

GENDER REPRESENTATIONS AND GENDER BIAS IN ELT TEXTBOOKS
PUBLISHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A CASE STUDY OF ELT TEXTBOOKS
PUBLISHED IN TURKEY AND IRAN

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OLGA S. SKLIAR

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. Wolf König
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Betil Eröz
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Betil Eröz (METU, FLE)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gölge Seferoğlu (METU, FLE)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Feyza Tantekin-Erden (METU, EE)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

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Skliar, Olga S.

M.A., Department of English Language Teaching
Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Betil Eröz

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In addition to general knowledge on the official curriculum subjects, including the English language, schools convey multiple cultural and ideological meanings, playing a significant role in the processes of socialization and cultural reproduction. The function of school textbooks as powerful agents of socialization is realized through the texts and visuals in the content. Locally issued ELT materials, written in English by local authors, comprise a combination of local and foreign social meanings. Positive social change may be initiated by constant revision of cultural and ideological implications in educational media and subsequent exclusion of integrated biased meanings and linguistic forms reinforcing social inequities.

This research study deals with gender representations and gender discriminatory meanings in ELT textbooks. It focuses on the ways gender-related social inequalities are reflected in texts and illustrations in two ELT series published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education and the Iranian Ministry of Education.

Critical discourse analysis was chosen for investigation of gender issues integrated in the content of the textbooks. The study examined representations of female and male characters at code level in the pronoun and noun systems, at sentence level in reading passages and dialogues, and in visuals.

The study revealed imbalance in representations of woman and man, and gender-related stereotypes in all examined categories of both ELT series. In both Turkish and Iranian textbook sets, traditional female and male roles depicting women as mothers and housewives and men as breadwinners were emphasized more than modern ones sustaining gender egalitarianism in public and family spheres. In contrast to women, men took active parts in all essential social fields, and bigger numbers of males than females were involved in texts and illustrations. Authors' gender did not have a big influence on the results obtained by the current research. It was suggested that gender-related ideologies and stereotypes are shared, supported, and unconsciously reproduced by both women and men in a society.

Keywords: Local ELT textbook, Turkey, Iran, Critical discourse analysis, gender, gender bias

ÖZ

ORTA DOĞU'DAKİ İNGİLİZCE DERS KİTAPLARINDA CİNSİYET TEMSİLİYETİ VE CİNSİYET ÖNYARGISI: TÜRKİYE VE İRAN'DA YAYINLANMIŞ İNGİLİZCE DERS KİTAPLARI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

Skliar, Olga S.

Yüksek Lisans, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Betil Eröz

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Okullar öğrencilere aralarında İngilizce dersinin de olduğu resmi müfredat derslerinin içeriğindeki bilgilerin yanı sıra sosyalleşme ve kültürel gelişim süreçlerinde önemli rol oynayan çeşitli kültürel ve ideolojik kavramlar da kazandırır. Önemli bir sosyalleşme aracı olan okul ders kitaplarının bu işlevi, içerikteki metinler ve imgeler aracılığıyla yerine getirilir. Kullanıldıkları ülkelerde basılan ve yerel yazarlar tarafından yazılan yerel İngilizce ders kitapları hem yazıldığı kültüre ait hem de yabancı kültürleri yansıtan sosyal anlamlar içerir. Olumlu sosyal değişim, eğitim araçlarındaki kültürel ve ideolojik imaların sürekli gözden geçirilmesi ve sosyal eşitsizlikleri vurgulayan dilbilimsel yapıların ve önyargıları öne çıkaran bölümlerin ders materyallerden çıkartılması ile başlatılabilir.

Bu araştırma, İngilizce ders kitaplarında cinsiyetlerin temsiliyetini ve cinsiyetlerle ilgili önyargıları incelemiştir. Araştırma cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal eşitsizliklerin, Türk ve İran Milli Eğitim Bakanlıkları tarafından yayınlanmış iki İngilizce ders kitabındaki metin ve resimlere nasıl yansıdığına odaklanmıştır.

Ders kitaplarının içeriğindeki cinsiyetle ilgili konuların araştırılması için Kritik Söylem Çözümlemesi (Critical Discourse Analysis) metodu kullanılmıştır. Araştırma, kadın ve erkek karakter temsiliyetini kitaplardaki zamir ve isim

kullanımında, okuma parçalarındaki cümlelerde ve diyalog ve imgelerde incelemiştir.

Araştırma, her iki İngilizce kitabı serisinde incelenen tüm kategorilerde erkek ve kadın temsiliyetleri arasında dengesizlik ve cinsiyetle ilgili genellemeler belirlemiştir. Hem Türkiye’de hem İran’da basılan kitap setlerinde kadınları anne ya da evhanımı, erkekleri de ailenin geçimini sağlayan kişi olarak gösteren geleneksel kadın ve erkek modelleri, toplum ve aile çevrelerinde cinsiyet eşitliğinin olduğu modern modellerden daha fazla vurgulanmıştır. Kadınların tersine, erkekler önemli sosyal alanlarda etkin rol üstlenirken gösterilmiş, metin ve resimlerde daha fazla görünmüşlerdir. Kitap yazarlarının cinsiyetleri bu araştırmanın sonuçlarını önemli ölçüde etkilememiştir. Cinsiyetle ilgili ideolojilerin ve genellemelerin, toplumlarda hem erkek hem kadınlar tarafından paylaşıldığı, desteklendiği ve bilinçli olmasa bile yaygınlaştırıldığı tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yerel İngilizce ders kitabı, Türkiye, İran, Kritik Söylem Çözümlemesi, Cinsiyet, Cinsiyet önyargısı

Моим горячо любимым бабушкам и дедушкам посвящается.
Светлой памяти В. П. Кочергина (1927-2003), дорогого дедушки и друга.

Вы навсегда в моем сердце.

Оля

To my dear grandparents.
In loving memory of V. P. Kochergin (1927-2003), my grandfather and friend.

I will forever miss you.

Olga

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0. Presentation	1
1.1. Statement of the Problem	1
1.2. Significance and Purpose of the Study	3
1.3. Research Questions	7
1.4. Scope and Limitations of the Study	7
1.5. Overview of the Study.....	8
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	9
2.0. Presentation	9
2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	9
2.1.1. Culture-Language Interaction: Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis	9
2.1.2. Main Concepts of CDA.....	13
2.1.3. Text Analysis, Discourse and Society.....	16
2.2. Gender Representations	20

2.2.1. Gender Analysis	20
2.2.2. Gender Bias in English	25
2.3. Classroom Materials: ELT Textbooks	28
2.3.1. Internal Nature of Schooling	28
2.3.2. Textbooks as Agents of Socialization	30
2.3.3. International Dimension of English	31
2.3.4. Culture in ELT Textbooks: Whose Meanings?	33
2.3.5. Main Policies and Textbook Research on Gender Bias	36
2.4. ELT in Turkey and Iran.....	42
2.4.1. ELT in Turkey	42
2.4.2. ELT in Iran	44
2.5. Actual Woman's Image and Roles in Turkey and Iran.....	46
2.5.1. Women in Turkey: State vs. Culture	47
2.5.2. Women in Iran vs. State-Mandated Identity	51
3. METHODOLOGY.....	55
3.0. Presentation	55
3.1. Background to the Study	55
3.2. Materials	57
3.2.1. New Bridge to Success (NBTS) Series	58
3.2.2. LSRW (Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing) Series	59
3.3. Data Analysis	60
3.4. Procedures	62
3.4.1. Presence of Females and Males in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials.....	63
3.4.1.1. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations.....	63
3.4.1.2. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names	64
3.4.1.3. Female/Male Presentation in Dialogues and Interviews.....	64

3.4.2. Images of Women and Men in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials	65
3.4.2.1. Gender-Related Cultural and Ideological Assumptions.....	65
3.4.2.2. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in NBTS.....	65
3.4.2.3. Occupational, Social Roles and Activities	66
3.4.3. Gender Bias of the English Language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials	66
3.4.3.1. Generic Constructions	66
3.4.4. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials	67
4. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	69
4.0. Presentation	69
4.1. Presence of Females and Males in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials	69
4.1.1. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in NBTS	70
4.1.2. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in LSRW	71
4.1.3. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in NBTS	72
4.1.4. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in LSRW.....	77
4.1.5. Female/Male Presentation in Dialogues and Interviews in NBTS	80
4.1.6. Female/Male Presentation in Dialogues in LSRW	84
4.2. Images of Women and Men in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials.....	86
4.2.1. Gender-Related Cultural and Ideological Assumptions in NBTS	86
4.2.2. Gender-Related Cultural and Ideological Assumptions in LSRW	91
4.2.3. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in NBTS.....	101
4.2.4. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in LSRW.....	109
4.2.5. Occupational, Social Roles and Activities in NBTS.....	113
4.2.6. Occupational, Social Roles and Activities in LSRW	120

4.3. Gender Bias of the English Language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials.....	125
4.3.1. Generic Constructions in NBTS	125
4.3.2. Generic Constructions in LSRW.....	128
4.4. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials.....	131
4.4.1. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in NBTS	131
4.4.2. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in LSRW	132
4.5. Conclusions	133
5. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	135
5.0. Presentation	135
5.1. Summary of the Study	135
5.2. The Interpretation of the Findings	136
5.3. Pedagogical Implications of Gender Imbalance in ELT Textbooks.....	139
5.4. Implications for Further Research	143
REFERENCES	146

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in NBTS.....	70
Table 2. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in LSRW.....	71
Table 3. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in NBTS.....	73
Table 4. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in LSRW.....	78
Table 5. Numbers of Same-Gender, Mixed-Gender and Gender-Neutral Dialogues (D) and Interviews (I) in NBTS	81
Table 6. Numbers of Male and Female Characters, Initiations, Turns, and Words in Mixed-Gender Dialogues in NBTS	82
Table 7. Numbers of Same-Gender, Mixed-Gender and Gender-Neutral Dialogues in LSRW.....	85
Table 8. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in NBTS.....	101
Table 9. Ratio of Female-Oriented to Male-Oriented Reading Passages in NBTS.....	102
Table 10. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in LSRW.....	110
Table 11. Occupations of Men and Women in Texts and Illustrations in NBTS ..	113
Table 12. Occupations of Men and Women in Texts and Illustrations in LSRW.	120
Table 13. The Numbers of Gender Related Pronouns and Nouns in Generic Constructions in NBTS	126
Table 14. The Numbers of Gender Related Pronouns and Nouns in Generic Constructions in LSRW.....	129
Table 15. Numbers of Female and Male Authors and Illustrators in NBTS.....	131
Table 16. Numbers of Female and Male Authors and Illustrators in LSRW.....	132

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1. Picture of a Grandfather and Grandchildren I	75
Figure 2. Picture of a Grandfather and Grandchildren II	76
Figure 3. Picture of a Woman and a Man Shaking Hands	87
Figure 4. Picture of a Woman With a Child.....	87
Figure 5. Picture of a Woman Doing Sports	88
Figure 6. Picture of a Chemistry Teacher and Students Working in a Chemical Laboratory	88
Figure 7. Picture of an Aged Couple.....	89
Figure 8. Picture of a Woman and a Man Dressed in Accordance with the Iranian Public Dressing Code	91
Figure 9. Picture of a Boy Wearing a T-shirt and Sports Shorts.....	92
Figure 10. Picture of a Man Wearing a Short-Sleeved Shirt.....	92
Figure 11. Picture of two Iranian Women Wearing Headscarves at Home	93
Figure 12. Picture of a Woman Washing Dishes with Rolled Up Sleeves	93
Figure 13. Picture a Man Mending a Car with Rolled Up Sleeves	93
Figure 14. Picture of a Female Classroom	94
Figure 15. Picture of Swimming Boys	94
Figure 16. Picture of a Sister and a Brother	94

