data qualitatively. The conclusions of the study are attained by combining these two analyses and perspectives.

Because of the wealth of research that shows how often textbooks present stereotypical depictions of either or both genders, especially of females, and how

often males dominate the publications, it is practical to base the hypotheses of the present study on that body of research. Thus, my first hypothesis is that the male characters dominate also the *News* series. I also hypothesise that the series assigns stereotypical roles according to gender, especially relating to occupational roles. One characteristic of language textbooks seems to be that the gender issue is neglected and ignored in general, but the authors try to make this up by including one or two unconventional characters in the textbooks, a female pilot or a male ballet dancer, for example (Lahelma 1990b:56). Hence, my third hypothesis is that the *News* in general reinforces the gender stereotypes, although some efforts of promoting equality may also be observed.

Each textbook has often a slightly different team of writers even within the same series or under the same publisher, and therefore the results of the present textbook study cannot be generalised to any other English language textbook series, not to mention to textbooks in other subjects. However, as pointed out before, the *News* is a highly popular series of the dominant publisher of school materials and has been widely used in schools all over the country in the school year 2002-2003 (Eero Lehtonen, personal communication, June 2004; http://w3.wsoy.fi/oppi/index.jsp). Because of this influential position of the *News* textbooks, it is worthwhile to find out whether this particular series promotes sexist values among youngsters.

As Johnsen (1993:26) points out, there does not exist a general consensus on the evaluation criteria for textbooks. Therefore researchers have to choose the methods and the perspectives of a textbook study from a wide variety of different possibilities that are all used in different analyses. The methods can be quantitative, qualitative, or both, and the researchers can use different approaches, pay attention to different details, and choose to concentrate on only texts, only illustrations, or both, and analyse only one textbook or one hundred. There is hence a possibility that researchers may tailor the methods to suit their purpose, as Johnsen suggests (1993:23).

However, the present study is conducted independently of any interested parties (specialists, authors, publishers, and authorities), and it does not have a purpose other than to find out what kind of gender roles the textbooks promote. Furthermore, although the choice of methods is arbitrary in the sense that they have been chosen from a wide variety of possibilities, the methods of the present study are not unreliable. They are based on the UNESCO's analytical checklist for the

identification of sexism in school textbooks created by Michel, and many scholars have used them in studies on gender roles (Michel 1986; eg. Palmu 1992; Lindroos 1997). The next section describes the methodology of the present textbook analysis.

6.2 The contextual content analysis

The method of the present study is called contextual content analysis. According to Grönfors (1982:160-161), content analysis is a useful method when studying the ways in which different things, gender roles for example, are dealt with in a text. Content analysis includes, for instance, comparing the frequency of single words, phrases, or things (characters or occupational roles, for example) in a text, or the space dedicated to them in a piece of work. Johnsen (1993:141) calls the first type of study a "frequency analysis" and the second type a "spatial analysis".

The purpose of the content analysis is to get the research data to a form that is easier to perceive, and thus to help in drawing the conclusions. The conclusions do not, however, pop up straight from the analysed data, because content analysis can only give direction to theoretical discussion. (Grönfors 1982:160-161.) According to Pietilä (1976:54-55), content analysis is a scientific way of making observations and collecting data from a document. The use of content analysis is justifiable when the study is based on a documentary data, as it is in the present study on a textbook series. A content analysis can be quantitative, qualitative, or both, as in the present study. (Pietilä 1976:51-55.)

The present textbook analysis includes categorising the data according to the principles of content analysis. The analysis of characters is based on four different categories for each gender that seemed to develop in the data: 1) real characters, 2) realistic characters, 3) fictional characters, and 4) animals. The distinction between different types of characters and animals is necessary, because it is likely that pupils are more inclined to identify with the human characters than with animals. They may also be more inclined to identify with real or realistic characters, which may exist, than with fictional characters, which are clearly from fantasy world. Real and realistic characters may therefore influence pupils' conceptions of gender roles more than fictional characters and animals do, and hence they form the most important categories. In addition, it is useful to find out whether the textbooks present either

gender more often than the other as an animal or as a real person. The categories are partly adaptations from Palmu (1992:305), who used in her study of Finnish primers categories women, men, girls, boys, feminine and masculine fantasy characters, and feminine and masculine animals.

The categories of the present analysis require more thorough definitions, and it is practical to start with the most straightforward categories. The category of animals includes all the animals whose sex can be identified on the basis of names and pronouns. It also includes some fictional characters that are close to being animals, for example, Mickey Mouse and Puff the Magic Dragon (*News 1* 193, 207). The category of real characters in turn includes all the people who are known to exist or to have existed. This category contains many famous people, but there are also other people who are considered as real because they are situated in time and place. Examples of real characters are Elvis Presley (*News 2* 115), Michael Paling (*News 1* 72), and Teemu Selänne (*News 1* 15).

The category of realistic characters consists of people who appear in serious or true-life chapters and could exist. However, they are often only a sound on a tape or a picture on a page, which suggests that the textbook authors may have invented them. For instance, a lion-tamer called Sydney Brooks is categorised as a realistic character, because he appears in a serious chapter on animal jobs but is not likely to exist (*News 1* 50). In addition to lion-tamer Sydney Brooks, realistic characters include news reporters that are in contact with the authors of the textbooks (*News 1* 12) and youngsters who tell about their problems at home (*News 2* 171).

The category of fictional characters finally includes all the people and human-like figures that are clearly invented by the textbook authors or are generally known to be fictional. For instance, escaped prisoners called Frankie Stein, Desperate Dan, Winkle Picker, and Doctor Death are most certainly invented by the textbook authors (*News 1* 33). The same can be said about the participants of an animal quiz called Dinah Sore, Anne Ant, and T. Rex (*News 1* 54). Another example of a fictional character is Tarzan (*News 1* 52-53), who is a well-known figure from films, books, and television, and the textbook authors do not even try to present him as a real character.

These categories are aimed at finding out the number of different characters, and not the number of each occurrence of the same character. Thus, the texts and the tapes are analysed together so that the same character appearing in different chapters

and both in the texts and on the tapes is counted only once. However, every reference to a person or an animal whose gender can be identified is considered as 'a character', even if it is only a name in the credits of a song, for example. If a character refers to himself or herself as "I", he or she is still considered as a character, if his or her voice reveals the gender. If the text refers to more than three characters that are not treated as individuals but as a unit, they are not considered as characters. For instance, indefinite expressions such as "123 men" (*News 1* 186) or "lovely ladies" (*News 1* 220) are not considered as characters at all. These coding rules help to concentrate on how many individual role models and objects of identification the textbooks offer for male and female pupils.

In addition to the number of characters, the analysis also pays attention to the sexism inherent in the language. This is because the frequency of the nouns and pronouns designating each gender often illustrates better the sexism in the textbooks than the number of male and female characters (Michel 1986:53). Thus, the analysis finds out how many expressions designating males and females appear in the texts and on the tapes. The analysis also differentiates between 1) proper nouns that designate males and females, and 2) common nouns and pronouns that designate males and females. This differentiation reveals whether either gender is introduced with a name more often than the other is. When analysing sexism inherent in the language, it does not matter whether a word refers to a human being, an animal, a fantasy character, or an object, and thus the four categories for characters are not useful here. The differentiation between a reference by a proper noun and a reference by a common noun or a pronoun is adapted from Lindroos (1997:114).

This differentiation is also useful when trying to define the positions of genders in the textbooks, as a reference by a common noun often indicates the unimportance of a person, and a reference by name the importance of a person. For instance, *News 1* introduces five male travellers: Mr Phileas Fogg, Steven Newman, Yuri Gagarin, Rémy Bricka, and David Springbet (p.60). On the opposite page, there is a picture without a caption of a dancing woman. This can be interpreted so that the male travellers are important, because they are referred to by their whole names, but the woman is not important, because she can only be referred to by a common noun "a woman".

Another way of approaching the issue of gender roles in the textbooks is to find out whether either gender appears in the headings of chapters or articles more often

than the other does. The headings tell much about the most important content of each chapter, and thus it is possible to draw some conclusions of the positions of the genders in the textbooks according to them. An example of a heading that draws attention to gender is also a part of the title of the present study: 'Minna, the Model' (*News 2* 159). Minna is a common female name in Finland, and thus the chapter obviously tells about a woman or a girl named Minna, who is a model. Minna is thus the most important content of the chapter, while males play only supporting roles. (The fact that Minna is a model will be discussed below in Section 8.2 on occupational roles of males and females.)

The next categories of the analysis are related to different roles and activities of characters. The categories are adaptations from Michel (1986:50-52), who suggests paying attention to a character's occupation, marital and family status, and certain activities including sport, hobbies, domestic tasks, and exploration and adventure. However, a pilot study with Michel's ten activity categories indicated that they were overlapping and hence difficult to apply. Furthermore, many activities did not fit into any category, for example stating one's opinion or posing in a picture. Thus, the present study pays special attention to only four types of roles that are often used in textbook studies on gender roles: 1) occupational roles, 2) family roles, 3) sporting roles, and 4) heroic roles. Because there were not enough sporting roles and heroic roles in the textbooks for the quantitative analysis, these roles are analysed only in the qualitative section.

The four roles are important, because they often reflect the traditional gender stereotypes (Michel 1986). For example, the textbooks that can be defined as sexist often depict males at work and generally describe them as active and sporty. Women in turn are depicted as nurturing wives and mothers, who rarely have an occupation or other hobbies than cooking and sewing. Although this is very strong stereotyping, many studies indicate that textbooks often contain stereotypes that emphasise similar differences between the genders (eg. Sumu 1968; Cleve 1984; Michel 1986; Lahelma 1992; Palmu 1992, 2003; Lindroos 1997).

The categories presented above form the basis of the quantitative content analysis of the present study. They are used when categorising the data of the texts and the tapes, but the illustrations require a partly different system because of their special nature. A general principle concerning the illustrations is that they are analysed separately from the texts and the tapes. Hence, if a character's gender identity cannot

be determined without the text, the character is not included in the analysis. For instance, animals do not often carry any easily perceivable signs of gender (or sex), and they are thus left outside the scope of the picture analysis. Fictional characters that resemble animals in turn usually carry signs of gender; clothes and a shape of body for example, and in these cases they are included in the analysis. Mickey Mouse and Goofy, for instance, are considered as masculine characters and hence taken into account.

Another general point concerning the illustrations is that the characters are not categorised according to whether they are real, realistic, or fictional, because it is difficult to make this distinction on the basis of a picture. Instead, the characters are categorised according to whether they appear 1) in photographs or 2) in drawings, cartoons, paintings, and statues. This distinction is based on the conception that drawings, cartoons, paintings, and statues do not convey a similar sense of realism as photographs do (Hietala 1996:43-44). Thus, pupils may be more inclined to identify with the people in photographs than with the characters in drawings and paintings. The differentiation between photographs and drawings is adapted from Härkönen and Viitala (1995).

In some studies, researchers have counted all the occurrences of feminine and masculine characters in illustrations (eg. Michel 1986; Hjorth 1997). However, this practice can be a threat to objectivity, as it may require categorising characters solely on the basis of clothing, hair, or shape of body, as many illustrations are too small or vague for better analysis. This may lead the researchers to use sexist stereotypes as the basis of their categories. For example, a character wearing a pink shirt may be categorised as a female, and a character wearing a tie as a male, although these categorisations are highly questionable. Therefore, instead of counting *all the occurrences of males and females* in the illustrations, the present analysis finds out only *the number of photographs and drawings* that portray males and females. Thus, an illustration that portrays five women and two men is not considered as five occurrences of females and two occurrences of males, but as one illustration that portrays both males and females. It is also more straightforward to determine whether at least one masculine or feminine character appears in an illustration than to find out exactly how many.

The analysis differentiates between illustrations that portray 1) only males, 2) only females, and 3) both males and females. These categories help to avoid

inconsistencies, as each illustration is counted only once. The purpose of these categories is the same as that of the first categories of the texts and the tapes: to find out whether the textbooks pay equal attention to both genders in the number of appearances in the illustrations. The quantitative analysis of illustrations also pays attention to the occupational roles of males and females, but not to family roles, because they did not appear in the illustrations often. The analysis does not find out how many characters represent a certain activity, but the number of illustrations that portray a certain activity. The purpose of these role categories is to find out whether either gender is depicted more work-oriented than the other is.

I have chosen the categories presented above for the quantitative analysis of the texts, tapes, and illustrations, because they are likely to enable me to analyse the textbooks as objectively as possible. To further increase the reliability and the replicability of the present study, I have attached the contents of most of the categories used in the quantitative analysis to the appendixes. Thus, many of the decisions I have made concerning a particular character or a role can be identified from the lists and the tables in the Appendixes A to H.

In addition to the quantitative content analysis, the present study also makes use of qualitative contextual analysis. The contextual content analysis pays attention to the context where the things occur in addition to the frequency of occurrence. It provides descriptive knowledge and gives direction to the conclusions. (Grönfors 1982:160-161.) Thus, the qualitative part of the present analysis is putting the statistics in a context. For example, the occupational roles and family roles of characters are categorised according to gender in the quantitative content analysis, but the qualitative contextual part discusses more thoroughly the types of roles each gender has. The analysis also discusses other types of roles, including sporting roles and heroic roles, and certain themes appearing in the textbooks that may reflect stereotypical attitudes. These kinds of themes are history, science, and technology. Before the actual analysis, however, it is necessary to introduce the object of the analysis, which is the topic of the next section.