Figure 17. Picture of Iranian Family Having a Picnic	95
Figure 18. Picture of Mother and Son.....	95
Figure 19. Picture of Iranian Family in front of the TV Set I.....	96
Figure 20. Picture of Iranian Family in front of the TV Set II.....	97
Figure 21. Picture of Iranian Family in the Garden	97
Figure 22. Picture of a Girl Who Cannot Understand Her Lesson	98
Figure 23. Picture of a Male Teacher and a Male Classroom.....	99
Figure 24. Picture of a Boy Who Gets Good Marks	99
Figure 25. Picture of a Male Bungee Jumping Instructor and Two Male Bungee Jumpers	102
Figure 26. Picture of Men “Sweating Blood” and “Bringing the Bacon”	105
Figure 27. Picture of Andrea Sitting on the Floor with a Broken Shoe Heel	106
Figure 28. Picture of Pinar When She Was Fat and When She Became Thin.....	107
Figure 29. Picture of a Girl Clasping the Photograph of her Music Idol to Her Bosom)	108
Figure 30. Picture of a Secretary and Her Boss	108
Figure 31. Picture of a Monkey Throwing a Coconut to a Male Farmer.....	110
Figure 32. Picture of Male Farmers Working in the Field.....	111
Figure 33. An Official Sign of “Support for Girls’ Schooling Campaign” (“Haydi Kızlar okula!”)	116
Figure 34. Picture of a Car Accident Caused by a Woman	117
Figure 35. Picture of a Woman Doing Housework.....	118

Figure 36. Picture of a Woman with Children	119
Figure 37. Picture of a Female Teacher in a Female School	121
Figure 38. Picture of a Female Doctor in a Female Hospital.....	121
Figure 39. Picture of a Woman Doing the Laundry.....	122
Figure 40. Picture of a Woman Dressing a Girl.....	122
Figure 41. Picture of Boys on the Playground	123
Figure 42. Picture of a Boy Going to Play Ping Pong	123
Figure 43. Picture of a Girl Studying Her Lessons	124

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Presentation

This chapter is intended primarily to familiarize the reader with the present study in general outline. Firstly, the main problem of concern will be introduced followed by the key purposes set by the study and research questions. Next, the scope and limitations of the study will be explained. Finally, a brief overview of the current research will be presented.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Michael Apple (1990) at the outset of the discussion on cultural and economic reproduction by educational institutions stressed the point that school is often viewed by economists and sociologists as a “black box” (p. 26). By the concept of a “black box” he implied that very little attention is given to the concrete experiences of children and teachers at school, and that the results of measuring input before school and output after school do not provide enough information for deeper insights into complicated social processes. For this reason one should not underestimate the role played by schools in our societies, since what is taking place within schools has a big influence on issues of greater scope, such as social control and social inequalities.

School’s reproductive power is being realized by means of legitimate, socially-approved knowledge distribution. According to van Dijk (2001), “science, and especially scholarly discourse, are inherently part of, and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction” (p. 352). The majority of people in

any society are consumers, drawing on the meanings produced by a small number of people, “the holders of ‘real knowledge’” (Apple, 1990, p. xiii). The issues related to the production, distribution, and evaluation of knowledge at schools are directly related to questions of control and power in the larger society (Giroux, 1988, p. 17).

In their educational materials Turkish students come across images of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; Iranian students experience a strict look of the political and religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini. The above-mentioned examples are easily identifiable ideological signs, but the majority of cultural and ideological meanings entering our minds and becoming integral parts of our identities, such as gender roles, often stay unrecognizable. All components of our identities, including gender, ethnicity, culture, class, are consciousness-based. Our identities represent a “‘cut’ in the flow of language and meaning” (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 42) produced by power and ideology. These meanings gradually constitute the habitus of a person (Bourdieu’s category). The elements of their own habitus are apprehended by people as natural and absolutely normal. In most cases they do not realize where the meanings of naturalness and regularity come from. Inculcated from childhood by institutions of power, social norms go into greater effect when children grow into adults and replace the preceding generations, thus playing their assigned parts in the course of the social reproduction.

Since school materials are historically accepted as trustworthy and reliable sources of information, students usually willingly and uncritically absorb knowledge represented by their textbooks. However, together with the focal information on formal school subjects, they are instilled with a peripheral “set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (Thompson, 1991, p. 12). Gender roles and related cultural and ideological meanings are a part of side-line knowledge conveyed by educational materials and classroom interaction. Discriminatory gender implications incorporated in textbooks, predisposing female and male students to absolutely different ways of acting and reacting, empower men

to determine their full potential in various social spheres and prevent women from doing the same by restricting them to family settings.

The authors of locally published ELT textbooks, whose work is supervised and approved by the state authorities, such as the Ministries of Education, consciously and unconsciously impart their cultural assumptions and ideologies in the content. English comprises cultural sets of meanings and ideologies associated with the society it descends from. Nowadays sexist forms in English are gradually extirpated and substituted by gender neutral constructions. Familiarity with the non-sexist English language implies omission of obsolete linguistic forms strengthening gender bias in ELT materials. When local authors are not aware of non-sexist language, locally produced ELT materials fuse local and grammatically recognizable built in the foreign language meanings, thus merging and reinforcing gender bias coming from two various sources, local cultures and the foreign language. For example, gender discriminatory meanings coming from local cultures manifest themselves through occupational and social roles and activities assigned to female and male characters in the content, and foreign sexism may be identified at code level in the pronoun and noun systems.

Inequity in gender representations brought up by schooling and reflected in educational materials is a question of vital importance, since curriculum and all its integrated components, including textbooks, turn out to be “a design for a future society” (Kress, 1996, p. 16).

1.2. Significance and Purpose of the Study

The present study focused on gender images and gender bias in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. The choice of countries was governed by the personal interest of the researcher in the current ELT situation in Turkey and Iran. Teaching in the English language classrooms in Turkey and observations of English lessons in the Iranian

schools raised a number of questions about cultural and ideological peculiarities influencing language teaching in these countries.

Before coming to Turkey for graduate-level training, the researcher worked in a multinational community established by Bishkek International School in Kyrgyzstan. Familiarization with various worldwide teaching and learning styles made her appreciate the value of diversity and raised multiple questions related to materials and curriculum development, cross-cultural communication, and the role of gender in coeducational classrooms. Teaching in a multinational classroom, which brought together the students from fifteen countries of the world, including Turkey and Iran, made the researcher reconsider her views of classroom aims and cultural assumptions underlying English teaching, which in that case were based on the requirements of English as an international language. In order to present the required subject in a multinational classroom effectively, English teachers need to be aware of local cultures and equipped with the knowledge about students' learning styles, goals, and interests. In order to overcome some misunderstandings, which arose from teaching methodologies, learning styles and cultural meanings in international ELT textbooks employed at Bishkek International School, the researcher had to learn about her students' educational backgrounds and preferences in learning, cultural peculiarities of ELT classrooms in their home countries, and the roles of teachers and students in those classrooms. The researcher interviewed the students and their families and also examined ELT methodologies, people's images and roles assigned to women and men in the educational materials brought from the students' home countries that helped to explain and smooth over various cultural differences affecting classroom interaction, and to create positive working atmosphere in the classroom.

In the year 2003, the researcher travelled in Iran where she visited several public primary and secondary schools in Tehran, Tabriz and Shiraz. Meeting Iranian female and male teachers and students and observing ELT lessons at those schools intensified the interest of the researcher in the classroom interaction, learning styles, teacher's roles, social meanings reflected in local materials, and students'

empowerment in sexually segregated classrooms of Iran. Furthermore, over the past several years the researcher has been teaching English to teenagers and young adults in Turkey at two private language schools in Ankara from international and local ELT materials. Combining western and local educational materials entailed comparison between western and local cultures and methodologies reflected in the textbooks and influences exerted by them on ELT students in Turkey. Since English teachers employing ELT materials in their classrooms do not only teach the language, but also transfer the integrated social meanings, textbooks used in the classroom need to be revised for discriminatory implications, which may exert negative influence on language learning. Basing on the six-year experience of English teaching from different educational materials to students with diverse cultural backgrounds, gender became one of the social meanings that awoke the researcher's interest. Gender inequalities reflected in educational materials significantly affect classroom interaction, learners' motivation and self-esteem. The primary purpose of this study is to examine gender representations and to reveal possible gender imbalance and gender discriminatory meanings in two ELT series published in Turkey and Iran.

The first ten years of person's life is the time when primary socialization takes place and gender roles are learnt. Research on gender roles in elementary school materials examined gender-related discriminatory meanings reinforced by school textbooks. Although research into gender roles in primary and secondary school educational materials has been carried out in Turkey and Iran (Arslan, 2000; Ansary & Babaii, 2003; Kaya, 2003; Sivasligil, 2006), there were no studies on gender representations in high school ELT textbooks. However, not only primary school children, but also high school students become the object of purposeful social policies. For example, gender representations in educational materials govern students' choices of areas of professional interest while anticipatory socialization, preparing young people for their future occupations and organizational positions, takes place. The study focused on ELT materials aimed at teenage groups of students at local public senior schools, since gender representations in educational media exert influence on the socialization of teenagers and their future social positions.

The study does not aim to compare Turkish and Iranian cultures and explores them separately from each other. However, this does not exclude the possibility that, due to geographical closeness, neighborly relations between Turkey and Iran, similar status of English as an international language, cross-cultural similarities in gender representations and in linguistic manifestations of gender bias may arise. Moreover, the parallel investigation framework employed by the research may produce comparative patterns between gender-related meanings in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. Within the present study Turkey and Iran are referred to as countries in the Middle East, including countries all the way from Southwest Asia to North Africa.

Despite amendments to the Civil Code (2002) proclaiming egalitarianism and equal opportunities for both genders in Turkey and the declaration in support of women's social self-determination made by the former Iranian president Khatami in 1997, women's representations in the most essential social spheres of Turkey and Iran are still low. The contemporary identities of Turkish and Iranian women are twofold: educated, self-sufficient, and rightful citizens on the one hand, and exemplary mothers and housewives on the other. Another purpose here is to identify state-mandated gender roles in Turkey and Iran by investigation of gender-related ideologies emphasizing either traditional or modern female and male images in the content of locally published ELT textbooks.

Due to the feminist movement of the 20-th century, discriminatory ideologies in international ELT materials are avoided; the sexist language is revised and substituted by politically correct gender-neutral forms. Nevertheless the recent research examining gender imbalance and gender related stereotypes in local ELT course books (Farooq, 1999; Ansary & Babaii, 2003) showed that the abovementioned equalizing policies are still disregarded by local authors and publishers. The next purpose of the present study is to discover whether Turkish and Iranian textbook writers and publishers conform to the rules of the non-sexist

language in their educational materials or continue using classical linguistic forms reinforcing gender bias.

1.3. Research Questions

The present study aimed at answering the following questions:

1. Is there equal presence of female and male characters in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials?
2. What are the images of women and men presented in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials?
3. Do Turkish and Iranian ELT textbooks manifest gender bias of the English language?
4. Does the authors' gender have an influence on gender balance in Turkish and Iranian ELT textbooks?

In view of the research questions the present study focused on exploring seven operating areas of gender bias in the content. The analysis identified the areas of greatest gender imbalance by investigating the data for each criterion across both ELT series. It mainly deals with grammatical gender representations in texts and appearances of both genders in texts and illustrations. The study includes seven categories from earlier research (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porecca, 1984; Sunderland, 1986; Farooq, 1999; Ansary & Babaii, 2003). Basing on the numerical data the study gave attention to detection and explanation of gender stereotypes and underlying ideologies in the content of the materials.

1.4. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The present study concerned with gender representations in ELT textbooks published in the Middle East was restricted to two neighboring countries, Turkey

and Iran. Due to this limitation the study does not provide sufficient foundation for making generalized conclusions about gender representations and gender-based ideologies in educational materials in the Middle East, which is culturally, politically, and religiously diverse area.

The study included specific corpus data limited to two ELT series, consisting of three textbooks each, published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education and the Iranian Ministry of Education and intended for public high schools in these countries; other types of educational materials, such as ELT textbooks for elementary and secondary public schools, textbooks employed by private schools and language courses lay beyond the boundaries of the study. It should be noted that, in order to enable a more detailed investigation of gender-related social meanings, only student's books were analyzed within the present research framework, all additional course components, such as workbooks and teacher's guides were not taken into consideration. It would surely improve the accountability of the results if both earlier and more recent locally issued textbooks were included and compared with the textbooks in the present study published around 2004-2005.

Since only seven operating areas of gender bias in the textbooks were examined, a more comprehensive and detailed framework including other areas of language use and structure, such as translation from Turkish and Farsi into English, contributing to gender imbalance would make the findings more consistent.

1.5. Overview of the Study

The present study consists of five chapters. The first chapter describes the main features and purposes of the study in general outline. The second chapter provides background information, reviews the main theories and earlier studies which provided the bases for the current research. The third chapter introduces the present study's methodology. The forth chapter presents the results and interprets the findings. The fifth chapter summarizes the study and the obtained results.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0. Presentation

This chapter aims to represent background information about the earlier research and the theories which provided the bases for the current study. The chapter starts with a review of historical perspectives in culture and language, proceeding to the main concepts of the Critical Discourse Analysis, employed as the data investigation instrument for the present thesis research. It is followed by examination of the main ideas brought forward by gender studies. Next, the nature of schools as agents of socialization and power knowledge distributors, the roles of textbooks in the processes of schooling, and overview of the main policies preventing gender bias in textbooks and research on gender bias in educational materials are being discussed. Since the countries taken into consideration by the present research on gender representations in ELT materials are Turkey and Iran, the next part focuses on the particular ELT settings of Turkey and Iran. A description of actual roles played by women in the social life of the countries emphasized by the present thesis will form the last part.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

2.1.1. Culture-Language Interaction: Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

Kaplan (1986) argued that the reason why we still do not have extensive definitions for language and culture is “because we are totally enmired in both, it is hard to get outside them enough to try to define them” (p. 19). In fact, understanding of culture

and correlation of culture with language has protractedly been a subject of much controversy in the humanities and social sciences.

Franz Boas (cited in Li, 2006), in his attempt to explain heterogeneity of linguistic forms in the languages of remote American Indian communities, concluded that a wide variety of linguistic forms is caused by dissimilar culture and life conditions of the speakers. Boas and his students, Ruth Benedict, Melville Herskovits, and Margaret Mead, the representatives of the classic school of cultural thought, interpreted culture as bounded, steady and time-insensitive teachable values, characterized by homogeneity and holism, adapted to certain life conditions, framing cognitive processes and linguistic patterns of a definite group of people and having future projection on their life (ibid., p. 10).

Boasian argument was extended by Sapir, who claimed that it was implausible that such a highly dynamic, flexible and ample entity as language could be in one way or another delimited by means of binding specific linguistic forms to particular cultural meanings. In fact, any cultural meaning can have more than one definition in our language. Sapir suggested that it is not merely language mirrors the culture of a group, but language, thought and culture are interrelated and most likely inter-determined. Afterwards Whorf's statement that human cognition is mediated by language and society furthered Sapir's idea. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to some extent combines cognitive science, linguistics and culture theory together by focusing on "the relationship between linguistic structures and native ways of categorizing cognitive experience" (Gumperz, 1961, p. 976). The Sapir-Whorf theory comprises two main principles: linguistic determinism, implying that thought is determined by language, that all people "... are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society", because "the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group ... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation" (Sapir, cited in Whorf, 1997, p. 443); and linguistic relativity,

bringing about an idea that people's thoughts' expression is shaped by linguistic systems they have at their disposal in a particular language.

Whorf compared Standard Average European languages to Hopi, an Indian tribal language of New Mexico. He found a lot of interesting dissimilarities between these two language types. Perception of numerals, duration, intensity, and tendency, nouns of physical quantity, temporal forms of verbs differed dramatically. Whorf concluded that language determines categories of thought. The strongest claim was that grammar of a particular language both helps the users of this language to perceive the world and at the same time limits their perception for the reason that people tend to notice and memorize things existent in their language.

Whorfian hypothesis was adapted in various linguistic approaches, including Critical Linguistics. In Fowler's reading of Whorf, dissimilarities of linguistic forms cause the speakers of different languages to "see the world" in different ways (cited in O'Halloran, 2003, p. 15). Accordingly linguistic choices made by text producers shape the reader's vision and perception of the described event. This issue is directly relevant to different types of media, including educational materials, which are the matter of concern in the present study:

A central question in text linguistic research into media is: how can ideology be established through structural analysis of texts... In essence this is a particular application of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis about the relation between language and world-view: how is the world-view of journalists [textbook writers] of a given newspaper [textbook] reflected in the text? (Renkema, cited in O'Halloran, 2003, p. 15).

The classic school's hypotheses were reconsidered by the contemporary school's cultural studies, placed on the colorful palette of modern social life. Williams (cited in Li, 2006), the founder of cultural studies, argued that a culture comprises two aspects: the known meanings and directions, which its members are taught, and the new observations and meanings, which are presented and tested by irreducibly diversified and concrete experiences of individuals themselves (p. 12). In contrast to the classic school, the contemporary scholars view people as active agents of

change, not only as passive accepters, but also as generators of new meanings. Williams's understanding of culture merges three social entities that are language, meaning and power distribution in the society: "Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, and its own meanings. Every human society expresses this in institutions, and in arts and learning. The making of a society is the finding of common meanings and directions" (ibid.). Culture of a society is based on the meanings shared by all participants of the society as a result of common experiences and common life conditions.

Consequently, cognitive processes depend on certain kinds of experiences in various contexts for their expression and development. Language is employed as means of transmitting, ratifying and compiling of continuously changing meaningful symbolical forms, which are not, in contrast to Boas, necessarily historical values coming from the previous generations: culture may consist of ancient and local, as well as new and globally transferable norms, ideals and attitudes (Li, p. 11, 2006). Nowadays the studies of culture imply exploring of symbolical meanings' production "through the signifying practices of language within material and institutional contexts" (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 4).

Culture is socially constructed and socially acquired knowledge, for its turn shaping the human cognition and perception of the reality. As a consequence, admitting the fact that most of all human activities bear a semantic load, we have to give our proper attention to culture as well, for the reason that any meaningful human activity will certainly have cultural implications. Culture, as language, is an integral part of the reality. It does not only reflect the meaning, it comprises systems of meanings itself. "[It] does not mirror an independent object world, but constructs and constitutes it" (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 1). Therefore, all language behavior patterns, such as gender-, class, ethnic-, region-, profession-, and age-related patterns, are interconnected with and constructed by cultural meanings.

2.1.2. Main Concepts of CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis is a linguistic trend directed toward detection, description and interpretation of different social meanings integrated in texts (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; van Dijk, 2001; Hodge and Kress, 1993). CDA, basing on cultural and linguistic studies represented by structuralists and poststructuralists and also, standing at the intersection of various disciplines, comprises extensive research into human psychology, language, sociology, political order and economics.

Cultural meanings are constituted through linguistic signs and codes. According to Saussure's system of signs, the relations between signs construct cultural meanings which consequently form cultural codes. This idea was broadened by Barthes (cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001) who added a power dimension to Saussure's sign system, where signs develop into myths preceded by denotative and connotative levels. In the beginning, Barthes refers to two main levels of signification involved in meaning production, which are denotation and connotation. Firstly, signifier and its signified form a denotative alliance, which generates an objective simple customary meaning easily decoded by all society members. Next, at the connotative level, meanings become more culturally specific and content-dependent. For instance, woman denotes an adult female human being, but she may connote femininity, kindness, motherhood and nurture, household, active social membership, feminism, irrationality, witchcraft, and even bad driving. Basing on Gramscian (1971) understanding of hegemony, van Dijk (1993) argues that the term hegemony should be used in cases "if the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will" (p. 255). This concept is in many ways connected to "myths" introduced by Barthes. Barthes describes myths as "naturalized" connotations, the products of hegemony, which are considered to be as given, normal and acceptable meanings within a taken society: "Myth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal" (cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 5). The system of signs, suggested by structuralist linguistics

and significantly extended by cultural studies, exerted a great influence on linguistic studies and developed far-reaching analytical perspectives in the language use research.

Intensive economic and social development, power relations and abuse, globalization, and cultural industrialization necessitated absolutely diverse forms of linguistic studies aiming at deeper interpretative, rather than descriptive, analysis and constructive criticism of the processes representing contemporary societies. The main goals of the critical linguistics were identified by Fowler (1996) as “defamiliarization or consciousness-raising” (p. 5). It was argued that:

Critical linguistics ... means an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis. This activity requires a very specific model of linguistics. The model has not only identify, and to label reliably, certain key linguistic constructions; it has to relate them to context in a specific way. (ibid.)

The “particular kind of linguistic analysis”, abovementioned by Fowler, is Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis, or as it is usually abbreviated, CDA, is a text analytic approach, providing necessary methodologies for the critical examination of texts and textual contexts, thus coming within the critical area of applied linguistics in a row with critical literacy and critical pedagogy (Pennycook, 2004, p. 784-786).

CDA interprets the ways in which uncritical readers can be indoctrinated with specific knowledge and controlled by texts. According to Richardson (cited in O'Halloran, 2003), to read uncritically and non-analytically means to be controlled and mystified (p. 14). CDA also explains how texts are related to social contexts of text production and distribution. Language is seen by CDA as social practice, and discourse, constituting and changing our society, as interpersonal use of language (Fairclough, 1995, p. 7). The fundamental idea of CDA is that all discourses, specifically institutional discourses, are “socio-politically [and culturally] ‘situated’” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 353). Knowledge, which is always constituted by

discourses, is never objective. There is no such thing as neutral knowledge, since any knowledge is produced by someone and certainly comprises predisposed, subjective, ideological meanings which can be discovered, explained, offered resistance and even removed by means of critical analysis. Connerton (cited in Fowler, 1996) argued that criticism, here we mean well-grounded and conclusive criticism, aims at changing or even eliminating the social conditions of what is considered to be a false or distorted consciousness, since criticism makes obvious what had previously been hidden (p. 5).

CDA is mainly concerned with the ways of power reproduction in texts, especially with the cases of ill effects caused by power implications in our societies, such as hegemony, injustice, dominance, discrimination, bigotry. Van Dijk (2001) stated that:

Critical discourse analysis ... primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately to resist social inequality. (p. 352)

Fairclough (1995), concerned mostly with linguistic aspects of texts and their links to wider socio-cultural settings, represented CDA as a 'three-dimensional' framework comprising three interfluent types of analysis: description of texts, discourse analysis, which is concerned with production, distribution and consumption of texts, and explanation of socio-cultural practices (p. 2). According to Janks (1997), it is easier to understand the inter-dependence of Fairclough's boxes if they are perceived three dimensionally as boxes nesting one inside the other (p. 330). Fairclough's three dimensions of CDA should not be abstracted from each other and studied separately; they are all parts of a single whole, mutually supporting and descriptive.