6.3 *The News Headlines Courses 1-8*

This section presents the research material of the present study: *The News Headlines Courses 1-8* for Finnish lower secondary schools. The series is targeted at pupils who have started studying English as their first foreign language in the third form of primary school, in other words, at the age of nine. In the Finnish national curriculum, the first foreign language is called an A1-language. Pupils study the A1 language approximately three times a week for forty-five minutes in both primary and lower secondary schools. By the beginning of the lower secondary school, pupils who have English as the A1-language have studied the subject already for four years. (Framework 1994:20-21, 73-75, 121; Westlake et al. 1998:3; The Education System of Finland 2001:35, 62-64.)

The *News* series is a publication of Werner Söderström Ltd (WSOY), which is the dominant publisher of school materials in Finland (http://w3.wsoy.fi/oppi/index.jsp). According to a representative of the publisher, the *News* series was the most widely used English language textbook series in Finland during the school year 2002-2003 (Eero Lehtonen, personal communication, June 2004). There has also been several re-prints of the textbooks since the first printing in 1995 (the first part) and 1996 (the second part). Thus it can be claimed that the *News* series has been a central part of most Finnish pupils' English lessons during their teenage years and has therefore had the potential to affect their conceptions of gender.

The *News* series has two parts: *The News Headlines Courses 1-4* (1995) and *Courses 5-8* (1996). The analysis section uses shortened forms of these names, so that the first part is called "*News 1*" and the second part "*News 2*". The most recent part of the series is *News Flash Courses 1-4* (1998), but according to a representative of the publisher WSOY, it is only a simpler version of *News 1* (personal communication, September 2003). When comparing the two textbooks, it can be confirmed that they are the same book in a slightly differing format (see Westlake et al. 1998). Therefore, the present study concentrates only to the *News Headlines* series. The authors of both *News 1* and *News 2* consist of four men and three women: Paul Westlake, Tapio Koivusalo, Eero Lehtonen, Mikael Davies, Irmeli Nurmi, Eeva-Liisa Pitkänen and Deborah Mason have created the first part; and in the second part, Arja Haavisto has replaced Deborah Mason. The composition of the team is thus quite equal in terms of gender.

Both *News* textbooks are comprised of four courses, and each course in turn is comprised of three sections with different themes, which vary from animals and travelling to music and love. Every section is built on one important chapter called 'Study', which includes the most useful vocabulary and structures of the section. Most of the sections also include an introduction to the theme ('Start Out'), a chapter that deals with grammar ('Think'), a listening exercise ('Listen'), a text with reading comprehension exercises ('Find Out'), and some chapters for free reading ('Read'). In addition to these, many sections often include a chapter that contains topics for discussion ('Talk'), and a chapter that includes lyrics of a song ('Sing'). Some sections also include a chapter that has grammar exercises in a form of a game ('Play'). In the end of each section, there are usually some topics for project work ('Work Out'), and short articles that give additional information on the themes of the section ('Click File').

The present study analyses all the texts of all the sections of the *News* series, including lyrics of songs, captions, and other material in addition to the main body of the text. The present study also analyses the tapes that are a part of every language textbook series, although they are often left outside the scope of textbook studies (eg. Hjorth 1997; Salmu 2002). However, it is important to include the tapes in the analysis, because a large part of the material of the textbooks is on the tapes. Furthermore, the voices on a tape may reveal something important about the gender roles in the textbooks. Finally, the present analysis also includes all kinds of illustrations, photographs, and pictures presented in the *News* series, because, as the saying goes, one picture can tell more than a thousand words, and this is true for the gender roles as well.

7 GENDER ROLES IN *THE NEWS HEADLINES COURSES 1-8*: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the *News* textbooks. First, Section 7.1 reveals how many characters of each gender appeared in the textbooks. Section 7.2 in turn deals with sexism inherent in the language, as it looks at the number and quality of different words designating each gender. Section 7.3

looks at the different roles the characters had in the texts and on the tapes, and finally, the last section discusses the results of the quantitative analysis of the illustrations.

7.1 Characters in the texts and on the tapes

As was mentioned above (p.40), the quantitative analysis of characters in the texts and on the tapes was based on four different categories for each gender: 1) real characters, 2) realistic characters, 3) fictional characters, and 4) animals. Every reference to a person or an animal whose gender could be identified was considered as 'a character'. Hence even a name in the credits of a song for example was included in the analysis. However, each reference to a character was counted only once. There appeared all together 1,058 characters in the *News* textbooks. As Table 1 shows, 71% of them were masculine, while only 29% were feminine. The distribution of characters according to gender was nearly the same in both textbooks, but *News 1* introduced relatively more feminine characters than *News 2* did (see Appendix A).

The clearest difference between the genders was in the category of real characters. As Table 1 shows, 83% of real characters were males, and only 17% females. One reason for this unequal distribution was probably the fact that the textbooks introduced numerous historical and famous people who were almost unexceptionally males. These included classical composers like Mozart, Bach, Handel, Strauss, and Beethoven; famous explorers like Columbus, Cook, and Amundsen; scientists like Edison, Watt, Einstein, Darwin, and Bell; and musicians like Springsteen and Sting. Other examples are sportsmen like Teemu Selänne, Wayne Gretzky, and Andre Agassi; directors and actors like Spielberg, Hitchcock, and Chaplin; politicians like Bill Clinton, Napoleon, Caesar, and Abraham Lincoln; and writers like William Shakespeare, Daniel Defoe, Rudyard Kipling, Jules Verne, and Mark Twain. As a contrast, the textbooks introduced only one female writer, Agatha Christie, and some sportswomen, actresses, and singers, including Monica Seles, Marilyn Monroe, and Madonna. Thus, the domination of males in the category of real characters was clear.

Table 1. Distribution of different characters according to gender in *The News Courses 1-8*. (The seventeen male characters and three female characters that appeared in both textbooks were taken into account only once.) To examine the distribution of characters in each textbook, see Appendix A.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Real characters	83.2% (307)	16.8% (62)	100% (369)
Realistic characters	59.4% (203)	40.6% (139)	100% (342)
Fictional characters	70.4% (209)	29.6% (88)	100% (297)
Animals	62.0% (31)	38.0% (19)	100% (50)
Total	*70.9% (750)*	*29.1% (308)*	*100% (1,058)*

The category that represented most equally both genders included the realistic characters. As Table 1 shows, 59% of realistic characters were masculine and 41% feminine. The distribution was most equal in this category probably because the realistic characters appeared in serious chapters on jobs, love, and teenage problems, and the textbook authors are likely to have been conscious about gender in these issues. Thus, the authors seem to have chosen an equal number of masculine and feminine characters when planning these chapters. For instance, in a chapter on love and in a listening exercise on free time, two boys and two girls tell about their experiences (*News 2* 60-61, 119). In realistic stories, the main characters are often also a boy and a girl, like Paul and Debbie, and Ed and Demi (*News 1* 22-30, 70-71). Hence, the authors clearly seem to have paid attention to gender when choosing the realistic characters, and this can also be seen in the statistics.

The same did not apply to fictional characters. The textbooks introduced in total 297 fictional characters, which the authors had invented themselves or chosen from films, books, cartoons, and television, and as Table 1 shows, 70% of them were males and only 30 % females. Thus, the authors have clearly not paid attention to gender when choosing these characters. A reason for this may be that the fictional chapters do not even try to represent reality, and thus also the gender of characters may seem irrelevant. The authors may hence choose the first character that comes to their mind, and it seems to be Mr Brown rather than Ms Brown (*News 1* 200). There

are numerous similar examples in the textbooks, and the qualitative section looks at them more carefully.

Also in the category of animals, masculine characters dominated. The textbooks introduced altogether fifty animal characters whose sex could be identified. As can be seen from Table 1, 62% of them were males and 38% females. Therefore it seemed that the textbook authors considered it more natural to refer to an animal as 'he' than as 'she'. In conclusion, in all the categories of the analysis, there were notably more masculine than feminine characters.

The analysis also paid attention to whether the textbooks introduced males and females with their names, or referred to them with common nouns or pronouns. As Table 2 shows, the textbooks introduced altogether 750 masculine and 308 feminine characters. Three quarters of all the characters that were introduced with first name, surname, or both were males. When the number of masculine characters with a name was proportioned to the total number of masculine characters, the result was that 65.5% of them had a name. In contrast, only a little more than half of the feminine characters were introduced with their name.

Table 2. Distribution of characters according to whether they were introduced with a name in *The News Courses 1-8*. (The seventeen male characters and three female characters that appeared in both textbooks were taken into account only once.) To examine the distribution of characters in each textbook, see Appendix B.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Characters with names	75.0% (491)	25.0% (164)	100% (655)
Characters without names	64.3% (259)	35.7% (144)	100% (403)
Total	*70.9% (750)*	*29.1% (308)*	*100% (1,058)*
Proportion of characters with names	*65.5%*	*53.2%*	*61.9%*

In conclusion, more than half of the characters of both genders were introduced with a name, although males notably more often than females. However, only a quarter of all the characters that were introduced with a name were females. There was not a remarkable difference between *News 1* and *News 2*, except that in *News 2*, almost 70% of the masculine characters had names. This is notable as *News 2* also introduced 161 masculine characters more than *News 1*, which indicates that the book is full of masculine proper nouns. (see Appendix B.)

7.2 Words designating males and females

As was mentioned above (p.42), the quantitative analysis also paid attention to sexism inherent in the language. It is possible to detect this kind of sexism by comparing the frequency of the nouns and pronouns designating each gender. As can be seen from Table 3, there were altogether 6,218 expressions that designated gender in the textbooks. Approximately 70% of these words referred to males, while only 30% referred to females. Thus, the distribution of words designating gender was the same as the distribution of characters according to gender. Furthermore, this result is the same that Sumu attained in her study of several Finnish school textbooks at the end of the 1960s: 70-75% of all the words designating gender referred to males and 25-30% to females (Sumu 1969:222). Thus, in the light of the statistics, the textbooks do not seem to change in this respect. The analysis of the words designating gender differentiated between 1) proper nouns and 2) common nouns and pronouns, which are dealt with first.

Table 3. Distribution of words designating males and females in *The News Courses 1-8*. To examine the distribution of words in each textbook, see Appendix C. To examine the type of words, see Appendixes D and E.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Common nouns and pronouns	67.8% (2,477)	32.2% (1,175)	100% (3,652)
Proper nouns	73.9% (1,896)	26.1% (670)	100% (2,566)
Total	*70.3% (4,373)*	*29.7% (1,845)*	*100% (6,218)*

The textbooks referred to males with fifty-six different **common nouns or pronouns**, while only thirty-four different expressions referred to females (see Appendix D). The most common expressions referring to males were the different forms of 'he' (1745), 'man' (182), 'father' (139), 'boy' (89), 'king' (66), 'brother' (50), 'prince' (23), and 'sir' (21). Among these eight most common words designating males were thus only two that indicated a family relationship: 'father' and 'brother'.

The most common expressions designating females in turn were different forms of 'she' (725), 'mother' (131), 'girl' (64), 'woman' (56), 'lady' (29), 'grandmother' (28), 'sister' (20), and 'wife' (18). It is notable that half of the eight most common words designating females indicated a family relationship. Moreover, from 450 common nouns designating females, half indicated a family relationship, while only 34% of the 732 common nouns designating males indicated a family tie. (see Appendix D.) Therefore it seems that the textbooks tended to introduce feminine characters as relatives rather than independent women who are worth a text in their own right, while with males the situation was almost vice versa.

The next popular expressions referring to males were 'son' (17), 'husband' (13), 'guy' (10), 'cowboy' (9), 'boyfriend' (8), and 'male' (7). In addition to these, males were also referred to with numerous occupational words like 'salesman' (6), 'Mr President' (6), 'policeman' (5), 'businessman' (5), 'patrolman' (2), and 'cameraman' (2). The only negative words designating males were 'swagman' (3) and 'chauvinist' (1), but they were outnumbered by positive expressions like 'nobleman' (2), 'man of steel' (2), 'gentleman' (3), and 'lord' (1). (see Appendix D.)

The next common words referring to females in turn were 'queen' (16), 'girlfriend' (10), 'stuntwoman' (10), 'witch' (10), 'daughter' (9), and 'princess' (9). It is interesting that the word 'witch' appears among the most common words designating females. However, it is mainly due to only one chapter, which tells about a girl who has chosen "Galactic Witch" as her cover name on the Internet. Females were also referred to with other negative expressions such as 'nigger bitch' (in a chapter about the first black student in an American high school in the 1950s), which is much stronger than the two negative words referring to males ('swagman' and 'chauvinist'). There were also many positive expressions that referred to females in the textbooks, such as 'goddess' (1) and 'heroine' (2). Females were also referred to with occupational words like 'actress' (4), 'air stewardess' (1), 'showgirl' (1), and

'cleaning lady' (1). However, these were the only occupational words designating females in the textbooks in addition to 'queen', 'stuntwoman', and 'princess' mentioned above. (see Appendix D.)

As can be seen from Appendix D, the textbooks referred to males with twenty-two different occupational words, including many with a '-man' ending. In comparison, females were referred to with only seven different occupational words. From 450 common nouns referring to females, only 9% indicated an occupation, while from 732 common nouns referring to males, 21% was related to work. If the analysis had taken into account the words like 'air steward' and 'actor', which clearly referred to males in the textbooks, the number of occupational words designating males would have been even bigger. However, since these words can also refer to females, they were left outside the scope of the analysis. Instead, words like 'air stewardess' and 'actress' were included in the analysis, because they only designate females.

All in all, there were 3,652 common nouns or pronouns designating a gender in the *News* series. As Table 3 shows, 68% of these referred to males, while only 32% designated females. There was not a notable difference between the two parts of the *News* series in this respect. However, *News 2* referred to both males and females more often than *News 1*, and it also referred to females in relation to males more often (see Appendix C).

The situation was similar with **proper nouns** as with the common nouns and pronouns. As Table 3 shows (p.51), the textbooks referred to males and females with 2,566 proper nouns. Nearly three quarters of the proper nouns referred to males, while only 26% referred to females. In the second part of the *News*, 78% of the proper nouns designating gender referred to males (see Appendix C). This result was not unexpected, as the analysis already revealed that *News 2* referred to nearly 70% of the male characters with their names, and there were 161 male characters more than in *News 1*. Thus, as suspected in the previous section, *News 2* seemed to be full of male proper nouns. Generally, both textbooks referred to males with proper nouns notably more often than to females.

In addition to finding out how many times proper nouns referred to each gender, the analysis also found out how many *different* proper nouns referred to males and females. As there were hundreds of different names and putting them all in an order according to their commonness would have produced too much data, the analysis

concentrated only on those that appeared in the texts and on the tapes four times or more. Thus, there were 111 different proper nouns that referred to males, and only forty-three that referred to females (see Appendix E). Altogether, there were hence 154 different gender-specific proper nouns, and 72% of these referred to males and 28% to females. Most common proper nouns designating males were Lampo (66), King Arthur (53), Paul (47), John (40), Candy Man (39), Fudge (29), Tex (28), and Tubby (27). Candy Man was considered as a proper noun because it referred to a particular person and was written with a capital letter, the same way as Superman. The most common names for females were Grizelda (48), Maria (39), Debbie (24), Little Red Riding Hood (23), Matilda (23), Marguerite (19), Alice (19), and Helen (19).

A part of the analysis that is closely related to the gender-specific words in the texts and on the tapes is their appearance in the **headings** of chapters and articles. In the *News* series, there were altogether sixty-four headings that referred to gender. Two of the headings referred to both genders ('Mum, Dad and Me' and 'Big Tex Meets the Galactic Witch'). In order to avoid the situation where the total percentages would exceed a hundred percent, these two headings were left outside the scope of the analysis. As Table 4 shows, 82% of the headings referring to gender referred to males, while only 18% referred to females.

Table 4. Distribution of headings that refer to gender in *The News Courses 1-4* and *5-8*. (Two headings that referred to both genders were omitted from the analysis.)

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Headings that refer to gender in the News Courses 1-4	85.7% (24)	14.3% (4)	100% (28)
Headings that refer to gender in the News Courses 5-8	79.4% (27)	20.6% (7)	100% (34)
Total	*82.3% (51)*	*17.7% (11)*	*100% (62)*

One reason for the domination of males in the headings was that the textbooks contained many short articles that dealt with famous men and their careers, and thus these men's names appeared in the headings. For instance, the textbooks contained numerous headings like 'Marlon Brando', 'Charles M. Schulz', 'Matt Groening', and 'Charles Lindbergh'. Other examples are 'Asterix and Obelix', 'Schoolboy Action', 'The Man in the Moon', and 'The Man Who Married His Guitar'. Only eleven headings out of sixty-two referred to females. These included 'Minna, the Model', 'She Never Gave Up', 'Sharon Sets Her Sights on Science', and 'Agatha Christie'. In conclusion, the quantitative analysis detected sexism in the language of the textbooks, as males seemed to dominate in all the areas of the analysis.

7.3 Roles of the characters in the texts and on the tapes

As was mentioned above (p.43), the quantitative analysis of the texts and the tapes paid attention to two types of roles the characters represented: 1) occupational roles and 2) family roles. First, the analysis concentrated on the roles related to work. All in all, the textbooks introduced approximately 371 **occupational roles**. As Table 5 shows, males represented 83% of these and females 17%. It was not an unexpected result that males represented more occupational roles than females, as the textbooks introduced 442 male characters more than females. Therefore the males also represented notably more roles than females did. However, even when the occupational roles of females were proportioned to the total number of feminine characters, the fact remained that only 20% of the feminine characters had an occupation, while 41% of the masculine characters had one (see Figure 1).

Table 5. Occupational roles and family roles of males and females in *The News Courses 1-8*. To examine the type of occupational roles, see Appendix F. To examine the type of family roles, see Appendix G.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Occupational roles	83.3% (309)	16.7% (62)	100% (371)
Family roles	54.4% (112)	45.6% (94)	100% (206)
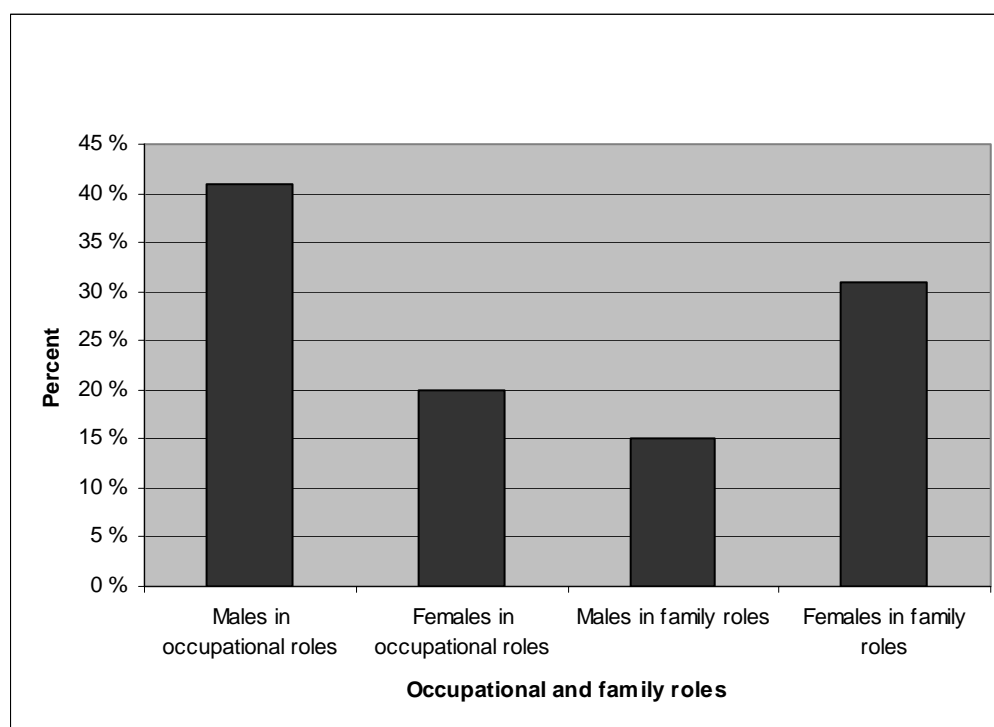
Figure 1. Occupational roles and family roles of males and females as proportioned to the total number of masculine and feminine characters respectively.

The textbooks also presented males in a wide variety of different occupations, while the roles of females seemed to be restricted. For instance, males represented 127 different occupational roles, while females represented only thirty-three different roles (see Appendix F). The most common occupations of males were musician (28), actor (18), composer (14), writer (14), singer (13), and king (13). Thus, the textbooks seemed to embrace the creativity of males. In reality, the most common occupations of men in Finland are more technical, including ADP (automatic data processing) director or programmer, machine and engine mechanic, and mechanical engineer or technician (Statistics Finland 2003:43). An interesting feature in the most common occupations of males in the textbooks was that they did not contain any power roles except for king. However, some power roles of males were often present in the textbooks, including president (4), captain (4), and emperor (4).

In the textbooks, the most common occupations of females in turn were actress (7), model (5), teacher (5), queen (5), princess (4), and correspondent (3). Thus, the textbooks tended to place females in stereotypical feminine occupations such as a model or a teacher, or to unrealistic ones such as a queen or a princess. In reality, the most common occupations of women in Finland are closer to teacher than queen or

model, including shop assistant or cashier, cleaner, secretary, nurse, and office person (Statistics Finland 2003:43). In conclusion, the textbooks seemed to fail to present especially females in unconventional occupational roles, and furthermore, the distribution of occupational roles was very unequal.

The textbooks also presented more males than females in **family roles**. As Table 5 shows, from approximately 206 family roles in the textbooks, males represented 54% and females 46%. With the family roles, the difference between the genders was thus notably smaller than with occupational roles and very close to equal distribution. However, since there were clearly more masculine than feminine characters in the textbooks, the number of masculine family roles had to be proportioned to the total number of masculine characters, and similarly the number of feminine family roles to the total number of feminine characters. As Figure 1 shows, after proportioning the roles, 31% of the feminine characters represented a family role in contrast to only 15% of the masculine characters in the same role. In conclusion, masculine characters seemed to be underrepresented in family roles, while females were underrepresented in occupational roles. This result indicates that the textbooks may reinforce the traditional gender roles.

The most common family roles of males were father (62), brother (25), uncle (6), and son (5). The most common family roles of females in turn were mother (51), wife (11), sister (9), and girlfriend (6). It is notable that the textbooks presented feminine characters as wives and girlfriends seventeen times in total, while males were presented as husbands and boyfriends only five times (see Appendix G). This means that in the textbooks, it was more than three times more common to introduce females in relation to their male partners than vice versa. Some examples are "Old Trevor's wife" (*News 1* 124), "John Lennon and his wife Yoko Ono" (*News 2* 42), "Chris's wife, Janet" (*News 2* 57), and King Arthur and his "wife Queen Marguerite" (*News 1* 147). The section on the results of the qualitative analysis deals with this issue more thoroughly.

7.4 Males and females in the illustrations

As was mentioned above (p.44), the analysis divides the illustrations 1) into photographs and 2) into drawings, paintings, cartoons, and statues. The illustrations

depicting a character were also divided into three groups according to whether they depicted 1) only males, 2) only females, or 3) both males and females. As Table 6 shows, there were altogether 681 illustrations that depicted a character or characters in the textbooks. Out of these, 66% portrayed only males and 12.5% only females. Both males and females appeared in 22% of the pictures. Hence, more than half of the illustrations portrayed only males, while females appeared alone in the illustrations very seldom. This was especially the case with the drawings, as nearly 70% of them depicted only males and less than 10% only females. Furthermore, when the number of illustrations that portrayed both males and females was added to the number of pictures of only males, the result indicated that 87.5% of the illustrations depicted males alone or together with females, while only 34% depicted females alone or together with males.

In general, males appeared more often in the drawings than in the photographs, while females appeared more often in the photographs than in the drawings. This result might indicate that the textbook authors have been more conscious about gender when choosing the illustrations to serious chapters on jobs and teenage problems, which often included photographs, than when choosing the pictures to chapters on entertainment and games, which often included drawings. This conclusion is supported by the fact that nearly 70% of the drawings depicted only males and less than 10% only females, while with the photographs the situation was more equal.

Table 6. Distribution of illustrations that portray only males, only females, and both males and females in *The News Courses 1-8*.

	Males	*Females*	*Both*	*Total*
Photographs	61.5% (200)	15.7% (51)	22.8% (74)	100% (325)
Drawings	69.7% (248)	9.6% (34)	20.8% (74)	100% (356)
Total	*65.8% (448)*	*12.5% (85)*	*21.7% (148)*	*100% (681)*

The distribution of **occupational roles in the illustrations** was also unequal. The textbooks presented males in forty-six different occupational roles, while females represented only sixteen different roles (see Appendix H). As Table 7 shows, 85% of the sixty-seven photographs portraying an occupational role depicted males, while only 15% depicted females. The photographs portrayed females in the roles of musician, office worker, nurse, factory worker, politician, and worker in lunchroom. Males were also depicted as musician, office worker, factory worker, and politician. However, males were also portrayed in various other occupations, including police officer, cook, bartender, guard, fire fighter, conductor, and cameraman.

The drawings in turn depicted males in even wider variety of occupational roles, including disc jockey, farmer, doctor, astronaut, waiter, electrician, and priest. Females in turn represented only the roles of teacher, cashier, shop assistant, reporter, farmer, fortune-teller, astronaut, and queen. As this result indicates, males represented 84% of the occupational roles in the drawings, while females represented only 16%. These same percentages applied also to the total number of illustrations. Therefore the distribution of occupational roles in the illustrations was as unequal as their distribution in the texts and on the tapes.

Table 7. Distribution of illustrations that portray males and females in occupational roles in *The News Courses 1-8*. To examine the type of occupational roles, see Appendix H.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Photographs	85.1% (57)	14.9% (10)	100% (67)
Drawings	83.8% (57)	16.2% (11)	100% (68)
Total	*84.4% (114)*	*15.6% (21)*	*100% (135)*

In conclusion, the quantitative analysis indicated that the textbooks were dominated by masculinity. For instance, 71% of the characters were masculine, 70% of the expressions designating gender referred to males, 82% of the headings referring to gender referred to males, and approximately 88% of the illustrations depicting a character portrayed males in comparison to only 34% portraying females. The distribution of roles was also unequal, as women seemed to be underrepresented

in occupational roles and men in family roles. Before drawing the final conclusions, however, it is necessary to go beyond the statistics and examine the roles of males and females more carefully in the qualitative part of the study.

8 GENDER ROLES IN *THE NEWS HEADLINES COURSES 1-8*: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative analysis of the *News* textbooks. The first section deals with the issue of sexism inherent in the language by looking at the different forms of sexist language use in the texts and on the tapes of the *News*. Sections 8.2 and 8.3 in turn discuss the occupational roles and family roles of males and females in a more detailed way than the quantitative analysis did. The next sections also consider other types of roles, including sporting roles and heroic roles. Finally, the last section deals with themes that seemed relevant from the point of view of gender, including history, science, and technology.