2.1.3. Text Analysis, Discourse and Society

Texts in CDA, as implied by Fairclough (1995), “are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world and social interaction” (p. 6). Hence texts are communicative events built upon personal interpretations of social meanings. It reflects Halliday’s concept of multifunctional character of texts comprising the ideational, interpersonal, and textual language functions (cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001, pp. 67-68). According to Halliday, “language is as it is because of its function in the social structure” (cited in O’Halloran, 2003, p. 16).

For Halliday (1977) texts represent “a continuous process of semantic choice. Text is meaning and meaning is choice, an ongoing current of selections” (p. 195). Thus meanings, mediated by individual’s reality perception, are being chosen from an endless stream of meanings and realized symbolically through texts. Halliday argued that texts are constructed by the society and in their turn construct the society by functioning in it:

In its most general significance a text is a sociological event, a semiotic encounter through which the meanings that constitute the social system are exchanged. The individual member is, by virtue of his membership, a 'meaner,' one who means. By his acts of meaning, and those of other individual meaners, the social reality is created, maintained in good order, and continuously shaped and modified. (ibid., p. 197)

Meanings constructed in texts can be uncovered, described and explained by textual analysis concerning examination of various levels of linguistic systems. Halliday defines lower (grammar, lexis, phonology) and higher (social, psychological, literary implications) levels of linguistic systems:

To say that a text has meaning as literature is to relate it specifically to a literary universe of discourse as distinct from others, and thus to interpret it in terms of literary norms and assumptions about the nature of meaning. The linguistic description of a text which is contextualized in this way attempts to explain its meaning as literature - why the reader interprets it as he does, and why he

evaluates it as he does. This involves relating the text to a higher level semiotic system which is faceted and layered in much the same way as the linguistic system itself. (ibid., p. 196)

Fairclough (1995) and Wodak (1999) argued that critical analysis should go deep into textual linguistics refraining from one-sided attention to a specific level and reductive comments on the studied issues. Analysts should make every effort to discern not only explicit but also implicit textual features along with what is omitted in a text. Examination of implicit textual items offers significant clues of what knowledge is considered to be common and customary in a particular society (Fairclough, 1995, p. 6).

Texts in cultural studies gain extremely broad definitions, any cultural artifact or a person can be treated as a text. Fairclough argues that this kind of text perception is too loose and precarious, since it makes important distinctions between different types of cultural artifact very unclear, and extends the concept of text too far (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4). Nevertheless, Fairclough reflects on the point that these days, texts cannot be roughly limited merely to a written or transcribed spoken discourse anymore, for the reason that most of the texts in our today's society became "increasingly multi-semiotic" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4), "multimodal" (Kress, 1996, p. 20). Multi-semiotics of the present expression forms becomes apparent through video images, sounds, music (e.g. television), drawings, photographs, tables and diagrams incorporated in texts. Kress argued that visual elements of texts are gaining greater importance for a variety of social reasons some of which are multiculturalism and globalization. Pictures, applying to deeper levels of human consciousness, can transfer more comprehensive messages than a written text is able to do. In view of petrography, drawing is an older type of expression than writing, so the drawn is primary; the written is secondary. Kress interpreted the visual as a sign which brings the reader of the sign "to the interest of the producer of the sign, however complex that interest may be" (ibid.). A visual sign represents a 'cut' of meanings at the moment of sign production: through the interest of a sign-maker a meaning is transferred, a metaphor is established, which transforms the represented reality at the moment when it is brought into semiosis (ibid., pp. 20-21).

Therefore, even though texts are primary subjects of examination in CDA we should not underestimate other forms of expression coexistent with them. A text is to be conceived as unification of all its components and linguistic levels, none of which should be neglected by CD analysis.

Analysis of discourse practices is a further part coming in between texts and social contexts of the three-dimensional framework represented by Fairclough (1995). It is concerned with the ways people in the society, who are text producers and interpreters, being guided by the popular explanations of truth and commonly accepted normality issues generating the social discourses by providing “a normative base” to them (Fowler, 1996, p. 11), thus contributing to people’s “commonsense world of everyday life” (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 35). As a consequence, discourses may be seen as constituents of social, economic and cultural processes and “changing discursive practices as part of wider processes of social and cultural change” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 19). Discourse theory may be considered as a scholastic attempt to underpin social disposition of humankind (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 484-487).

According to Foucault (1972), discourses are institutionally organized sets of meanings which delineate our speech, thus enabling the omnipresent realization of power, which “is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (Foucault, 1978, p. 93). Following Foucault, Kress (cited in Fowler, 1996) defines discourses as:

...systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution... A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about. (p. 7)

Therefore discourses demarcate context-dependent acceptability of speech from its socially- and culturally-inadmissible improper varieties, thus “channeling” (Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 486) the discursive processes. Discourses are systems of

meanings, which are never stable, but always contestable and uncertain. This suggests the idea that discourses are also never fixed, but open, unobstructed within themselves and other discourses.

Van Dijk (1993) suggested that power and dominance are based on the “privileged access” to various types of discourse (p. 255), representing a valuable power resource in a row with wealth, position, status, education, knowledge, income and so on (p. 254). Thus only doctors have access to medical discourse and only parliamentarians can take part in parliamentary disputes.

Fowler (1996) also argued that text-producers and text-consumers form their meanings basing on discourses available to them, accordingly discourses act as deterrent forces restricting both our expression and our perception of things:

Writers and readers are constituted by the discourses that are accessible to them. A writer can make texts only out of the available discourses, and so, *qua* writer, is socio-culturally constituted... Texts construct ‘reading positions’ for readers, that is, they suggest what ideological formations it is appropriate for readers to bring to texts.
(p. 7)

Furthermore Fowler mentioned that, despite texts intend to put an ideological influence upon readers, readers cannot be considered as passive recipients of integrated ideological implications for the reason that at the moment of reading they already obtain prior meanings and discourses. Fairclough (1995) argued that there is a certain difference between actual texts and the principles followed in production and interpretation of texts (p. 13). CDA within the framework suggested by Fairclough (1995) is concerned with production, which is writing or speaking, consumption, which is reading/listening and interpreting, and distribution of texts within “orders of discourse” (p. 13). Fairclough adapted the Foucaultian concept of “order of discourse” (as cited in Fairclough, 1995, p. 12), implicating that all sorts of discursive practices are being realized through various institutional communicative events, such as lectures, seminars, informal conversations, debates, reports, receptions of patients, press releases, etc. He argued that “social actions

tend very much to cluster in terms of institutions” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 37), thus advocating institution discourse analysis as distinct from the studies of casual conversations.

Social institutions are seen by Fairclough (1995) as heterogeneous structures consisting of different groups of subjects controlling “diverse ‘ideological-discursive formations’ (IDFs)” and being constructed under the norms of these IDFs (p. 27). Discursive practices, to a greater or lesser extent connected with each other, may be specified as complementary or alternative tactics in particular social contexts. Accordingly, all sorts of social actors, i.e. teachers, doctors, journalists and parliamentarians, ground their discourse choices upon available discursive practices, by adopting or excluding them while modeling interactions with their target audiences.

2.2. Gender Representations

2.2.1. Gender Analysis

The categories of sex and gender apparently rest on three main premises which are biology, culture and the social self. The essentialist position, the “natural attitude” (Garfinkel, 1967), suggesting that gender is defined by sex, which is a permanent invariable biological characteristic based on a biologically sexed body of a person, describing each individual in the society either as a man or as a woman (Hawkesworth, 1997, p. 651), does not receive favorable comments in social studies nowadays. Even though sociologists take into consideration biological sex, it is believed that gender, one of the meanings constructing our personal identities, rather belongs to culture, society and psychology than to biology and chemistry. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), “sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex” (p. 10). The authors argue that the categories of sex and gender are closely interrelated and run into each other, thus it is hard to delineate where sex finishes and gender starts. Moreover, the category of biological

sex takes part in the social formation of a person, and social patterns in their turn constitute gendered individuals. Sex is viewed as a biological category, like age, that is a primary basis for the differentiation of roles, normative behaviors, and expectations in all societies (Eckert, 1997, p. 213), consequently making up gender. Therefore, in recognition of ourselves and others as male/female we are driven by social contexts: “the definition of males and females, people’s understanding of themselves and others as male or female is ultimately social” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10).

Contemporary feminists (Butler, 1993, 1999), contributing to an idea offered by de Beauvoir (1972) that a person, encouraged by social contexts, is not born as a woman, but becomes one, argued that gender is entirely socially- and culturally-constructed, corresponding to public norms categories, coming into the vision through discourses controlled by power relations:

The category of ‘sex’ is, from the start, normative; it is what Foucault has called a ‘regulatory ideal’. In this sense, then, ‘sex’ not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce-demarcate, circulate, differentiate-the bodies it controls. Thus ‘sex’ is a regulatory ideal whose materialization is compelled, and this materialization takes place (or fails to take place) through certain highly regulated practices. (Butler, 1993, cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 49)

Gender is one of multiple meanings constructing our personal identities, stabilized by social power. Butler referred to Foucaultian (1978) understanding of sexuality grounded upon the concept of power as a “hegemony designed for normalization” (Burns, cited in Misztal, 2001, p. 318), which is not acting “from above” as a unified supremacy of law but through multiple controlling forces operating on each level of a society. He argued that power over processes of life developed in two polar forms tied together by multifarious social relations: control over the body as a labor resource and control over reproductive potentialities of the body (p. 139). The regulatory actions are intended for a nuclear family model of sexuality, which is a

social criterion of normality, a stabilized meaning, standardized and constantly reinforced through various power institutions.

For Butler, gender is a stereotyped performative essence, which is very similar to the idea expressed by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) that “gender is not something we have but that we do” (p. 32). Gender, produced by means of repetitive engrafting of popularized hegemonic norms from the outset of each individual, is not relevant to personal choices. Accordingly, a person born with female breeding organs is firstly described, grouped and consequently treated as a female, and subsequently demanded to perform as a female, which is speaking and behaving, thus fitting predetermined female roles like other females in a taken society conventionally do:

This is a ‘girl’, however, who is compelled to ‘cite’ the norm in order to qualify and remain a viable subject. Femininity is thus not the product of choice, but the forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, punishment. Indeed, there is not ‘one’ who takes on a gender norm. On the contrary, this citation of the gender norm is necessary in order to qualify as a ‘one’, to become viable as a ‘one’, where subject-formation is dependent on the prior operation of legitimating gender norms. (Butler, cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 50)

The stereotyped nature of gender lies within the verity that obedience to socially approved heterosexual norms is expected from every member in a society; the individuals who do not meet the standards are classified as exceptions and inferior types. Resistance to the norms is interpreted as odd and abnormal behaviors posing a threat to a set social order.

The performance of gender is integrated in people’s discourse choices. Social standards of gendered performance for men and women differ. For example, variations in men and women’s talk have been explained in different ways. Lakoff (1975), followed by Tannen (1991), viewed gender as a stable given general characteristic, isolated from communicative practices, detached from other meanings constructing our personal identities. This implied close-cut separation and

polarization of male and female discourses, which are represented as “linguistic forms that seemed to be used as signals” (Freeman & McElhinny, 1996, p. 235): women are more polite than men, they use weaker expletives and correct grammar, they never tell jokes and speak on trivial topics, they make use of “empty” adjectives, women employ more tag questions and intensifiers than men, and so on (ibid., p. 232). Lakoff views men’s talk as dominant and women’s talk as subordinate to men’s talk. Women, in contrast to men, are taught to be nonassertive, cautious, polite and accurate in their behaviors and their use of language, channeled by reiteration of hegemonic statements like “Girls do not shout! Girls do not use bad language!” Subsequently, if they adapt to the social expectations by speaking softly and timidly, their speaking styles are positively viewed as feminine, but they are denied access to social power, and if they do not act in accordance with the performative norms, such women are criticized and seen as aggressive and mannish. Tannen (1991) also divides men and women into two divergent speech communities, stating that men speak to proclaim power, “life [for men] ... is a contest, a struggle to preserve independence and avoid failure” (p. 24-25), and women speak to connect, “life [for women] is a community, a struggle to preserve intimacy and avoid isolation” (p. 25).