8.1 Sexism inherent in the language

As was noted in Section 4.2 (p.22-23), sexism in school textbooks can often be detected in the grammar and vocabulary. For instance, it is sexist to use common occupational words only in masculine forms. (Michel 1986:53-54.) As the results of the quantitative analysis showed, the *News* textbooks contained numerous occupational words only in masculine forms, including salesman, policeman, businessman, fireman, patrolman, cameraman, tradesman, barman, signalman, dustman, fisherman, helmsman, and congressman. Furthermore, there were notably more words designating males than females in the textbooks. This section analyses the sexism inherent in the language of the *News* more thoroughly than the quantitative analysis did.

As was mentioned in Section 4.2 (p.22-23), it is sexist to use a masculine pronoun or common noun to refer to people in general (Michel 1986:53-54). However, this seemed to be a general practice among the authors of the *News* textbooks. For

example, a common word to designate a human being in the *News* was 'man': "They say the dog is *man*'s best friend. But sometimes a dog's very best friend is not *man . . .*" (*News 1* 46; emphasis added.) The use of 'man' may be acceptable in the case of a common saying, but it is more questionable in expressions like "many professional *sportsmen* go abroad" (*News 1* 15), "write a short report on a *sportsman* you admire" (*News 1* 115), "the insides of *man*" (*News 1* 99), and "*man*-made object" (*News 1* 172; emphasis added). Other examples include "the heaviest *man*" (*News 2* 20), "when did the first *man* go to space" (*News 2* 180), "the greatest Renaissance *Man*" (*News 2* 193), "*man* learned how to farm", and "modern *man* appeared" (*News 2* 230; emphasis added). In the first part of the *News* (p.175), there is even a sentence: "Nature can often beat anything *man* invents". Thus, the use of 'man' to designate a human being is one feature that maintains the masculinity of the textbooks, and it partly explains why the word 'man' appears in the texts and on the tapes 182 times, while the word 'woman' appears only fifty-six times (see Appendix D).

In addition to 'man', the textbook authors also used a masculine pronoun to refer to people in general. This was common especially in the games of the textbooks. In a communication game (*News 2* 215), the first tasks are neutral in relation to gender, including "Ask your friend's name" and "Ask about your friend's birthday". However, some of the tasks refer to a person of certain gender: "Ask your friend about *his* favourite singer", "Ask your friend about *his* hobbies", and "Ask your friend to spell *his* name" (emphasis added). This is sexist as the game is obviously intended for both male and female pupils.

Another example of a game that is not designed for female pupils is called 'Play the part' (*News 1* 126-129). In this game, pupils have to choose whether they play the part of the knight ("He is well-armed"), the minstrel ("He has his lute with him, his beautiful voice and he's riding a docile donkey"), or the thief ("He has his lock-picking tools and he's riding a stubborn mule"). After choosing a part, "the player with the highest score is the first to choose where *he* wants to leave from" (emphasis added). Thus, there is no part to play for female pupils in this game. Yet another game that uses a masculine pronoun to refer to people in general is the 'Rally game' (*News 1* 106-107). The winner of the game is interviewed with questions like "Who was your greatest rival?" and "How far behind you was *he*?" (emphasis added).

Supposing that the rival was the other player of the game, a male or a female pupil, again the textbook authors refer to him or her with a masculine pronoun.

It is understandable that the textbook authors want to make the rules of the games as simple as possible. Thus, some might claim that adding 'or she' to every part of the text where 'he' appears would make the text complicated. However, the problem is that a masculine pronoun is still considered as more neutral than a feminine one, which is sexist. If the textbooks contained games with only feminine roles to play and all the participants were referred to with feminine pronouns, male pupils would not perhaps play them. It is hence wrong that female pupils are expected to ignore the masculine emphasis of the games and play the parts of males, although they would not object to it themselves. This might be the case because masculine characteristics are often considered as positive and feminine as negative, which Hyyppä (1997:21) defines also as a sexist practice. Another explanation may be that female pupils encounter masculine pronouns that refer to both genders so often that they are used to it and do not thus object to it.

In addition to the games, also other types of texts referred to people in general with a masculine pronoun. For instance, according to the chapter 'The First Shop on the Left' (*News 2* 204): "We have learnt that a left-handed person uses the right-hand side of *his* brain more than *his* left-hand side" (emphasis added). Thus, the text refers to all left-handed people with a masculine pronoun, which can be considered as sexist. However, despite some occasions where the textbook authors use only a masculine pronoun to refer to people in general, the texts are usually neutral in relation to gender. Expressions such as "Who's your favourite comedian? Write about *him/her*" (*News 1* 167), "Talk to your friend and ask what *his/her* opinion is" (*News 1* 122), and "Can I leave *him/her* a message?" (*News 1* 208; emphasis added) are common in the textbooks. Thus, the textbook authors have clearly tried to produce a neutral text in relation to gender, but on an occasion they have not paid enough attention to the issue.

In addition to the games, this seems to be the case also with the chapters on grammar. For instance, every time the textbooks introduce a character to demonstrate a grammar rule, it is a male. Thus, when the authors concentrate on the grammar, they do not seem to pay attention to the characters they choose to these chapters. There are numerous examples: a man demonstrates the perfect tense: "He's jumping" and "He's jumped" (*News 1* 34), a man demonstrates the differences between tenses

by having different clothing for past, present, and future (*News 1* 48, 68), a Mr Brown introduces the conditional form by telling about his dreams (*News 1* 200). Other examples are singing salesman Bing, who introduces the ing –form by singing (*News 1* 222), and Mr Direct and Mr Indirect, who introduce the direct and indirect forms (*News 2* 83). There are numerous examples in the textbooks, as males present all the grammar rules and females none.

The textbook authors have also favoured males when choosing the songs for the textbooks. For example, the first part of the *News* contains fifteen songs, out of which males perform fourteen and females only one. In the second part of the *News*, there are twelve songs, out of which males perform nine, a chorus two, and females again only one. Furthermore, the textbook authors often express their enthusiasm about the male musicians, but do not even mention the names of the two female singers. All the bands introduced in the textbooks also contain only male members. Although this issue is not directly related to sexism in the language, it does help to maintain the general masculinity of the textbooks.

Another feature of the *News* textbooks related to sexism in the language is that when a chapter has two main characters, one female and one male, the male character is always introduced first. For instance, the textbooks introduce "*Paul* and Debbie" (*News 1* 22), "*Ed* and Demi" (*News 1* 70), "*John* and Rosemary" (*News 1* 85), and even "*Jamie*, *Tim*, Kathy and Trisha" (*News 1* 219; emphasis added). Another example is a story in the second part of the *News*, which tells about a girl who meets a boy on the Internet (*News 2* 138-142). It is obvious that the girl is the main character of the story, as all the events are told from her perspective, but still the boy is mentioned in the title before her: "*Big Tex* Meets the Galactic Witch" (emphasis added). It seems thus that the textbooks contain a clear pattern that places males before females.

In conclusion, there seems to be a clear tendency to avoid the use of sexist language in the *News* series. Especially when the textbook authors give directions to pupils on what to do, they are careful to address both genders. However, when gender is distant to the topic of the text, the sexism in the language becomes apparent. This is demonstrated by the numerous masculine characters and examples in the grammar sections. When the textbook authors have concentrated on the grammar rules and their effective demonstration, they have ignored the context of gender. This was also the case with the games and songs of the textbooks. Other

types of sexist language in the textbooks were the use of 'man' to refer to human beings, the use of occupational words only in masculine forms, always introducing masculine characters before feminine characters, and the notable difference between the number of words designating males and females.

8.2 Occupational roles of males and females

The quantitative analysis section already discussed the distribution of occupational roles between masculine and feminine characters. As the analysis showed, males had four times more occupational roles than females both in the texts and in the illustrations. This section analyses the differences between the occupational roles of males and females with more detail, and also tries to understand why these differences exist in the textbooks.

One reason for the domination of males in the occupational roles seems to be the short articles of the 'Click Files', because they often deal with famous men and their career and work. For example, the first part of the *News* introduces musicians Bruce Springsteen (p.116) and Bill Haley (p.169), actors James Dean (p.116) and Charles Chaplin (p.170), writer Arthur Conan Doyle (p.139), cartoonist Matt Groening (p.169), and pilot Charles Lindbergh (p.230). There are numerous these kinds of articles in both *News* textbooks, and they usually concentrate on the work and career of males.

As a contrast, the articles in the first part of the *News* do not discuss a career or work of any female actor, musician, artist, writer, scientist, politician, or sportsperson. Instead, they seem to use every occasion to mention the attainments of males: pharmacist John Pemberton invented Coca-Cola (*News 1* 76), film producer Marmaduke Wetherell staged the photos on Nessie (*News 1* 139), actor Sean Connery was the first to play James Bond (*News 1* 168). The only women mentioned in the articles are James Dean's mother and aunt (*News 1* 116), and Tarzan's girlfriend, Jane (*News 1* 207), and needless to say, the articles do not discuss their occupations.

However, there is one woman who has achieved an article of her own: writer Agatha Christie (*News 2* 135). Her career and work are discussed in the second part of the *News* together with numerous articles on males, including musician Louis

Armstrong (p.22), composer Leonard Bernstein (p.49), violinmaker Antonio Stradivari (p.50), and writer William Shakespeare (p.51). As can be seen from these examples, the distribution of occupational roles in the articles seems to be unequal. They present females only in one occupational role, that of a writer, while males are presented in many different roles. Furthermore, it seems that in addition to Christie, the textbook authors have not considered any female worth an article, which may be considered as an underestimation.

An example that depicts well the situation in the textbooks is a cartoon called 'Ferd'nand' (*News 1* 97). The introductory sentences say: "Ferd'nand is having a late evening at work. Write a few sentences about it in your notebook." In the pictures, Ferd'nand is working at his office. He thinks about his wife and imagines her sitting alone at home and looking sad. Thus, he decides to go home and cheer his wife up. However, his wife is having a tea party, and Ferd'nand ends up working alone in terrible noise. The cartoon presents thus the man and the woman in traditional roles: The man is at work, and he is the breadwinner of the family, while the woman seems to be a housewife, who waits her husband at home and takes care of the house.

The second part of the *News* contains a section called 'Working English' (p.144-159), which deserves a closer analysis here as it deals with work. First, the analysis concentrates on two listening exercises that seem to have different target groups (*News 2* 158-159). The first exercise introduces Paul, who tells about his summer jobs. "He's worked in a hotel, in a pub, in a museum, in a factory, at an ice-cream counter, on a beach, in a cocktail lounge, on language courses and at a zoo." Although Paul says that some of these jobs were not good, he is still an example of a male who has had a lot of work experience and who has gained status by working as a lifeguard, a language teacher, and even as a radio journalist. Paul's example may encourage male pupils to trust in their abilities, and to believe that although the competition is tough, they can get a dream job for next summer.

The next page introduces the equivalent of Paul's story for female pupils. According to the introduction to the exercise: "Minna Korpela knows all there is to know about the fashion business. She used to be a model herself. Nowadays she enjoys a very different occupation. In this interview you will hear her talk about her experiences in the fashion business." The interview concentrates on the modelling career of Minna: the long photo sessions, the fashion shows, the gym and keeping fit, and the best age to start a career. Although Minna says it is important to finish school

before starting the career, she tells about models who are sixteen years old. Furthermore, the interview does not reveal Minna's current occupation, although the introduction refers to "a very different occupation". She might thus be a successful businesswoman nowadays, for example, but the textbook authors miss the opportunity to present a woman in an unconventional occupational role.

In conclusion, the listening exercises offer very different occupational role models for girls and boys. Girls are offered only one occupational role, that of a model, which is a stereotypically feminine occupation and based on looks. Furthermore, it is not a very realistic career option for ordinary female pupils in Finland. In contrast, boys are offered several different and realistic occupational roles from bartender and factory worker to language teacher and lifeguard. It is also significant that in these exercises, the textbook authors have concentrated on the equal distribution of male and female characters, as there is an equal number of them, but they have not been as careful with the equal distribution of occupational roles. The reason for this is not likely to be an intentional attempt to restrict the occupational roles of females, but a sudden opportunity to interview Minna Korpela. Nevertheless, the textbook authors should be more careful when choosing the material, as the role models in them are likely to have an effect on pupils' conceptions of gender roles.

Another example of an unequal distribution of occupational roles is an exercise where pupils have to mime different occupations for their friends, and they try to guess which one it is (*News 2* 159). There are eleven illustrations on the page that portray the occupations: Males represent ten of these and females one. Males are seen as a disc jockey, a carpenter, an electrician, a waiter, a plumber, a bus driver, a window cleaner, a cook, a clown, and a priest. A female is seen as a teacher. Thus, the same pattern recurs as with the listening exercises: females represent only one occupational role, and even that is stereotypical, while males represent approximately ten different roles.

The section 'Working English' also contains articles on different jobs (*News 2* 154-157). First, a girl called Christine Bushaway tells about her job. She is "a bright, positive, warm, friendly teenager", who works as a community service volunteer. This job includes helping "old people, young people or people with special needs", and to succeed in this work "you need to care about people, but you need to be emotionally strong as well and you don't get paid". This seems to be a classical stereotype of a nurturing female who takes care of others. In this case, however, she

does not even get paid, as nurses and teachers usually do. Therefore her volunteer work can hardly be called a job at all, as the first requirement for a job is usually that it covers a worker's living expenses. The article hence presents a stereotypical occupational role model for females, but the "occupation" might also be defined as a very serious hobby.

The next article on jobs introduces sixteen-year-old Sharon Mohammed, who is "the first girl to specialize in electronics at the Dudley College of Technology Centre. She is involved in designing and making control units to test the balance, strength, endurance and weight of the metals used to make cars, ships, aeroplanes, cables and chains." Sharon also mentions that sciences were her best subjects at school, and she encourages other girls to look to industry for a career, because "job prospects are getting better all the time". The heading of the article is 'Sharon sets her sights on science'. The article is from the year 1987 when the division of labour according to gender is likely to have been stronger than today, and hence the text seems to emphasise the fact that even a girl can be skilful in science. For instance in the margin, there is a Finnish title: "Also girls can get a job in the field of electronics" (translation by A-R.P.). Furthermore, the situation where the first girl specialised in electronics is probably far back in history, as in Finland, approximately 20% of the students in the field of engineering and manufacturing are female (Statistics Finland 2003:23-25). However, there is no doubt that the article is in the textbook to convey a message of equality, and it succeeds by suggesting that female pupils can pursue a career in a male-dominated field.

The next articles present two occupational roles for males. First, Christopher Tiarks tells about his job as a sailing doctor, who "is responsible for the medical care of the people" living in a group of islands. According to the article, "all his community like him and feel they can rely on him". This seems to be hence a stereotypical male occupation that includes a lot of responsibility and high status. Finally, the last article introduces Jim, who is an underwater photographer. In this job, there is an element of suspense and danger, which becomes clear from the ending of the article: "The job isn't without dangers; you don't fool around with the sea". The article also refers to hungry sharks. Although this job cannot be described as a stereotypical occupation of males, it does appeal to stereotypically masculine qualities and interests like adventure, danger, courage, sports, and toughness.

The first part of the *News* also contains some discussion about jobs. A listening exercise called 'Animal Jobs' introduces three people who tell about their work with animals (*News 1* 50). Susan Robertson is one of the people, and she works for the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Her job is to "protect animals and help them in difficulty". She has for example "helped monkeys down from trees, fed hungry pythons, given first aid to dogs run over by cars". She has also helped an old man to put his sick cat to sleep. Thus, Susan's occupational role is close to the role of the community service volunteer, as both the roles include taking care of others: Christine nurtures people and Susan animals. In other words, also this exercise presents a female in a stereotypical occupational role.

Another person who works with animals is Sydney Brooks, who is a lion-tamer in a circus. He tells about the risks and dangers of working with lions, and how you have to earn the respect of animals. This occupational role is close to the role of the underwater photographer, as there is an element of danger and excitement in both of them. Finally, Chris Hudson tells about his job with snails. He is a "professional snail-trainer", who trains snails for snail-racing. This job is about sports and winning, although the pace is not very fast. Neither of these occupational roles represented by males is stereotypical, but at least the role of a lion-tamer appeals to stereotypically masculine characteristics like toughness and courage. It might be claimed that also snail-racing appeals to competitiveness of males, but it might also relate to taking care of animals, and hence it is not considered as a stereotypically masculine occupation.

The first part of the *News* also presents a female in an occupational role that is far from stereotypical (p.114). In a listening exercise, Jessica Randel tells about her job as a stuntwoman. She describes her most dangerous stunts and laughs when she remembers the amazed faces of police officers who saw her driving a burning car. She also suggests to the interviewer, Paul, that he might try one of her stunts, but he is scared. This is a very unconventional role for a woman, as Jessica has a dangerous and rough occupation and she seems to be tougher and stronger than the male. However, as Lahelma (1990b:56) points out, one chapter that presents a female in an unconventional role does not balance the traditional depiction and invisibility of women in other parts of the textbooks.

The first part of the *News* also contains a chapter that tells how the *News* series was created (p.18-19). The story includes the team of writers, who planned and wrote

the texts and exercises, and the editor and picture editor, who found the illustrations for the book. The text does not reveal their gender identity. However, when the chapter tells about the designer of the books, his gender identity is made clear: "He put the texts and pictures together on his computer screen. He also designed the book's cover. The designer sent the pages from his computer to WSOY's printing works in Porvoo through fast net." There is also a photograph about the designer at work. The rest of the story is told in a passive form ("The covers were printed"). Thus, the chapter presents the man as an individual who took a lot of responsibility of the creation of the textbooks, while the authors and editors are not presented as individuals. It is not perhaps surprising that the editor and picture editor of the textbooks are females, as well as almost half of the authors (*News 1* 2). Thus, the chapter gives an occupational role model only to male pupils and not to females, as the chapter does not present the female workers as individuals.

In conclusion, the qualitative analysis of occupational roles seemed to confirm the results of the quantitative analysis: There was a clear masculine dominance in the distribution of occupational roles in the *News* series. This was evidenced for instance by the numerous articles in the 'Click Files' that discussed almost solely the work and career of males. Also the exercises that were related to work seemed to favour males, as males represented several different occupational roles, while females were only seen as a model, a teacher, a stuntwoman, and an inspector for the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The role of a stuntwoman is not stereotypical, as can be said also about the role of an electronics specialist. However, these two unconventional occupational roles are not enough to give female pupils examples of different career options, especially as the same page presents a female as a community service volunteer. Furthermore, the analysis indicated that the textbooks partly reinforced the traditional stereotypes of females as people who take care of others, and males as people who are responsible and adventurous. These are exactly the restricting conceptions of gender that the textbooks should strive to change to be in accordance with the goals of the Finnish national curriculum (Framework 1994:17).

8.3 Family roles of males and females

As the quantitative analysis showed, males represented more family roles than females in the textbooks. However, when the number of family roles was proportioned to the total number of characters of certain gender, 31% of females appeared in family roles compared to only 15% of males. This section analyses the family roles of each gender with more detail.

The most central family roles in the textbooks are those of mother and father. In many occasions, the textbooks do not separate these roles from each other, but present mothers and fathers as a parental unit. For instance, Bill Martin (*News 1* 46), Ed and Demi (*News 1* 70), and Gez (*News 2* 171) talk about their parents as they were a unit that thinks and acts the same way. Gez says about her parents: "You have three choices. You go along with what *they* want, you go against *them* and have rows or you tell lies" (emphasis added). Thus, there does not seem to be a difference between the roles of mother and father in these cases.

In general, the textbook authors seemed to have paid special attention to the role of a father, as there were many occasions where the father was present in a story but the mother was not. For instance, a cartoon called 'Life in hell' introduces a character called Bongo, who discusses his life with his father (*News 1* 155), and another cartoon called 'Hägar the Horrible' presents a boy asking an important question from his father (*News 2* 175). Other important parental roles of males are the father of Superman, who is a scientist and saves his son's life (*News 1* 213); bullfighter Tony Ramon's father, who is the boy's first instructor (*News 1* 221); and Victor Trevor' father, who is the central figure of Sherlock Holmes's investigations (*News 1* 124-125).

Furthermore, Jane Bond's father James has an important position in his daughter's life (*News 2* 132-133), and so has Mozart's "papa" in his life (*News 2* 38-41). Even a chapter on two teenagers from different parts of the world gives special attention to the role of father, as both youngsters talk about their fathers. In some chapters, a father is the most central character, like in 'Parent Trouble' (*News 2* 164), which is based on an interview of "David, father of three teenagers", and in a chapter which tells about an adventure of another David and his two children (*News 2* 110). Most of these chapters do not even mention the mother. Therefore it seems that the textbook

authors have paid special attention to presenting males as fathers, which is a positive feature.

In contrast, mothers appear in a central role in chapters notably more rarely than fathers do, and also the father has often a part to play in the story. For instance, in the story of Little Red Riding Hood, the main characters are the girl, her mother, and her grandmother (*News 1* 77-79). In this version of the story, however, a woman and a girl who are reading the story start to talk about Little Red Riding Hood's father and grandfather. Thus, they are not absent from the story. In another chapter, a granddaughter, a mother, and a grandmother discuss musicals and Shakespeare (*News 2* 34). After talking about the lovers in the stories, they end up talking about the girl's boyfriend. It seems hence that often when females are presented in family roles, males are also present in the same role.

Furthermore, the textbooks do not seem to present mothers as central figures in their children's lives as often as they do fathers. Although mothers may be mentioned in the text without father, they are seldom the central character or the topic of the discussion. The only central mother characters in the textbooks are the first black student's mother, who comforts her child after she has been almost lynched by an angry mob on her way to school (*News 2* 86-87), and an "old lady", who is dying and wants to meet her son for the last time (*News 1* 186). Mothers are not thus presented like fathers as instructors or occupational role models, and they do not appear in the chapters as central figures.

There are, however, family roles that females seem to dominate. The roles of a wife and girlfriend are much more frequent in the textbooks than the roles of a husband and boyfriend. Furthermore, when a female appears in the role of a wife or girlfriend, she is not usually identified in any other way than by mentioning this family role. For instance, in a chapter on a male artist who becomes colour blind, the text describes the situation: "He didn't find his wife attractive any more. And his black-and-white world even got to her. She herself started to imagine things in black and white" (*News 2* 260). These are the only things said about the wife. In another chapter, a man complains: "My wife won't ever believe me when I come home this late" (*News 2* 267). These kinds of expressions are stereotypically more common when people talk about wives than when they talk about husbands, and the textbooks seem to reinforce this conception.

The most interesting of all is probably the case of Doctor Tiarks and his wife (*News 2* 156). The text tells about them: "He and his wife now have a mobile phone so that they can pursue their own hobbies of bird-watching and dog-walking but still be within reach in case of emergency." Nothing else is said about the wife, and thus a reader may wonder whether the wife is also a doctor or a nurse and hence needs to be "within reach in case of emergency", or whether she is a housewife and lives according to his husband's timetables. In contrast to these several nameless roles of a wife, there appear only two males in the role of a husband, one of which is introduced as "her husband, Emperor Francis I" (*News 2* 38). Thus, the textbooks seem to present females through their husbands much more often than they do males through their wives.

Another aspect of family roles is also how the housework is distributed between the genders. The textbooks do not, however, present either gender doing much housework. Sometimes the traditional roles are nevertheless implied. For instance, the second part of the *News* tells about Helen who comes home from school (p.66-67). Helen's mother is in the kitchen, and Helen says to her that she has to get ready before dinner. Her father, instead, comes to a hall from some other room than the kitchen, and then goes to the living room to his desk drawer. Although it is not explicitly said that Helen's mother cooks the dinner in the kitchen and her father works in his study or relaxes on the sofa, it is easy to interpret the text that way.

Another example of traditional family roles is a cartoon called 'Calvin and Hobbes' (*News 2* 125). In the first picture, Calvin comes to the kitchen and asks his mother: "What's for dinner?" and his mother answers: "Salmon." Calvin does not like salmon and makes faces. His mother warns him that his face may freeze like that. Later in the kitchen table, there are only Calvin and his father eating. Calvin tries to convince his father that his face has frozen to a terrible twist, and his father tries to make him stop making faces. Thus, the mother's place is again in the kitchen, cooking dinner, and she does not even join the rest of the family to eat. Father does not appear in the kitchen, but comes to eat when the dinner is served, probably from the living room or from his study. The family roles in the cartoon are hence stereotypical, although a refreshing feature in the father is that he takes part in the education of his son.

A similar example is in a chapter called 'The family dog' (*News 2* 200-201). It tells about a little boy who refuses to eat. His mother tries everything to get him to

eat, including cooking his favourite food and taking him to see four different doctors, but it does not work. Finally, when the boy refuses to eat his cereal, his father gets fed up with him, drags him to the bathroom, and dumps the bowl of cereal over his head. After this incident, the boy starts to eat normally. In conclusion, the mother is the one who prepares the food and is worried about her son. The father is not worried, but finally takes care of the education of his son. The mother's many empathetic efforts are vain, but the father has the power to make things right with only one, violent, try, and this he does not because he is worried about his son, but because he is annoyed. Thus, in these two examples, fathers are presented as taking part in the education of their children but not in housework like cooking.

Also a poem 'Mum, dad and me' presents the parents in traditional family roles (*News 2* 251). A boy tells that at his age, his father swam in sea, played cricket with friends, and rode a donkey. In contrast, his mother went to an open village market and helped her mother, who "washed clothes on a river stone" with her friends. His mother also walked everywhere. Nowadays, his mother still goes to a market and "to church some evenings and Sundays" to pray. His father "works most Saturdays" and "goes for his darts at the local". In this poem, the roles of mother and father are different. The father seems to have been free when he was young, but the mother has had to help in housework. Today, the father is working but still has hobbies, while the mother does not seem to have an occupation, and her only recreational activity seems to be praying. Hence, the roles of the mother and the father seem to be very conventional in this poem.

Only one chapter in the *News* series explicitly presents the genders doing housework. The chapter is called 'What was going on when Nick came home?' and it deals with the past continuous form of verbs (*News 2* 63). There is an illustration on the page that shows what Nick saw when he came home, and the examples are also written under the illustration: "Mum was lying on the sofa. Dad was hoovering." Thus, the illustration defies traditional family roles by showing a male doing housework and a female relaxing and not taking part. However, in the illustration, there is also a mouse-like animal that is chasing a cat, and the example says: "The gerbils were chasing the cat." As normally a cat is thought to chase a mouse (or a gerbil), this might indicate that the illustration presents everything upside-down. Thus, it might be more natural if the cat chased the gerbil, and Nick's father lay on

the sofa and his mother hoovered. If the illustration is understood this way, it does not defy the traditional family roles, but on the contrary, reinforces them.