Maltz and Borker (1989) argued that men and women’s discourses are not isolated variables, but “being culturally constructed or dependent on context” (p. 411). According to Maltz and Borker (1982), differences in women and men’s speech are linked to their sociolinguistic subcultures. Childhood experiences take on special significance in the formation of these subcultures. Dual-culture model suggested by Maltz and Borker implies that while growing representatives of different biological sexes, due to their interaction mostly with members of their own gender in early years, acquire totally different communication skills and adopt absolutely unlike types of behavior. As a result women, inspired by an intimate childhood friend’s figure, are apt to base their relationships on closeness and equality. On the contrary, men’s speech and behaviors are conventionally power-centered, due to their childhood experiences within the competitive in nature boys’ groups. From the very outset of men’s socialization they are being inoculated against mother’s feminine

discourses through the repeated performance of regulations like “Stop acting like a girl! Boys never cry! Be a man!” Consequently, in their discourse practices men tend to establish status and superiority. It is acceptable for women to be emotional, sensitive and tearful, but an emotional and sensitive man is classified as ‘soft’, which presets negative connotations.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 1995, 1999) argued that strict division of men and women’s discourse practices, popularized by previous gender research, leads to oversimplification of gender and ignoring the diversity of speech in groups of men and women, their cultural characteristics, and also sustains isolation of gender from other important social variables such as age, class and ethnicity:

... the social practices that construct gender are at the same time also constructing other aspects of identity-such as life stage, heterosexuality, ethnicity, or social class-illuminating generalizations involving gender are most likely to emerge when gender is examined not in isolation, but interaction with other social variables. (1999, pp. 190-191)

Similarly, Butler (1999) considers gender as an integral part of social order which cannot be taken as fixed and abstracted from the other components such as race, ethnicity, class, and so on:

Gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, ... gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out ‘gender’ from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained. (p. 6)

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet’s (1999) main claim is that “it is what people are doing which gives their interactions real bite, and which constructs language and gender” (p. 190). In a similar way, Goodwin (cited in Ehrlich, 1997) argued that when talk of individuals involved in various social activities is studied, the speaking styles labeled emphatically as men and women’s by the previous research do not

prove to be true. For that reason, gender in a row with other meanings composing identities, should be examined inseparably from social practices:

In order to construct social personae appropriate to the events at the moment, the same individuals articulate talk and gender differently as they move from one activity to another. The relevant unit of analysis of cultural phenomena, including gender, is thus not the group as a whole, or the individual, but rather situated activities. (ibid., p. 422)

All people in a society participate in various communities of practice. Communities of practice are groups of people who get together for the same purpose and perform the common task. Individual meanings, one of which is gender, come into view and are being negotiated in the communities of practice. Communities of practice within the society may directly relate to each other, may overlap and embrace others (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 188). They can be same- and mixed-gender, big and small, long- and short-term, recognized and unrecognized, global and local, but all of them should be of immense interest for a researcher, since “it is vital that [studies] be compared with one another, so that general patterns can be clarified” (ibid., p. 200).

2.2.2. Gender Bias in English

Visualization of human society as a commonwealth of various communities of practice involving representatives of both genders who employ different types of discourses depending on the task they fulfill instead of following the authoritarian formula fixing strict boundaries between female and male social roles and modes of behavior will help to escape sexist attitudes in our society. Sexist policies divide and treat people in the society on the basis of their gender and their conformity with the established gender norms disregarding personal and professional qualities and merits. Gender bias manifests itself openly and implicitly in all spheres of people’s social life, such as education, family, work place, services sector and business field. It is being put into effect from early stages of person’s socialization through various institutions of power and becomes apparent and reinforced by means of the

language ever learnt by people (Trudgill, 1974). According to Whorfian hypothesis, language shapes our vision of the world and everything in the world, including our perception of gender. If sexist linguistic components are present in the language we learn, they gradually become an integral part of ourselves and start operating on unconscious level, defining our words and deeds.

Social science determines several types of sexism existing in human society, such as sexism against females, males, transsexes and intersexes. Sexism against females, the first form of sexism ever identified, got prominent consideration nowadays. In fact, sexist tendencies can be found in almost every natural language, including English. Historically sexist world outlook against women in European countries has been to a large extent initiated by Christian Church and Biblical misinterpretations, thus attaching primary importance to men and subordinating women. In spite of that it is said in the Bible: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Galatians 3:28, New International Version), the Biblical verses reinforcing woman’s traditional roles and submissiveness to man by means of dogmatic confirmation of her sinful nature were commonly popularized:

Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet woman will be saved through bearing children, if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty. (1 Timothy 2:8-15, New International Version)

Consequently, women were silenced for centuries and restrained from power and control. Being man’s wife and his children’s mother are still considered as primary and the most important roles assigned to women in many contemporary societies. If someone’s way of life does not correspond to social norms, she will be inevitably exposed to negativism, disgrace and even incur ridicule in the society. Nowadays in many cultures woman’s marriage is still considered as the most important event of her life. In general, in western countries emphases have shifted and in addition to (in

some cases instead of) traditional female roles women got access to other spheres of social life which used to be prohibited for them not long ago. However, if we look back into the history we will see lots of examples of sexist attitudes to women in western culture, some of them are still alive. For example, according to an old English tradition, if a younger sister got married before an older one, the older sister unavoidably became an old maid and had to dance publicly barefoot in her younger sister's wedding, thus admitting her defeat. More than that according to an old English belief, they say, old maids "lead apes in hell" after their death. Evidence of that can be found in Shakespeare's play when an older sister says to her father bitterly:

Nay, now I see
She is your treasure; she must have a husband;
I must dance bare-foot on her wedding-day,
And for your love to her lead apes in hell.

(W. Shakespeare, 'The Taming of the Shrew', act II, sc. 1)

Nowadays in Western countries, initiated by the feminist movement of the 20-th century, practices of sexist language extermination and gender-neutral language implementation in literature and media gained a great popularity. For example, on the word level, generic usage of the pronoun *he/him/his/himself* and of the noun *man/men* referring to all human beings in the world, moreover words like *brotherhood*, *mankind*, *forefathers*, *spokesman*, *manmade*, sex-linked jobs such as *fireman*, *businessman*, *poetess*, and *manageress* are considered to be vestiges of the past. They are being gradually replaced by politically correct gender-neutral "singular they" (Sunderland, 1992, p. 82), and gender dual forms, like *person*, *humanity*, *community*, *ancestors*, *spokesperson*, *manufactured*, *firefighter*, *businessperson*, *poet*, and *manager*. What is more, "male firstness" (ibid) in noun and pronoun pairs, such as *men and women*, *he/she*, *boys and girls*, etc., is being revised. In addition to that, a great importance is given to avoiding gender stereotypes: viewing women and men only in their traditional roles as housekeepers and breadwinners, and a nuclear family as the only appropriate family type.

2.3. Classroom Materials: ELT Textbooks

2.3.1. Internal Nature of Schooling

School discourses work as transmitters of ideologies, which are “particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 275). School does not only teach students factual scientific and humanitarian knowledge, but at the same time it introduces lots of other meanings and injects multiple ideological, political and cultural messages and symbols into people’s minds thus “processing” (Young, cited in Apple, 1990, p. 6) them into satisfactory members of the society. It happens while children are learning how to conform to the formal rules of the school and also to the informal conventions, values and norms perpetuated through the processes of socialization.

Giroux and Penna (1988) argued that the idea that schooling can be interpreted as the sum of its official curriculum courses is a naïve one (p. 21). Accordingly, the actual school curriculum is not an ingenuous set of subjects, besides language, science and art courses it contains

... manifest and latent or coded reflections of modes of material production, ideological values, class relations, and structures of social power-racial and sexual as well as politico-economic- on the state of consciousness of people in a precise historical or socio-economic situation. (Lazere, cited in Apple, 1990, pp. 1-2)

In the curriculum studies (Dreeben, 1968; Jackson, 1968; Overly, 1970; Apple & King, 1977; Giroux 1983, 1988) the covert elements of the curriculum are referred to as the “hidden curriculum”. The “hidden curriculum” was defined by Giroux (1988) as “the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning and both the formal content the social relations of school and classroom life” (p. 23). Similarly to Apple, Bourdieu, and Bernstein, Giroux perceives the school as an exclusively sociopolitical product and

as “an agent of socialization”, where people learn their own society, its cultural elements, social norms, roles, and behaviors (ibid., p. 22).

According to Foucault (1981), schools as “disciplinary institutions” construct “power knowledge” defining individuals, transforming them into law-abiding teachable beings and shaping individual’s cultural values, behaviors and notions of appropriacy which consequently gain a central idea of normality and legitimacy in people’s minds. Foucault puts forward the concept of governmentality, comprising modes of regulation and policing, operating through medicine, school and criminology, consequently sorting people into controllable groups. Foucault (1979) argued that

The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the "social worker" –judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behavior, his aptitudes, his achievements (p. 304).

The notion of normality and legitimacy brings up the paradox demonstrated by Foucault’s work that people freely opt to control themselves. Thus the social order, initially constituted by “power knowledge”, is accepted as legitimate and further reproduced by individuals themselves.

As it was mentioned above, school is seen by many authors as a powerful “agent of socialization” (Giroux, 1988, p. 22) conveying multiple social meanings, consequently forming the habitus of a person (Bourdieu’s category), which keeps her/him within certain regulatory bounds. Cultural values and social norms of behavior, coming into our minds, perceptibly or imperceptibly, linguistically or non-linguistically, from classroom walls, school artifacts, course books’ texts and illustrations, teachers’ lectures, and peer-to-peer communication, become an integral part of us, define our view of the inside and the outside world. This is related to Foucaultian concept of “governmentality” which implies that all processes of social regulation do not act against the individual but along with and

from inside the individual, as “self reflective modes of conduct, ethical competences and social movements” (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 13).

To put it briefly, institutions of power, including schools, primarily force and compel the individuals, inserting particular ideological meanings into their minds which obtain the form of normality and commonness merging with other meanings constituting the personal identities and result in acting on their own as self-controlling mechanisms.

2.3.2. Textbooks as Agents of Socialization

School textbooks are historically considered to be reliable and respectful knowledge media whose credibility is rarely called in question: “... recipients tend to accept belief through discourse form what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources...” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 357). However, knowledge is never neutral, it always belongs to someone, and textbooks as knowledge media cannot be seen as innocent depoliticized matter. Cultural and ideological work of schools, defined earlier as institutions of power, is mediated by school institutional discourses, including textbooks. Thus school textbooks can be awarded a name of powerful influential tools, power agents, constructing social identities in particular and social order in general. Texts and visual designs in the textbooks are employed to represent refined social truths and norms, judgments about the world and often stereotyped perceptions of “the others” living in this world, which are gradually engrafted in people’s minds and which consequently become an integral part of people’s social identities. Kress (1996) argued that school comprising underlying curriculum and related pedagogies “puts forward a set of cultural, linguistic and social resources which students have available as resources for their own transformation, in relation to which (among others) students constantly construct, reconstruct and transform their subjectivity” (p. 16). Armstrong (1998) expresses a similar point of view, giving students a name of “base metals” used by alchemists in the Middle Ages: “Do curricula in schools treat children as ‘base metals’ which need transforming?” (p. 145).