As was noted in the section on gender roles in Finland (p.20), women do notably more housework than men do. Women prepare the meals, clean up, go shopping, and take care of the children. (Statistics Finland 2003:94-95.) The textbooks seemed to reflect this situation. Males in turn were not depicted as taking much part in these activities, which is a pity, as the statistics indicate that males in general are increasingly taking part in the housework (Statistics Finland 2003:94-95). It would thus be practical if textbooks reflected this change, and the authors supported it by depicting both genders doing all kind of housework and taking equally part in family life. This would also be in accordance with the Finnish national curriculum (Framework 1994:17).

8.4 Sporting roles of males and females

This section analyses the types of sporting roles males and females had in the textbooks. In general, the textbooks presented both males and females participating in sports, but there were differences between the sports. Males were often depicted as interested in ice hockey. For example, the second part of the *News* introduces a boy from Canada, who plays ice hockey "all winter" (p.81), and another boy, who says about his headmaster: "He speaks seven languages and is nuts on ice-hockey. I'm already in the school team so he likes me" (p.156). Also a listening exercise on free time activities tells about a boy who is "into ice hockey in a big way" (*News 2* 119). The first part of the *News* tells about a boy who collects hockey cards (p.216) and about a boy whose favourite sport is ice hockey (p.243). The textbooks also introduce many professional male ice hockey players, including Wayne Gretzky (*News 1* 216), Gordie Howe (*News 1* 216), Teemu Selänne (*News 1* 15), and Martin Brodeur (*News 1* 243); and there is a photograph of the Finnish men's ice hockey team who won the World Championship in 1995 (*News 1* 218). There is thus much material about ice hockey in the textbooks, but it is only concerned with boys and men.

Football seems to be another form of exercise that is solely dedicated for males in the textbooks. For instance, a chapter in the second part of the *News* tells about Julie

Wright who is in love with Philippe (p.202-203). They are spending their day on a beach, when some boys ask Philippe to play beach football. He accepts, and the boys play football all day and organise another match for the next day, which makes Julie annoyed. It is not explained why Julie does not also play, but the text gives the impression that she was not asked to play and she could not join in because she was a girl. Because the textbook authors have not explained why Julie does not play, it seems that they have taken it for granted that girls do not like football.

The same theme recurs in a listening exercise on Simon and Cathy's first date (*News 2* 58). Simon makes clear on every occasion that he is a football fan. He goes to football practice and talks about football teams and players. Instead, Cathy makes clear that she does not like football when talking to herself: "He's football crazy. Arsenal, Manchester United, Liverpool... they're all the same to me. I wonder what time he'll call. Probably after sports news, knowing him." Simon takes Cathy to see a football match on their first date, and Cathy is disappointed: "It was terrible. If anyone says the word football again, I'll scream!" The gender roles in this listening exercise are very stereotypical: the girl cannot understand football, and the boy does not know anything better.

Furthermore, the textbooks present boys and men playing football, but not girls and women. A chapter called 'The Big Match' tells about Larry Litmanen (an anglicised version of Jari Litmanen) and his team mates, who win European Cup Final (*News 1* 112-113). An article on different forms of football also contains a photograph of males playing American football (*News 1* 118). In a listening exercise, a boy tells that he plays Gaelic football, which is an Irish version of the game (*News 2* 74). As a conclusion, ice hockey and football seem to be exclusively male activities according to the *News* textbooks. Females do not seem to like or understand these sports, not to mention having them as hobbies.

The textbooks do, however, present also females in sporting roles. For example, tennis, scuba diving, archery, and riding a bike seem to be forms of exercise that both males and females are interested in. Compared to males, females are sometimes depicted as even extraordinarily sporty. For instance, a chapter called 'Don't Give Up' tells about Isabelle Verchère, who is "the first person in the world to have crossed the Mediterranean on a surfboard" (*News 1* 66-67). Another sporty woman appears in the article 'She never gave up' (*News 1* 105). It tells about Joni Dunn, who broke almost all bones in her body in a skiing accident. After some years,

however, she got a job as a sports teacher, won a five-mile race, took part in a marathon, and beat a world record in triathlon championships. It is an interesting coincidence that these two women represent the most notable feminine sporty roles in the textbooks, and the headings of both of these texts refer to not giving up. This might indicate that the textbook authors have tried to support equality and encourage girls to do sports by including these two texts in the books. This is a positive feature, although it has to be said that a couple of notable sporting roles of females do not compensate for the fact that in general, the textbooks seemed to consider sports as a basically masculine activity, since girls talked about sports much more rarely than boys did.

According to the statistics, Finnish women exercise as often as men do and have as many different forms of exercising as men have (Statistics Finland 2003:99-100). The textbooks did not seem to reflect this situation. Males were depicted as interested in sports or doing sports much more often than females were. Furthermore, females were not depicted as interested in ice hockey and football at all, although in Finland it is not very uncommon for women to have these sports as hobbies, not to mention be interested in them. For example, the Finnish women's team in ice hockey won bronze medals in the world championships in 2004. Compared to males, some of the sporting activities of females in the textbooks seemed like extraordinary achievements of special individuals, and not like ordinary hobbies. One might even claim that this strengthens the idea that sports are not a part of females' everyday life in the same way as they are for males. In conclusion, the textbooks depicted both males and females in sporting roles, but they also reinforced some gender stereotypes, as males dominated the field of sports, and some sports were depicted as exclusively masculine.

8.5 Heroic roles of males and females

The theme of heroism appeared in the textbooks fairly often. Heroic roles can be clearly recognised from the material, because several characters were explicitly defined as heroes. Thus, the analysis concentrates on these occasions. The textbooks defined males as heroes more often than they did females. For example, a chapter called 'Idols or Heroes?' talks about ice hockey player Wayne Gretzky, singer Elvis

Presley, King Alexander the Great, pilot Charles Lindbergh, thief Robin Hood, and Alison Hargreaves (*News 1* 216-217). Gretzky is defined as "The Great One", and Elvis as "the King" and "the greatest rock singer of all time". Robin Hood in turn is defined as "a great archer and swordsman", Lindbergh as "The Lone Eagle", and Alexander as "The Creator of an Empire", who "did not just want to create a huge kingdom", but "had his own ideas about different nations living in friendship." Hence, the textbooks seem to depict these people as truly great men.

In the article about the female hero, Alison Hargreaves, however, it seems as important to tell that she is a "mother of two", as it is to tell that she was "the first woman in the world to climb Mount Everest without the use of oxygen equipment". Most of the text discusses Hargreaves's motherhood, and not the great achievement: "34-year-old Alison sent her two children, Kate and Tom, a radio message from Everest: 'I'm on top of the world and I love you both'". Thus, the textbook authors have chosen to introduce five men and only one woman in this chapter about idols and heroes. Furthermore, they have chosen to talk about the achievements of the males, but to emphasise the motherhood of the female instead. It seems thus that they have given an unequal treatment to male and female heroes.

Several other chapters also deal with male heroes. For instance, an article 'Schoolboy Action' tells about Simon March and his friend Anthony, who saved more than twenty pupils from injuries by grabbing the steering wheel of a school bus when the driver collapsed (*News 1* 104). Also a chapter called 'Heroes of the Antarctic' tells about brave men (*News 1* 224-227). It deals with two expeditions to South Pole, one of which was organised by Roald Amundsen, and the other by Captain Robert Falcon Scott. Both of the teams reached the South Pole, but Scott's party faced "heroic death" in an icy storm.

As was mentioned above, Charles Lindbergh was introduced in the chapter on idols and heroes, but he also appears in an article of a click file (*News 1* 230). He is described as "a world-famous celebrity, received by kings and queens in Europe and given a hero's welcome on his return to the USA". Other male heroes include John Alcock and Arthur Whitten Brown, who were "the very first people to fly non-stop across the Atlantic Ocean" (*News 2* 195), and of course the "greatest hero", Superman (*News 1* 213, 229). Matadors, who are always depicted as males in the texts and the illustrations, are also defined as "highly-paid national heroes" (*News 1* 220-221, 229). Finally, a chapter called 'A Very Unusual Fellow' introduces a

porpoise, Jack, who guides ships through dangerous waters (*News 1* 136-137). He is described as "a real-life superhero". Another male animal hero is Rusty, a barn cat, who defends a dog and its pups against a coyote (*News 1* 46-47). Thus, the heroes are presented almost unexceptionally as males in the textbooks.

A listening exercise also deals with heroes (*News 1* 219). It tells about four youngsters, two girls and boys, who get into trouble in a safari park, when their car breaks and tigers start to harass them. The story has many heroes, including one of the youngsters called Tim, who offers to distract the tigers while others escape, two male wardens, who finally get the youngsters to safety, and an elephant called Nelly, who drives the tigers away. The human heroes of the story are all males, while the only feminine hero is an animal. Thus, the textbooks give the impression that girls and women cannot be heroes, as being a hero is connected to being male.

The textbook authors' definition of action movies supports this conclusion: "The hero is a tough, good-looking, battle-stained *male*." "The film's climax is a fight between the hero and the bad guy. Not only does the hero win this fight but *he* also wins the love of a beautiful woman who has watched *his* bravery throughout the film." (*News 2* 120; emphasis added.) Although this definition is clearly presented in a pointed way, it seems to describe the situation in the textbooks: the section on heroes introduces only male heroes in addition to Nelly the elephant and the one "mother of two" (*News 1* 211-230).

8.6 History, science, and technology

History, science, and technology are themes that seem to maintain the masculinity of the *News* series. Most of the historical events that are mentioned in the textbooks, for example, seem to involve males but not females. A special section in the second part of the *News* called 'Landmarks' is dedicated for these historical events (p.178-196). The section starts with discussion about some of the "landmarks in the history of humankind" (*News 2* 180). They include James Cook and his landing in Australia, the first man in space, and the Wright brothers' flight. Another exercise introduces more historical events and people, including Henry Ford and his model T-Ford, John Pemberton and Coca-Cola, Alexander Graham Bell and the telephone, and Elvis Presley, "King of Rock 'n' Roll" (*News 2* 181). In yet another exercise, pupils are

supposed to match a person and information about him or her (*News 2* 185). These people include Shakespeare, Mozart, Darwin, Columbus, Lincoln, Caesar, Disney, Picasso, Ford, and Edison. There is thus a clear pattern of male domination in the exercises of this section, and females are depicted as nearly non-existent in the history of human kind.

The main body of the text is also concerned with only males. For example, there is a cartoon about Caesar and his assistants making decisions (*News 2* 182-184), a song and an article about Vincent van Gogh (*News 2* 186-187), a cartoon about Ferd'nand (*News 2* 192), articles about Don Quixote and Leonardo da Vinci (*News 2* 192-193), and a listening exercise about John Alcock and Arthur Whitten Brown (*News 2* 195). There is also a chapter called 'The Story of the World', which presents twenty-two illustrations about "famous events in world history" (*News 2* 190-191). Half of the captions refer to males: "Napoleon becomes Emperor of France," "The death of Buddha," "The birth of Mohammed in Mecca," "Christopher Columbus discovers America," "Neil Armstrong is the first man on the Moon", and "Marco Polo begins his travels". Captions also include "Julius Caesar invades Britain," "The first successful aeroplane flight by the Wright Brothers," "Willem Jansz discovers Australia," Cardinal Wojtyla becomes Pope John Paul II", and "Steamboat Willie starring Mickey Mouse is the first talking animated cartoon in the cinema".

In addition to these eleven illustrations whose captions refer to males, there are seven pictures that portray males. Thus, from twenty-two illustrations, eighteen refer to males in one way or another, while females appear only in one picture in a multitude of people, and none of the captions refers to women. Therefore in this case, "the story of the world" seems to be the story of males rather than a story of humankind.

Another manifestation of the male domination in the textbooks is the presentation of many inventions that have been developed by males. For example, the first part of the *News* presents James Watt, who developed the steam engine; Karl Bentz and Gottlieb Daimler, who built "horseless carriages" with petrol engines; and Orville and Wilbur Wright, who fitted a petrol engine on an aeroplane and flew the machine (*News 1* 74). There is also an article according to which "The age of the train started when George Stephenson built his first model of a railway locomotive in 1814" (*News 1* 74). Later, James Watt is mentioned again with Alexander Graham Bell,

who invented the telephone, and Sir Alexander Fleming, who discovered penicillin (*News 1* 168).

The first part of the *News* also talks about Thomas Alva Edison, who invented the electric bulb and built the first electric power station (p.174), and Giovanni Riccoli, who was an Italian astronomer (p.178). A chapter on communication deals with Thomas Edison's phonograph and Alexander Graham Bell's telephone (*News 1* 234-235). In the second part of the *News*, there is also some talk about inventions and science. For example, the book introduces Henry Ford (*News 2* 181), Charles Darwin (*News 2* 188), and Leonardo da Vinci (*News 2* 193). The same men that appeared in the first part of the *News* also appear in the second part with their inventions, including Bell and his telephone (*News 2* 181), and the Wright brothers and the first successful aeroplane flight (*News 2* 180, 190). Science is thus clearly one of the themes that maintains the masculinity of the textbooks.

In addition to dominating the field of science, males are also presented using new technologies more often than females. For instance, there are two photographs in the *News* that show males working with a computer, and two illustrations that show males who have a computer (*News 1* 18, 100; *News 2* 124, 154). A few drawings also depict a boy and a girl using a computer together (*News 1* 21-25). However, there are no illustrations of females using a computer without male guidance. The same seems to apply to the texts. For instance, in the first part of the *News*, there is a chapter that describes how the *News* series was created, and the only person identified as an individual is a male designer (p.18-19). He is described as using his computer in many different ways. Another male character also mentions that he is "very much into computers" (*News 1* 15).

Furthermore, the same book contains a special chapter called "Surfing the Net", which gives information on the Internet (*News 1* 242-243). The chapter contains two detailed user reports that have been made by boys. The boys tell how they searched for information on cars, Formula One motor racing, movies, ice hockey, and computer games. There are only two women in the textbooks who indicate that they use a computer. One tells about receiving a message in a bottle, and says that she is going to answer it by e-mail, and the other mentions that she sometimes plays with her computer (*News 1* 235; *News 2* 119). Females are hence associated with computers very seldom compared to males, and when they are, it is only a short comment or an insinuation. In contrast, the illustrations depict males using

computers, and the texts also describe in detail how often and in what ways males use a computer.

To conclude, the textbooks do not seem to offer female pupils similar role models in using computers as they do for males, and therefore the books may reinforce the idea that females are not, or could not be, as competent users of modern technology as males are. According to the statistics, however, Finnish women in general use the Internet nearly as often as men do: approximately 61% of women use the Internet compared to 64% of men. Furthermore, in the age group of fifteen- to twenty-nine-year-olds, Finnish women use the Internet even more than men do. (Statistics Finland 2003:93.) Therefore it is questionable not to present any female using a computer on her own, as statistics clearly show that Finnish women are very enthusiastic and competent users of modern technology. Furthermore, considering the importance of information technology in the modern world and in the future, it is very important that both genders are encouraged to use computers.

In conclusion, the textbook authors seemed to relate the themes of history, science, and technology almost solely to males. For example, the characters presented in the section on history were unexceptionally males, and the textbooks generally introduced few historical female characters. The inventors and scientists presented in the textbooks were also males. Finally, computers were associated with males much more often than with females, and, most significantly, no female character was depicted as using a computer without male guidance in the illustrations or in the texts.

9 CONCLUSIONS

The objective of the present study was to find out what kind of gender roles *The News Headlines Courses 1-8* series explicitly or implicitly promotes. The analysis concentrated on three aspects of gender roles: 1) whether the genders are equally present in the texts, headings and illustrations; 2) whether the textbooks present both genders equally in different roles, especially in occupational roles and family roles; and 3) whether the textbooks in general promote gender equality or reinforce gender stereotypes through the hidden curriculum. The results of the quantitative content

analysis seemed to confirm the hypothesis that males might dominate the textbooks. In all the areas studied, males dominated, as 71% of the characters were masculine, 70% of the expressions designating gender referred to males, 82% of the headings referring to gender referred to males, and finally, approximately 88% of the illustrations depicting a character portrayed males, while only 34% portrayed females. The genders were not thus equally present in the texts, headings, and illustrations of the *News* series.

The second aspect of gender roles that the study paid attention to was the equal distribution of roles. The results of the quantitative content analysis seemed to confirm the hypothesis that the series might assign stereotypical roles according to gender, especially occupational roles. Females were underrepresented in occupational roles, as only 20% of feminine characters had an occupation, while 41% of masculine characters had one. Furthermore, 84% of the illustrations depicting a character at work portrayed males, while only 16% of them depicted females. Males had also more versatile occupational roles than females did. In contrast, males seemed to be underrepresented in family roles, as only 15% of masculine characters appeared in this role, while 31% of female characters represented a family tie. The results of the qualitative contextual analysis supported these conclusions. Moreover, they indicated that the textbooks related sports, heroism, history, science, and technology to masculine characters notably more often than to feminine characters.

Finally, the third aspect of gender roles that the analysis paid attention to was whether the textbooks in general promoted gender equality or reinforced gender stereotypes through the hidden curriculum. The hypothesis was that the *News* series in general might reinforce the gender stereotypes, although some efforts of promoting equality might also be observed. This hypothesis was based on Lahelma's view (1990b:56) that the textbooks generally seem to neglect and ignore the gender issue, but the authors often try to make this up by including one or two unconventional characters in the textbooks. This seemed to be the case also with the *News*. The textbooks introduced some unconventional characters, including a stuntwoman, a girl specialising in electronics, and a sporty woman who crossed the Mediterranean on a surfboard.

In general, however, the textbooks seemed to reinforce the gender stereotypes. For instance, they often depicted males in occupations that included responsibility or dangers, while the jobs of females included nurturing and taking care of others.

Females were also presented as more family oriented than males were, as they did not often have an occupation; they were presented as doing housework more often than males were; and they were presented as wives and girlfriends three times more often than males as husbands and boyfriends. However, the textbooks presented males as fathers more often than they did females as mothers, and the role of father in general seemed to have gained a special importance in the textbooks, which was a positive feature. This did not, however, compensate the fact that the textbooks seemed to reinforce the idea that females are not interested in ice hockey, football, science, or computers, and that they do not have the qualities of being heroic or historical. Furthermore, the textbooks also contained sexist language, as occupational words were often used only in masculine forms, 'man' was a common word used to refer to people in general, and masculine pronoun was used to refer to people of both genders. Despite some efforts of promoting gender equality, the textbooks seemed thus to reinforce the traditional gender stereotypes through the hidden curriculum, which became visible through the systematic contextual content analysis.

Although the results of the analysis were not unexpected, the extent to which the textbooks emphasised masculinity was thought-provoking. For example, the distribution of expressions designating gender was exactly the same as Sumu (1968:222) reported in her study of several Finnish textbooks used in the 1966: 70-75% of the words designating gender referred to males and only 25-30% to females. The results of the present study had also many similarities with the conclusions of earlier studies conducted on gender roles in Finnish textbooks. For instance, the textbooks promoted traditional roles according to gender, which has also been found by Huttunen and Happonen (1974), Cleve (1984), Lahelma (1992), Palmu (1992, 2003), Lindroos (1997), and Lempiäinen (2003). Thus, gender roles in Finnish textbooks do not seem to have changed in this respect since the 1960s, and it is difficult to understand why after all the studies that have criticised them.

One reason for this may be that teachers, textbook authors, and publishers consider boys to be in a subordinate position at school compared to girls, as most of the teachers are women, and girls generally do better at school than boys do (Lahelma 1990:27-32). For example, according to a Finnish female teacher, "girls are more mature than boys in lower secondary schools and can take care of themselves in this world, while boys may be tramped on by girls if teachers do not take their side" (Ylönen 2003, translation by A-R.P.). People who see the issue this

way may think that favouring boys in the school materials is acceptable or even recommended. According to the statistics, however, the success at school does not prevent girls from ending up at lowly paid jobs and getting less salary than men do for the same amount of work in every sector of working life. In contrast, an unsuccessful school career does not seem to prevent boys from finding a job easier than girls do in every sector of working life and ending up to more powerful and well-paid posts. (Statistics Finland 2003:24-28, 32-34, 44-45, 47-51, 91; Yli-Kovero 2004.) It seems hence that girls are the ones who are "tramped on" by boys later in life.

It would thus be better if teaching materials did not take anybody's "side", but strove to present both genders as equally as possible in the texts, headings, and illustrations instead. As Michel (1986:49) points out, presenting more male characters than females in the textbooks is in itself "an indication of sexism, since in virtually all societies, the number of women is equal, or even superior, to that of men". It is also in accordance with the goals of the Finnish national curriculum (Framework 1994:17) that the textbooks present both genders equally in occupational roles and family roles, and avoid reinforcing the traditional stereotypes. The textbooks may thus support gender equality and even broaden the world-view of youngsters by suggesting alternative views on gender (Michel 1986:48-49; Lahelma 1990b:55-56). This is important especially because Finnish children and youngsters seem to have stereotypical conceptions of gender roles (Tarmo 1989; Näre 1991; Turunen 1991).

As Broady (1986:15) points out, teachers are not often aware of the hidden curriculum and its possibly harmful effects on pupils. Metso (1992:277-278) also confirms that Finnish teachers do not pay much attention to gender roles in textbooks because they believe the authors make sure that the books do not contain sexism. As textbooks nevertheless often seem to contain sexist presentation of either or both genders, it is important that teachers are aware of the problem. Teachers are important agents in transmitting values in secondary socialisation, and they have also a possibility of neutralising the sexist material, as they convey the information of textbooks to pupils. They may initiate a critical discussion about the gender roles in a sexist textbook or otherwise draw attention to the issue, instead of ignoring it and indicating that there is nothing wrong in the presentation of genders. (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:26-27; Michel 1986:66-70.) Several studies have implied, however,

that teachers may need further training to be able to detect sexism in textbooks, as they may themselves have stereotypical conceptions of gender and implicitly support traditional roles (Huttunen and Happonen 1974:27; Michel 1986:66-70, 72; Lahelma 1990b:62-63; Tarmo 1991:195-203).

In conclusion, expanding the awareness about the sexism in school textbooks among textbook authors, publishers, and teachers may help to reduce inequality between the genders in Finnish society, and that has been the purpose of the present study also. Although the study was concerned only with two textbooks of the same series, the results of the analysis clearly indicated that it is possible to create sexist textbooks on the basis of a gender-neutral curriculum. However, the neutrality of the Finnish national curriculum may also be questioned after reading the official English translation:

> The **basis** for the tuition and education of the comprehensive school is **a positive notion of *man*** – starting with a child or youth who is curious, who has a desire to learn, and who is active. It is important to support *his* growth and encourage *his* studies in order to develop sound self-esteem and to help build a balanced personality. (Framework 1994:14; bold face original, italics added.)

It seems thus that even the curriculum itself contains sexist language, which indicates that there is still much to be done to achieve gender equality in education. Further studies on the sexism in the curriculum documents and in teaching materials are necessary to increase the awareness on the issue.

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APPENDIX A. DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT CHARACTERS ACCORDING TO GENDER IN *THE NEWS COURSES 1-4* AND *5-8*

The seventeen male characters and three female characters that appeared in both textbooks are taken into account twice, once for each textbook.

The News Courses 1-4.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Real characters	84.1% (116)	15.9% (22)	100% (138)
Realistic characters	55.0% (72)	45.0% (59)	100% (131)
Fictional characters	65.7% (92)	34.3% (48)	100% (140)
Animals	62.2% (23)	37.8% (14)	100% (37)
Total	*67.9% (303)*	*32.1% (143)*	*100% (446)*

The News Courses 5-8.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Real characters	83.1% (201)	16.9% (41)	100% (242)
Realistic characters	62.1% (131)	37.9% (80)	100% (211)
Fictional characters	74.4% (122)	25.6% (42)	100% (164)
Animals	66.7% (10)	33.3% (5)	100% (15)
Total	*73.4% (464)*	*26.6% (168)*	*100% (632)*

APPENDIX B. DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERS WITH NAMES AND WITHOUT NAMES ACCORDING TO GENDER IN *THE NEWS COURSES 1-4* AND *5-8*

The seventeen male characters and three female characters that appeared in both textbooks are taken into account twice, once for each textbook.

The News Courses 1-4.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Characters with names	71.0% (191)	29.0% (78)	100% (269)
Characters without names	63.3% (112)	36.7% (65)	100% (177)
Total	*67.9% (303)*	*32.1% (143)*	*100% (446)*
Proportion of characters with names	*63.0%*	*54.5%*	*60.3%*

The News Courses 5-8.

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Characters with names	78.1% (317)	21.9% (89)	100% (406)
Characters without names	65.0% (147)	35.0% (79)	100% (226)
Total	*73.4% (464)*	*26.6% (168)*	*100% (632)*
Proportion of characters with names	*68.3%*	*53.0%*	*64.2%*

APPENDIX C. DISTRIBUTION OF WORDS DESIGNATING MALES AND FEMALES IN *THE NEWS COURSES 1-4* AND *5-8*

The News Courses 1-4.

	Males	Females	Total
Common nouns and pronouns	69.9% (1,227)	30.1% (528)	100% (1,755)
Proper nouns	69.4% (884)	30.6% (390)	100% (1,274)
Total	*69.7% (2,111)*	*30.3% (918)*	*100% (3,029)*

The News Courses 5-8.

	Males	Females	Total
Common nouns and pronouns	65.9% (1,250)	34.1% (647)	100% (1,897)
Proper nouns	78.3% (1,012)	21.7% (280)	100% (1,292)
Total	*70.9% (2,262)*	*29.1% (927)*	*100% (3,189)*

APPENDIX D. COMMON NOUNS AND PRONOUNS DESIGNATING MALES AND FEMALES FROM THE MOST COMMON WORD TO THE LEAST COMMON

Texts 1-4: Number of occurrences in the texts of *The News Courses 1-4*.
Tapes 1-2: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 1-2*.
Tapes 3-4: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 3-4*.
Texts 5-8: Number of occurrences in the texts of *The News Courses 5-8*.
Tapes 5-6: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 5-6*.
Tapes 7-8: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 7-8*.
Total: Total number of occurrences in *The News Courses 1-8*.

If the same text appeared both on the tape and in the book, it was taken into account only when analysing the tape. The word in singular represents all the different forms of the word.