The authors of the textbooks, coming from certain cultural and ideological backgrounds, consciously or unconsciously inculcate in the content of school materials their own social meanings, signifying prioritized points of view, gender, racial and social class relations. In cases when production of schoolbooks is supervised by the government, the meanings introduced by the author undergo strict official censoring, which acts as a regulatory power mechanism accomplishing the cut of meanings intended for specific audiences of students constructing their preferential knowledge about the world, i.e. their cultural capital. As argued by Apple (1990):

The knowledge that now gets into schools is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles. It is a form of cultural capital that comes from somewhere, that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our social collectivity. In its very production and dissemination as a public and economic commodity-as books, films, materials, and so forth-it is repeatedly filtered through ideological and economic commitments. (p. 8)

2.3.3. International Dimension of English

According to Zajda (2004), today's irrefutable reality is that power over knowledge got distributed within a few developed nations. Consequently, most of scientific and humanitarian literature is issued in English nowadays; access to this knowledge necessitates English learning in non-English speaking countries all over the world. People learning English as a foreign language and applying it in scientific and humanitarian spheres are guided by the techno-deterministic principles of the Western educational model reflected in Anglo-American textbooks and "are not only obliged to reach a high level of competence in English to pursue their studies, but they are also dependent on forms of western knowledge that are often of limited value and extreme inappropriacy to the local context" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 82).

English obtained universal recognition of world/international/global language in the present world which became a subject of much controversy. On the one hand, some authors consider the spread of English to be a natural and positive process, claiming that “the world has opted for English, and the world knows what it wants, what will satisfy its needs” (Hindmarsh, cited in Pennycook, *ibid.*, p. 79) and that English is “the natural choice for progress” (Crystal, 1997, p. 75). On the other hand, the wide spread of English, which is often viewed “as an instrument for imposition of power” (Widdowson, 1997, p. 136), caused alarm within local cultures subjected to processes of nativization of English or Englishisation of local languages, and apprehension concerning linguistic imperialism, which is “an essential constituent of imperialism as a global phenomenon involving structural relations between rich and poor countries in a world characterized by inequality and injustice” (Phillipson, 1988, cited in Pennycook, 2001, p. 82). However, some authors take a neutral position viewing English as means of international communication (Fishman, *ibid.*), global education and open society, which should be taught as a language of intercultural exchange, “so that the language and culture of learners will be valued alongside English” (Corbett, cited in Erling, 2005, p. 43). According to Grant (2001), educators should move away from deterministic ethnic and cultural paradigms, leading mostly to differences and conflict, and reinforce social principles valuing universal human rights and world law. This approach will help us to “respect cultural heritage, but move beyond to arrive at a more open and humane civilization plane” (Grant, 2001, p. 79).

The vision of English as a neutral communicative tool can be disputed on the basis that linguistic and cultural patterns are interrelated and inter-constituted, for this reason cannot be abstracted from each other. Therefore none of the natural languages can be considered as totally culture-free or neutral. On the other hand, original native cultural meanings integrated in language, are fluid, not constant, they are permanently changing by being supplemented and replaced within interacting texts (Derrida, 1978); accordingly language itself is not a fixed and invariable entity transferred in vacuum. As it was stated by Widdowson (1997), language “is not transmitted without being transformed” (p. 136). Cultural meanings constituting

language are being changed and modified by active audiences using the language for international communication. As a consequence, according to Widdowson (1997), linguistic imperialism cannot be considered as a justifiable threat since language after it was put into practice as a communicative tool belongs to people speaking the language and is constituted by their personal meanings and cultures: “[Language] is not well adapted to control because it is itself adaptable... The point about the control of people by language is that it is bound to fail because as soon as the language is used it cannot be kept under your control. People appropriate it” (ibid.).

In fact, people cannot be controlled when they start acting as independent language speakers, but they are controlled and channeled by classroom discourses and materials on earlier stages of foreign language education, that definitely exerts a great influence upon their later practices with language. Ideologies inoculated by educational institutions merge with personal meanings and act inseparably from people’s personalities. Where in the world the foreign language classroom is located, whether ELT is a part of a state school curriculum or a private language course, whether foreign or local materials are used, whether the teacher is a native or non-native speaker, what are the main goals of students in English learning, what are their age and educational background, all these factors have a profound effect on learners and their further functioning as independent language speakers within native or international speech communities.

2.3.4. Culture in ELT Textbooks: Whose Meanings?

ELT textbooks written by British or American authors are strongly based on the culture and the contexts of the Anglo-American world, representing for the most part alien to local cultures modes of behavior often causing misunderstanding and even raising discontent in the countries with dissimilar cultural and ideological backgrounds. It brings us to a paradoxical situation of English teaching in foreign contexts. On the one hand, the use of culture inclusive foreign materials and pedagogies may obstruct the English language learning in many ways. On the other

hand, language cannot be taken apart from its culture, for the reason that it “has no function independently of the social contexts in which it is used” (Alptekin, 1993, p. 141).

Widdowson (cited in Alptekin, 1993), whose extensive body of work lies within the field of communicative language teaching, determines two main types of knowledge, “schematic knowledge”, which is acquired socially, and “systematic”, which is the knowledge of semantics and syntax of language. While people are learning native languages, their mutually supportive schematic and systematic knowledge are developing gradually and simultaneously, what is enculturation. (ibid., p. 136). In terms of the foreign language learning and concurrent acculturation, i.e. adaptation to another culture, native schematic knowledge does not support the newly acquired systematic knowledge of a foreign language, thus obstructing the foreign language communicative competence: “Learners cannot simply shake off their own culture and step into another ... their culture is a part of themselves and created them as social beings” (Byram & Morgan, 1994, p. 43). As argued by Saville-Troike (1996), effective functioning within a speech community is not achieved merely by means of the adequate knowledge of a particular language (p. 359). Communicatively, or pragmatically, competent language speaker demonstrates the ability to use the language appropriately in certain cultural and social contexts, in a wide range of situations, under different circumstances, with various speakers involved (Lightbown & Spada, 1999; Gass & Selinker, 2001). Becoming more competent communicators within the targeted foreign language and its culture is taking on special significance nowadays for the reason that our everyday life is carried out in multicultural societies (Agar, 1997, p. 464). The socio-cultural competence has been considered to be an important constituent of communicative competence.

However, taking into consideration today’s status of English as a lingua franca when it is spoken in the situations when a native speaker is not involved, it may be argued that, in contrast to other languages, English cannot be located exclusively within the limits of its own traditional cultural contexts for the reason that there are

also non-native contexts where English is spoken and “such contexts are as varied as they are numerous” (Alptekin, 1993, p. 141). Does it mean that we, the English speakers of an “expanded circle” (Kachru, 1986) using this language internationally, i.e. neutrally, should uproot English from its cultural contexts and transplant it into our own cultural soil and wait as long as it takes root? Multiple attempts to protect English learners in foreign contexts from the alien culture and ideologies brought over by English have been made by the governments of many countries in the world, including Turkey and Iran, by means of local textbook publishing.

Locally published ELT textbooks are textbooks written by local writers, the representatives of local cultures, whose work is strictly supervised and whose meanings, shaped by local contexts, are controlled and approved by the local Ministries of Education. The local textbooks, comprising an odd combination of language systematic data and local schematic knowledge and being widely used by public schools, are an important part of general school curricula and “culturally and experientially appropriate for learners in developing countries” (Prodromou, 1988, p. 76). They include familiar to students cultures and ideologies, they employ local personal and geographic names and well-known native settings. These books usually do not teach pragmatics but teach grammar and vocabulary apart from their native contexts, very often showing local people without any natural reason speaking English among each other in the situations when no foreigners are present. Sometimes these textbooks accommodate themselves too much to the local contexts by giving profound information about the local tourist sites, most likely thus intensifying underlying government’s interests of tourism development. These textbooks are written in English, but their content is totally abstracted from Anglo-American contexts; they mirror the social contexts, ideologies and power knowledge aimed at local growing generations and act as agents of socialization in the local settings.

2.3.5. Main Policies and Textbook Research on Gender Bias

Basing on Halliday's (1977) argument, that "... a text is a sociological event, a semiotic encounter through which the meanings that constitute the social system are exchanged" (p. 197), it may be inferred that gender imbalance in ELT textbooks is an effect of gender discrimination in a bigger society which is being iteratively reproduced and reinforced through agents of socialization by institutions of power. Sadker & Sadker (1994) observed that "sitting in the same classroom, reading the same textbook, listening to the same teacher, boys and girls receive very different educations" (p. 1). In fact, socialization procedures work differently for representatives of different genders for the reason that educational curriculum and applicable materials have different development programs for them, as an intended result girls obtain feminine roles and ways of behavior accepted and reinforced by the society, and boys, in their turn, masculine. As it was mentioned before, "... 'sex' is a regulatory ideal whose materialization is compelled, and this materialization takes place (or fails to take place) through certain highly regulated practices" (Butler, cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 49).

In view of the recent statistical data, showing that 50.2% of the world population is male and 49.8% is female (The World Fact Book, 2006), portrayal of both genders in ELT course books should correspond to the facts. However, research on gender representations in ELT educational materials (e.g. Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porecca, 1984, etc.) drew essentially divergent results, giving a clear evidence of discrimination on the basis of gender in textbooks, usually leaving females out of the content or stereotyping them.

The previous research on gender bias in ELT materials focused generally on linguistic elements and visual signs transferring negative attitudes to women. Fight against gender imbalance in educational materials started in western countries a long time ago. For example, researchers often adopt Scott Foresman and Co.'s (present-day Pearson Scott Foresman, the leading educational publisher) perception

of sexism in teaching materials which was efficiently defined in “Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks” (1972):

Sexism refers to all those attitudes and actions which relegate women to a secondary and inferior status in society. Textbooks are sexist if they omit the actions and achievements of women, if they demean women by using patronizing language, or if they show women only in stereotyped roles with less than the full range of human interests, traits and capabilities.

Likewise, more than a decade ago a prospectus under the title of “On Balance: Guidelines for the Representation of Women and Men in English Language Teaching materials” (Florent, et al., 1994), aiming at gender balancing in ELT materials was issued. The main concerns were about gender representations in the content of the contemporary ELT materials and about the ways of opposing discriminatory sexist attitudes. The authors provided extensive guidelines aimed at deliverance from gender bias by paying bigger attention to visibility of female characters in texts and illustrations, gender stereotypes, and linguistic discriminatory forms.

Research in the field of gender imbalance in ELT materials provides adjuvant methodologies for gender bias identification and multiple analyses of textbooks. Hartman and Judd (1978) in their study on texts and visual images in ESL materials highlighted three operating sectors of gender imbalance: omission, first place occurrences in texts and occupational roles assigned to both genders. They claimed that gender bias manifested itself in all three examined areas.

Porecca’s (1984) analysis based on fifteen ESL books employed more detailed methodology approaching data from six various standpoints: omission, firstness, occupational roles, instances of exclusively female and male nouns, masculine generic constructions and various types and numbers of adjectives used for both men and women in texts. Porecca (1984), similarly to Hartman and Judd (1978), reported deplorable results showing that women appear in the content of the analyzed materials half as often as men.

Sunderland's study, including twenty-two English grammars, was concerned with the issue whether alternatives to masculine generic constructions, gender-neutral nouns (e.g. *chairperson*, *spokesperson*, *firefighter*, etc.) and a title *Ms*, "the denotative equivalent of *Mr*" (Sunderland, 1992, p. 85) disregarding woman's marital status, were used in the content. She discovered that generic *he* was still widely used in grammars. However, the use of 'singular they' in cases when gender is unmarked was discussed, but referred to as an informal alternative in speaking, "often avoided by careful writers" (Van Ek & Robat, cited in Sunderland, 1992, p. 83). Next, gender-neutral nouns were found in more recent of twenty-two analyzed grammars, but as it was pointed by the researcher, they were represented as nonstandard forms. Title *Ms* was also mentioned in newer grammars, but in some cases Sunderland came across undermining comments, such as "*Ms* is used to refer to women who do not wish to have to say whether they are married or not," reinforcing the idea that titles making distinctions between married and unmarried women normally accompany their names and if they "do not wish to have to say whether they are married or not" it is somewhat abnormal and those women "are being deliberately evasive or coy" (Sunderland, 1992, p. 84).

EFL textbook research also includes a lot of interesting studies; some of them are listed below. Farooq (1999) examined an EFL course book written for a women's college in Japan. The textbook was written by Japanese authors; however, dialogues in the textbook were prepared by a native English speaker from Canada. The study explored gender bias meanings on two levels: firstly, on the word level, comprising visibility of male/female characters in texts and illustrations, first-place occurrences by males and females, male/female's occupational roles; secondly, on the level of sentence and discourse, attempting to study the amount of male and female talk in dialogues, and also the instances and amount of talk at initiation, response, and follow-up moves by adopting Francis and Hunston's (1995) model. Farooq (1999) stated that gender bias was found in almost all investigated categories, particularly in occupational roles and gender dual forms. In dialogues men dominated in initiation and follow-up moves, and women tended to give more responses and to

speak less than men. With regard to the results obtained in that part of the study, Farooq (1999) concluded that in general females were less talkative and tended to being responders rather than initiators in dialogues (p. 18).

Jones, Kitetu and Sunderland (1997) focused on gender stereotyping in gender-mixed dialogues in three widely used EFL textbooks, Headway Intermediate, Hotline Intermediate, and Look Ahead 2. The data for the study consisted of all the dialogues provided by the textbooks for speaking practice. The authors carefully examined female/male characters (types) appearing in the dialogues, the number of occurrences of each character, the number of turns taken by each character, the number of words spoken by each character per each turn and total number of words uttered by female and male types. Additionally occupational and social roles of dialogue participants were investigated. The research did not reveal big gender differences of female and male representations in the dialogues: “The gender differences found are too small either way to be significant” (Jones et al., 1997, p. 480). However, the authors tried to understand why the gender differences were small, according to them the reason for the gender balance in the examined dialogues could be the distribution of occupational and social roles suggesting relative verbosity or silence, in other words “expressiveness” or “non-expressiveness” (Poulou, cited in Jones et al., 1997, p. 480). It was mentioned previously that people’s talk and behaviors to a great extent depend on the types of activities they get involved in while working together in the communities of practice: “...the same individuals articulate talk and gender differently as they move from one activity to another” (Goodwin, cited in Ehrlich, 1997, p. 422). Thus if a man is a manager and a woman is a secretary, the man will most likely speak more than a woman, but because of his occupational role and power implied by it, not because of his gender (Jones et al., 1997, p. 480). The methodology suggested by this study was employed for analyzing discourse roles in dialogues in the present research on gender representations in EFL educational materials in Turkey and Iran.

Ansary and Babaii (2003) explored how gender bias is manifested in Iranian EFL series *Right Path to English I-II* (Birjandi & Soheili, 1999) published by the Iranian

Ministry of Education for secondary public schools. The research included two types of analysis, first, quantitative study of female/male visibility in texts and illustrations, gender topic presentation in dialogues and reading passages, and second, qualitative investigation of occupational roles, gender-based activity types, stereotypes in social roles, firstness and masculine generic forms. Analysis of the EFL series showed that women suffered from low visibility (totally in texts and illustrations the ratio of women to men appeared to be 1:1.5). The authors concluded that “*Right Path to English I and II* can be considered sexist textbooks that present students, in their early exposure to the English language, with an unfair and inexcusable picture of women” (Ansary & Babaii, 2003, p. 7).

Mehran’s (1999) investigation of women position in post-revolutionary Iran (i.e., the period from 1979 to present) includes gender-sensitive analysis of Iranian literacy textbooks. The study is touching upon essential ideological issues prevailing in post-revolutionary Iran and being of a great importance in the context of this thesis. Mehran compares a portrait of an ideal Muslim woman created and aspired by the post-revolutionary Iranian government with female actual image in educational materials. According to the government, the new Muslim woman is expected to be both traditional, which implies being a faithful mother and wife, and modern, which is being “an active and educated member in the social, political and cultural affairs of her society” (Mehran, 1999, p. 201). President Khatami (1997-2005) claimed: “We want a woman who is the pivot of the home to be the manager and master of the house. At the same time, there should be absolutely no reduction in her social responsibilities and active presence in society” (Khatami, cited in Mehran, 1999, p. 202). However, educational materials demonstrated a totally diverse image of Iranian women who were shown as almost banned from active presence in society. Mehran (1999) concluded that the content of the examined textbooks does not reflect a real position of modern Iranian women, who are being involved in various sectors of social life, including education, medicine, science, jurisprudence, agriculture, and mismatches their factual roles in post-revolutionary society.

Sivaslıgil's (2006) study of gender ideology in 6th, 7th, and 8th grade ELT textbooks published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education focused on appearances of females and males in texts and illustrations, amount of talk in dialogues, social and occupational roles and activities assigned to female and male characters. The study revealed gender imbalance across almost all examined categories. Females were underrepresented in terms of frequency of appearances, amount of talk, representations in family, social and occupational roles.

Kaya (2003) examined gender representations in Turkish elementary school textbooks. Firstly, the general numbers of male and female characters in illustrations and categorization of stereotyped gender roles were analyzed. Secondly, the effects of gender role textbooks' presentations on students educated from those textbooks were investigated. The study aimed at evaluating teacher's awareness of gender discriminatory meanings in the textbooks. Bigger numbers of male characters in the textbooks were revealed. Traditional female and male family roles were reinforced by textbooks' illustrations in most cases. Kaya mentioned, that "Turkish males (both children and adults) are the authority at home, and their first duty is to earn a living for their family; they are strong, wise, and active" (p. 106). According to the results obtained from investigation of students' compositions and drawings, both female and male students adopted and approved stereotyped gender roles integrated in their educational materials. Interviews with teachers showed that often the teachers' attitudes to the students in the classroom are predisposed by their personal gender-stereotyped meanings.

All above mentioned studies played an important role and exerted a great influence on the present thesis research and will be referred to manifold in subsequent chapters. In conclusion, it is essential to note that above mentioned research on ESL textbooks (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porecca, 1984), English grammars (Sunderland, 1986) and global EFL textbooks (Jones, Kitemu & Sunderland, 1997) is dealing with the materials written by authors who are native speakers of English, incorporating background knowledge associated with Anglo-American world. Like any other language English conveys its interior cultural meanings produced by the

societies it descended from. Gender bias in English is originated from Anglo-American society and reinforced through the texts. Nowadays the situation in western countries is gradually changing and gender bias language is being substituted by politically correct gender-neutral forms. This improvement is obvious from bringing into comparison earlier studies (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porecca, 1984; Sunderland, 1986) which revealed lots of gender stereotypes in western materials and later studies (Jones, Kitemu & Sunderland, 1997) that found very small differences between representations of women and men. In cases with locally published ELT course books for EFL situations (Farooq, 1999; Ansary and Babaii, 2003), local meanings combine with foreign grammatically recognizable ideologies incorporated in the language, merging gender bias which comes from two various sources, local cultures and the foreign language.

2.4. ELT in Turkey and Iran

English is the most widely taught foreign language in Iran and Turkey and an integral part of formal school curricula. Both countries face a great necessity for English learning due to impetuous scientific and economic development. The following part is concerned with the main attitudes on the spread of English in the world, also roles assigned to English and ELT situations in Turkey in Iran.

2.4.1. ELT in Turkey

Although Turkish plays an essential role as the national official language in Turkey, historically, foreign languages have been perceived as important contributing factors to the national cultural and technological enhancement (Demircan, cited in Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998, p. 27). At different periods of time different foreign languages were brought into the foreground. According to Demircan, English started gaining popularity in Turkey after 1923, ranked second after French, and since 1950, due to rapid growth of industry, extensive modernization, and

strengthening relations with the United States, has been dominating other foreign languages, such as German, French, Arabic and Persian (ibid, p. 27-28).

According to classification suggested by Kachru (1986), Turkey belongs to the expanded circle where English is taught and used as a foreign language. English does not have an official status in Turkey but is extensively used as a means of international communication in the most important areas of social life, such as commercial, tourist, economic, scientific, cultural, and political. Due to the existing social conditions assigning a primary role to English as “the key to desirable employment in the future” (Büyükkantarcıoğlu, 2004, p. 33), English obtained a status of the most widely taught and the most willingly learnt foreign language in Turkey by people from different age groups and levels of society what entailed an intense growth of private English courses and schools. As a reason, the quality of English education often determines the choice of a school by Turkish students and their families: “English had become the *sine qua non* for a successful career in virtually any field and parents struggled to have their children acquire a working knowledge of the language” (Ahmad, cited in Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998, p. 28).

According to Doğançay-Aktuna and Kızıltepe (2005), “English has become an integral component of all levels of national education in Turkey” (p. 254). In general, the English language education varying in levels of proficiency and quality of instruction is offered by all universities and both private and state schools in Turkey and often employed as the instruction medium at Turkish universities and secondary schools. State secondary and high school education sector includes general, Anatolian, and professional schools. Generally, control over education in Turkey is implemented by the Ministry of National Education, which is responsible for curricula design and educational materials development.

Private and the Anatolian state schools guarantee high quality of English education proceeding from having better educational materials, more qualified teachers and about 9-12 hours of intensive instruction (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998, p. 32). While well-off families can afford high tuition fees at private high schools, middle-class Turkish families prefer sending their children to the Anatolian state schools,

providing free education emphasizing English learning (Büyükkantarcıoğlu 2004, p. 42).

At general and professional schools, which are Turkish-medium, English is an integral part of the curriculum, but is not that much accentuated in comparison to private and the Anatolian secondary schools. ELT methodologies used at these schools are also very different from private and the Anatolian state schools. For instance, education materials used by general schools are written by Turkish writers and issued by the Ministry of National Education. Private and the Anatolian state schools prefer using global textbooks published in the UK or USA. A number of English lessons at these schools is limited to 3-6 hours per week. Doğançay-Aktuna (1998) mentioned that English language proficiency of general high school graduates rarely goes beyond the beginning level. The main reasons behind these disappointing results are crowded classes, the lack of teaching materials and qualified teachers (p. 32).

Despite there are some problematic areas of English teaching in Turkey, since most of the people are educated in general schools with fewer hours of English per week, English confidently enters Turkish social life, evidence of that is Turkish media, overwhelmed by English borrowings. In fact, Englishisation of the Turkish language is seen as a negative but for the major part irreversible process, due to the present political and economic position of Turkey in the world.

2.4.2. ELT in Iran

Iran, a controversial country in the Middle East governed by the stringent law of religious morality, compels attention of the world community nowadays. In spite of years of alienation from the entire non-Islamic world, globalization processes overflowing the rest of the world did not by-pass Iran either. In the early nineties Hashemi (1992) identified the main learners-users of English in Iran who were for the most part high school and college students learning English as a subject assigned by the curriculum, translators and professors professionally related to

English, and the clergy using foreign languages “as a means of reading religious texts, Islamic and otherwise, to enrich their understanding of religious viewpoints and attitudes” (p. 3). Nowadays English has been assuming ever greater importance not only as a subject at schools and universities, but also as the main language of the international meetings and conferences, foreign trade, air traffic and sea navigation (Talebinezhad & Aliakbari, 2002, pp. 21-22). Due to historical change in 1979 and ubiquitous Islamization of the society, English was nearly banished from the Iranian social life attended by total removal of foreign cultural meanings from educational materials, referred to as “book purging” movement (Talebinezhad & Beniss, 2005, p. 86).