MALES	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
he/his/him/himself	240	274	366	163	305	397	1745
man	26	22	58	25	19	32	182
father/dad/pa/papa	10	20	12	13	37	47	139
boy		8	14	9	35	23	89
king	12	10	27	8	1	8	66
brother	6	10	11	4	10	9	50
prince	2	18	1	2			23
sir		5	3		10	3	21
son	4	1	5		7		17
husband		8		1	4		13
guy	1	1	1	1	4	2	10
cowboy/cowpoke		2		3	3	1	9
boyfriend		1		3	3	1	8
male	3				1	3	7
uncle	1			2	3		6
knight	2					4	6
salesman	2		3	1			6
Mr President					6		6
grandfather/granddad		2	2			1	5
policeman	1					4	5
businessman	1	4					5
emperor				4			4
sportsman	1	1				1	3
gentleman		1			1	1	3
swagman					3		3
schoolboy	1			1		1	3
fireman						3	3
groom				3			3
patrolman	1		1				2
man of steel			2				2
cameraman		2					2
Frenchman	1	1					2
tradesman		2					2
stuntman		2					2

MALES (CONTINUES)	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
Mr	2						2
nobleman						2	2
barman						2	2
stepfather	1						1
grandson					1		1
nephew			1				1
signalman			1				1
monsieur		1					1
snowman	1						1
lord	1						1
swordsman	1						1
tribesman	1						1
dustman	1						1
showman		1					1
icefisherman					1		1
congressman					1		1
seaman						1	1
chauvinist						1	1
helmsman						1	1
fisherman				1			1
bridegroom				1			1
godfather				1			1

2477 common nouns and pronouns
56 different common nouns and pronouns
732 common nouns
1745 pronouns

FEMALES	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
she/her/hers/herself	79	137	105	47	255	102	725
mother/mum/mom/ mummy	13	14	7	16	26	55	131
girl	2	16	10	11	13	12	64
woman	6	8	6	9	11	16	56
lady	3	5	6	2	4	9	29
grandmother/grandma/ granny	1	16	4	3	2	2	28
sister	4	5	6	2	2	1	20
wife	1	7	4	2	1	3	18
queen	4	3	6	3			16
girlfriend	1		1	3	5		10
stuntwoman	4	6					10
witch	1				9		10
daughter	1	4	1	1	1	1	9
princess	8	1					9
female	3		1			2	6
aunt	1	2				1	4
bride				3		1	4
actress		2		2			4
lioness	2	1					3
Miss	1		1	1			3
granddaughter			1	1			2
heroine	1	1					2
stepmother			1				1
stepsister			1				1
tigress			1				1
Ms	1						1
Frenchwoman	1						1
goddess	1						1
nigger bitch					1		1
cleaning lady					1		1
air stewardess						1	1
femme						1	1
showgirl						1	1
maiden						1	1

1175 common nouns and pronouns
34 different common nouns and pronouns
450 common nouns
725 pronouns

Appendix E. Proper Nouns Designating Males and Females

from the Most Common Word to the Least Common

Texts 1-4: Number of occurrences in the texts of *The News Courses 1-4*.
Tapes 1-2: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 1-2*.
Tapes 3-4: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 3-4*.
Texts 5-8: Number of occurrences in the texts of *The News Courses 5-8*.
Tapes 5-6: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 5-6*.
Tapes 7-8: Number of occurrences on the tapes of *The News Courses 7-8*.
Total: Total number of occurrences in *The News Courses 1-8*.

If the same text appeared both on the tape and in the book, it was taken into account only when analysing the tape. Only the names appearing in the textbooks four times or more were taken into account.

MALES	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
Lampo	7		59				66
King Arthur	48	4				1	53
Paul	2	25	1	5	12	2	47
John	6	9		17	7	1	40
Candy Man	2	37					39
Fudge						29	29
Tex					28		28
Tubby					27		27
Jack		9	13	1	2		25
Michael	3		1	1		19	24
Elvis	15			6	1		22
Tony	3			3	15		21
John Lennon				7	12		19
Tom	9	9	1				19
Puff	2		16				18
Scott	3		15				18
Ed		17					17
Superman	9		7				16
Connor				14		1	15
Graham					8	7	15
Columbus	3			3		8	14
Ferdinand			14				14
Lee				13		1	14
Wolfgang					14		14
Elvis Presley	5			7	2		14
David	1		5	4	2	1	13
Jason				2		11	13
Elvio	2		11				13
Tim	4	1	8				13
Leif				1		11	12
Alcock						12	12
Philippe						12	12
Brown						12	12
Sherlock Holmes	7	4					11
Simon	2			5	4		11

MALES (CONTINUES)	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
Dave	2		9				11
Mozart	1			7	3		11
Amundsen	1		10				11
Jake			11				11
Bill	6				4		10
Bernardo				4	6		10
Louis Armstrong			4	5			9
T. Rex	2	7					9
Brad	6	1	1				8
Asterix	4			3		1	8
Paul McCartney				7	1		8
Peter	1			2	1	4	8
James Dean	3	1		3	1		8
Tarzan	4	1		1	2		8
Ferd'nand	5			1		1	7
Chino				2	5		7
Dan					7		7
Marlon Brando				6	1		7
James Bond	2			5			7
Chris	1	1		5			7
Rusty	4	3					7
Jamie			6				6
Romeo				3	3		6
Don Quixote				1		5	6
Danny Kaye				4	2		6
Julius Caesar				5		1	6
Shakespeare				3	2	1	6
Christopher Columbus	4			1		1	6
Alfred Hitchcock				6			6
Caesar				5		1	6
George				4	2		6
Matt Groening	6						6
Wayne Gretzky	5				1		6
Sting	1		3	1			5
Andy	5						5
Bruce Morgan	1	4					5
Dee Jay					5		5
Larry Litmanen	1	4					5
Yuri Gagarin	1	2	2				5
Bill Haley	3		1			1	5
Mark	1				3	1	5
River				3		2	5
Jim				1		4	5
Bruce Springsteen	3	1			1		5
Cheeta	2			1	2		5
Leonard Bernstein				3	2		5
Holmes	5						5
Yeti	5						5
Bongo	4						4
Lindbergh	4						4

MALES (CONTINUES)	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
Arthur		4					4
Jeremy			4				4
Riff				1	3		4
Steve					4		4
Slash					4		4
William Gibson					4		4
Jean Sibelius				4			4
Sibelius				4			4
Charles M. Schulz				4			4
Nick				4			4
Steven Spielberg				4			4
John Foster				4			4
Paul Westlake	1	3					4
Sydney	3	1					4
Teemu Selänne	1	3					4
Stevie Wonder	2		1	1			4
Robinson Crusoe	3	1					4
Mickey Mouse	3					1	4
Robin Hood	3			1			4
Mr Direct				1	3		4
Mr Indirect				1	3		4
Armstrong	1			3			4
Tubby the Tuba				2	2		4
Albert				2	2		4
Jesus				2	2		4
St. Paul				3	1		4

111 different proper names

FEMALES	Texts 1-4	Tapes 1-2	Tapes 3-4	Texts 5-8	Tapes 5-6	Tapes 7-8	Total
Grizelda	34	14					48
Maria			2	7	30		39
Debbie	1	23					24
Little Red Riding Hood		23					23
Matilda				2	21		23
Marguerite	14	2	3				19
Alice	4	15					19
Helen					19		19
Demi		12					12
Mary	2	4		4		1	11
Isabelle	2	9					11
Jane	8	1				1	10
Queenie	3	7					10
Malice			9				9
Cathy				4	4		8
Nina	1			5		2	8
Vanessa			7				7
Mirna			7				7
Kate	1	3			3		7
Mary N'Dour	1	5					6
Nelly			6				6
Jessica	3	3					6
Juliet				2	3		5
Naomi			5				5
Vicky	1		4				5
Cheryl					5		5
Beryl	1		4				5
Agatha Christie	1			4			5
Mary Glasgow				5			5
Minna				2		3	5
Queen of Hearts	4						4
Pia Söderström		4					4
Dinah		4					4
Anne Ant	1	3					4
Jessica Randel	2	2					4
Princess Grizelda	1	3					4
Winnie			4				4
Julianna			4				4
Santa Maria	1					3	4
Rosemary	2	2					4
Sarah Meadows	2	2					4
Tracy	2		2				4
Sarah	3	1					4

43 different proper names

APPENDIX F. OCCUPATIONAL ROLES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN *THE NEWS COURSES 1-8*

The number of characters representing a certain occupational role is in the brackets.

Males

cosmonaut (1)
professional ice-hockey player (4)
musician (28)
writer (14)
actor (18)
astronaut (1)
astronomer (1)
explorer (4)
officer in the Royal Navy (1)
captain (4)
director (7)
scientist (7)
pharmacist (1)
truck driver (1)
artist (6)
producer (4)
worker in Information Centre (1)
inventor (3)
airmail pilot (1)
king (13)
emperor (4)
prime minister (1)
political editor (1)
businessman (2)
head cashier (1)
patrolman (1)
signalman (1)
cook (2)
station master (1)
guard (4)
designer (1)
correspondent (3)
lion-tamer (1)
professional snail-trainer (1)
waiter (1)
reporter (2)
sailor (8)
game warden (2)
police officer (4)
clown (2)
cameraman (2)
tradesman (1)
detective (7)
doctor (5)
school superintendent (1)
electrician (1)
construction worker (1)
matador/bullfighter (3)
farmer (3)
worker in the Ministry for the Environment (1)

host of a quiz show (1)
lieutenant of police (1)
salesman (1)
servant (1)
hunter (1)
referee (1)
professional football player (2)
cowboy (2)
usher (1)
Royal Magician (1)
Minister for Money (1)
warden (1)
knight (1)
minstrel (1)
football club manager (1)
prince (2)
singer (13)
composer (14)
host of a TV show (1)
manager (1)
violin maker (1)
captain general (1)
disc jockey (2)
journalist (2)
intelligence officer (1)
quartermaster (1)
president (4)
physicist (1)
racing-driver (1)
architect (2)
professional tennis player (1)
cartoonist (3)
screenwriter (1)
lieutenant (1)
bishop (1)
studio manager (1)
tailor (1)
cardinal (1)
pope (1)
language teacher (1)
worker in a hotel (1)
worker in a pub (1)
worker in a museum (1)
factory worker (1)
vendor (1)
life-guard (1)
worker in a cocktail lounge (1)
worker at a zoo (1)
manager of an enterprise (1)
archbishop (1)
flight captain (1)

host of a radio show (2)	congressman (1)
newspaper delivery man (1)	pianist (1)
shop keeper (2)	animator (1)
underwater photographer (1)	headmaster (1)
camp manager (1)	underground official (1)
conductor in a train (1)	barman (1)
conductor of an orchestra (3)	helmsman (1)
announcer (1)	store manager (1)
ice fisherman (2)	secret service agent (1)
general (1)	peasant (1)
president's aide (1)	bard (1)
attendant (1)	model (4)
boss (1)	dustman (1)

309 occupational roles
127 different occupational roles

Females

office worker (1)	model (5)
writer (2)	makeup artist (1)
queen (5)	sailor (1)
musician (2)	worker in labour exchange (1)
detective (1)	empress (1)
princess (4)	worker in advertising (1)
astronaut (1)	professional tennis player (2)
racing-driver (1)	correspondent (3)
environment agent (1)	inspector for the Royal Society (1)
sales assistant (1)	cook (1)
showgirl (1)	stuntwoman (2)
teacher (5)	actress (7)
trapeze artist (1)	cashier (2)
hairdresser (1)	cleaning lady (2)
restaurant manager (1)	reporter (1)
community service volunteer (1)	secretary (1)
shop keeper (1)	

62 occupational roles
33 different occupational roles

The most common occupations of males and females.

Males	Females
musician (28)	actress (7)
actor (18)	model (5)
composer (14)	teacher (5)
writer (14)	queen (5)
singer (13)	princess (4)
king (13)	correspondent (3)

APPENDIX **G. FAMILY ROLES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN** *THE NEWS COURSES 1-8*

The number of characters representing a certain family role is in the brackets.

Males	**Females**
father (62)	mother (51)
brother (25)	wife (11)
uncle (6)	sister (9)
son (5)	girlfriend (6)
grandfather (4)	daughter (5)
boyfriend (3)	grandmother (5)
nephew (2)	aunt (3)
husband (2)	granddaughter (2)
godfather (1)	stepmother (1)
stepfather (1)	stepsister (1)
grandson (1)	
112 family roles	**94 family roles**
11 different family roles	**10 different family roles**

APPENDIX H. OCCUPATIONAL ROLES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF *THE NEWS COURSES 1-8*

The number of illustrations presenting a certain occupational role is in the brackets.

Males

lion tamer (2)	doctor (2)
director (1)	electrician (1)
police officer (3)	plumber (1)
office worker (5)	bus driver (1)
construction worker (2)	window cleaner (1)
cook (4)	priest (1)
clown (2)	emperor (11)
cameraman (1)	pope (1)
station master (1)	king (2)
matador (3)	mine worker (1)
musician (31)	captain (1)
bartender (2)	detective (1)
conductor (1)	reporter (1)
chauffeur (1)	cowboy (1)
guard (3)	shop assistant (1)
politician (1)	farmer (1)
fireman (1)	conductor of a train (1)
factory worker (1)	computer engineer (1)
referee (1)	shopkeeper (1)
hunter (4)	minstrel (2)
knight (3)	worker in a hotel (1)
astronaut (3)	disc jockey (1)
waiter (2)	carpenter (1)

114 occupational roles
46 different occupational roles

Females

musician (4)	racing-driver (1)
office worker (1)	hunter (1)
farmer (1)	nurse (1)
astronaut (1)	worker in lunch room (2)
reporter (1)	factory worker (1)
queen (1)	politician (1)
cashier (1)	teacher (2)
shop assistant (1)	fortune-teller (1)

21 occupational roles
16 different occupational roles