However, today the situation changed a lot and Iranian citizens recognized the necessity and roles of the English language knowledge in the present world. According to Talebinezhad and Aliakbari (2002), “English seems to have smoothly found its way right to the heart of the Iranian society, approving itself as an undeniable necessity” (p. 21).

As opposed to Turkey, there are no English medium schools and universities in Iran (ibid., p. 24); all of them are Farsi-based. Commonly English is taught as an academic subject by all schools and universities in Iran. However, the number of lessons, three-four hours a week, and grammar-oriented materials do not correspond to ever-growing social requirements for English learning and communicative competence development in this language. Similarly to Turkey, Iranian families take a very serious approach to the choice of a school for their children. In this case the quality of English instruction and teachers’ professional characteristics are determining factors (Talebinezhad & Beniss, 2005, p. 87).

Despite schools’ efforts to teach English, Iranians prefer joining English courses in various non-academic centers where “the real act of English learning takes place” (ibid., p. 87). More and more private schools accentuating English education are being open in Iran. Talebinezhad and Beniss (2005) identify two main types of English language institutes according to the issuing organization: institutes licensed

by the Ministry of Education and Institutes issued by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (pp. 87-88). Contributions made by the government to the development of English teaching facilities in Iran have made good progress in this field. In fact, out of 4678 Institutes ever issued by the Ministry of Education 1971 are English institutes and out of 186 institutes ever licensed by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 127 are English teaching centers (ibid, p. 88).

Iranian social, political, economical relations with the rest of the world are carried out in English. Accordingly, the most motivated learners of English in Iran are people involved in business, industrial, governmental, cultural and scientific spheres, who grasp any opportunity to increase their English language proficiency. Thus English lessons are often taught at workplaces in hospitals, factories, business centers and research institutes. (Talebinezhad & Aliakbari, 2002, p. 89).

2.5. Actual Woman's Image and Roles in Turkey and Iran

Due to recent social changes and active roles played by women in the present world, Western society tends to eliminate outdated submissive female image and its linguistic representations in media. In the context of the present thesis research concerned with representations of gender and gender roles in Turkish and Iranian ELT textbooks, we have to deal with two overlapping kinds of cultural meanings- cultures and ideologies originated from English linguistic forms and local Turkish and Iranian cultural and ideological implications. In fact, both forms of culture and ideologies exert influences on gender representations in the examined educational materials. What about actual position of women in Turkey and Iran? In order to distinguish intentional passivizing and constraining ideological meanings from actual roles of women in that part of the world we have to face real facts.

2.5.1. Women in Turkey: State vs. Culture

Significant political changes at the beginning of the twentieth century, the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1920 and the replacement of sharia law by a secular Civil Code in 1926, granted various civil, political and social rights to Turkish women. The 1926 Turkish Civil Code, based on the Swiss Civil Code of that time, gave equal rights to women and men to divorce and inheritance, abandoned polygyny by making civil marriage the only legitimate alliance. Moreover, between 1930 and 1935 Turkish women got their right of voting in local and general elections and to be elected to parliament (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986, p. 485). However, the 1926 Civil Code, granting equality of rights to women in social life, enclosed multiple limitations to the position of women in the family. It made women's position in the society twofold, a plenipotentiary citizen on the one hand, that enabled Tansu Çiller to become a prime minister in 1993, and a traditional wife subjected to her husband on the other. In fact, after marriage the woman passed under the control of her husband who was assigned the central role of the head of the family (Arat, 2001, p. 161). She was legally obliged to use her husband's family name, did not have any authority to represent her family or to take independent decisions relating to her family, and could work outside her home only by written permission from her husband (Anıl, Arın, Hacımırzaoglu, Bingöllü, İlkcaracan & Amado, 2005, p. 27). Therefore contemporary Turkish female image combined modernity and traditionalism. Long years passed until the Civil Code reform took place in 2002 and discriminatory articles were amended.

In the new Civil Code the old terms “the wife” and “the husband” were substituted by modern “the spouses” implying parity of both partners. According to the law, the man is no longer the head of the family but possesses the same rights as his wife. Both spouses equally share rights over family residence, property acquired during marriage, decision-making and representative authorities (Anıl et al., 2005, p. 9). Furthermore, the minimum age for marriage, which used to be 15 for women and 17 for men, was increased to 18 for both genders (ibid, 2005, p. 19). A married woman got freedom to use her maiden name before her spouse's surname. The new

Civil Code also contains an important statement that none of the spouses is required to get permission from the other regarding their employment (ibid, 2005, p. 27). Finally, it should be noted that the Code does not make any differences between the grounds for divorce for both men and women. Consequently, adultery, life threat, family desertion, insanity can become adequate reasons for divorce for both genders (ibid, 2005, p. 41-42).

The abovementioned amendments to the Civil Code were adopted five years ago; however, the present-day gendered composition of the Turkish social life is still male-dominated. Traditional subordinate roles of women in private life have an inevitable impact on public social spheres demonstrating strong distinctions between female and male representations, despite demographic equality of female and male populations and the government policies in Turkey. According to Human Development Report (2006), women in economic activities make up 36% of male rate. It means that most of the Turkish women take part in uncaptialized family labor. 56% of all employed women are involved in agriculture, 29% in services, and only 15% in industry in contrast to men's 24, 48 and 28%, respectively. The proportion of female-headed households, where a woman is a major breadwinner, in the total households is 11.3% (TURKSTAT, 2002-2006). Female numbers in politics are not impressive, either. Representation of women in the parliament is 4.4%, which is one of the lowest in the world. Women's share of head positions according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88), including legislators, senior government officials, traditional chiefs and heads of villages, and senior officials of special-interest organizations is 7% (Human Development Report, 2006). In local representations, such as municipal councils, women make only 2.2%, and just 0.6% of mayors in Turkey are women.

Nevertheless, according to representations of women in education sphere, Turkey is more progressive than many European countries. Women's share of science, health, engineering and teaching professionals is 31% of total (Human Development Report, 2006). In fact, 35% of all academicians in Turkey are women, and 50% of all teachers are female. Husu (cited in Bebbington, 2002) explains these rates by

elitism of educational system in Turkey, when social class rather than gender plays the role of the main determining segregation factor. There are still more illiterate women in Turkey than men; the proportion of the females above 15 years old who are able to read and write is 79.6 in comparison to 95.3 literate males (SIS, 2002-2006). On the primary level of formal school education, the gross enrollment ratio of the girls to the gross enrolment ratio of the boys is about 92.3%. However, in secondary education women's proportion reduces to 80% (TURKSTAT, 2006-2007). In spite of equal opportunities for women and men to enter educational institutions granted by the state, tradition is still very strong in lower class urban families who often prevent their daughters from attending school.

In the context of the present thesis I would like to refer to several studies examining gender roles in Turkey and people's culture-based attitudes to them. Papps (1993) compared attitudes to female employment in four Middle Eastern countries, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Turkey. She found out that in Turkey a very high number of non-working women showed approval of female employment. However, inappropriate conditions of job, job unavailability and family circumstances were reported as the main factors preventing women from working. In most of the countries, a woman's education was seen as a key for a better job in the future. However, in Turkey job domain was not very popular and most of the Turkish female participants considered that the main reason for a woman to be educated is to have a fulfilling life. Interesting results, revealing traditional attitudes, were obtained in the part which asked about the most suitable jobs for women. Papps mentions "a remarkable homogeneity across countries", when teaching, medicine and secretarial work were mentioned as the most appropriate professional areas for a woman (p. 104).

An interesting study dealing with family female roles was presented by Kağıtçıbaşı (1986). The author investigated a woman's status in Turkey from a comparative perspective by giving consideration to various family cultures in the world. All in all eight countries were involved in the study and 20,403 married people took part in it. It is necessary to mention, that three fourths of all respondents were women.

Some of the inferences of this extensive research should be mentioned. Kağıtçıbaşı reported that the lowest numbers for women's decision-making, inter-spousal communication and the lowest degree of role sharing were found in Turkey. Patriarchal traditions revealed themselves at the point when questions concerning boy-girl preferences were asked. Boy preference was widespread among Korean and Taiwanese families followed by Turkey and Singapore. In spite of Islamic beliefs, Indonesian respondents showed very low gender preferences. The study questioned the influences on family patterns exerted by religion. It was argued that despite religious differences of, for example, Turkey and Greece and religious similarities of Turkey and Indonesia, more similarities between Turkish and Greek family cultures and gender roles than between Turkish and Indonesian family categories and gender roles distributions were revealed. The author concluded that gender roles are defined more by culture than by religion and warned against generalizations about "Moslem culture" (p. 487).

Opposite conclusions about relations of gender roles attitudes to religious lifestyles were drawn by another study. Sevim (2006) examined whether religious tendency (i.e. thought, behavior and emotion) and gender roles (i.e. masculinity, femininity and androgyny) predicted attitudes of Turkish university students towards women's occupational roles. The Attitude Towards Women's Work Role Scale (Kuzgun & Sevim, 2004), Religious Tendency Scale (Onay, 1997, 2002), and Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1981) were employed as the main tools of data collection. A few studies (Jones & McNamara, 1991; Kusgun & Sevim, 2004) suggesting correlation of religious lifestyles and traditional family roles were mentioned (Sevim, 2006, p. 78). The results of the present study indicated that the more religious were the participants (thought dimension), the less egalitarian were their attitudes toward women's work (ibid., p. 83). Moreover, the study revealed that a big number of participants were androgynous, in other words they expressed flexibility regarding gender-stereotypic behaviors. According to Basow (ibid., p. 84), it happens for the reason that androgynous individuals do not use gender as a determinative factor in processing information concerning the world around them. The author highlighted work-family conflict experienced by women in the society with growing economics

and strong traditional family values. An image of “successful woman” for most of the Turkish citizens initially implies being a good mother and a good wife. Thus most of the Turkish women, striving for their natural responsibilities fulfillment, appear being involved into uncatalyzed family labor.

Traditional family canons and gender roles passed down in the society for centuries through the processes of socialization can not be changed within a short period of time. As it was argued by Kağıtçıbaşı (1986), “these life styles, or informal structures, arise from a myriad of factors that range from economic conditions to sex roles, from religious beliefs to family and household structures” (p. 485). Modifications of discriminatory social patterns based on cultural meanings require more than just a local change of the Civil Code, they necessitate “a full-scale social change, which involves, on the one hand, modifications of social structure, and on the other hand, modifications in attitudes, beliefs, and values, that is a change in culture” (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986, pp. 485-486).

2.5.2. Women in Iran vs. State-Mandated Identity

Shah Pahlavi’s modernization-oriented social reforms promoting western lifestyles and ethics, whereupon Iranian women were granted with numerous social freedoms, including suffrage in 1963, raised discontent of the clergy that gained enormous momentum in 1979 and erupted into the Islamic Revolution followed by the establishment of a theocratic republic regime and multiple transformations in the country’s political and social life.

In addition to political features, the Revolution implied cultural, ideological and religious characteristics. The preamble to the Islamic Republic’s Constitution claimed that “[Iranian] nation ... has cleansed itself of the dust and impurities that accumulated during the past and purged itself of foreign ideological influences, returning to authentic intellectual standpoints and world-view of Islam” (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (CIRI), 1979). Furthermore, it was clearly stated that after years of destructive despotic rule “[reinforcing] the political,

cultural, and economic dependence of Iran on world imperialism”, Iranian women “shall regain their true identity and human rights” (ibid.). The processes of female identity transformation were attended by multiple social innovations, such as segregation of men and women in public places, and extensive ideological purging.

“True identity” of the post-revolutionary Iranian woman combined traditional and modern features. Firstly, she was compulsory covered from head to foot by a traditional dark chador, hiding all body curves. However, veiling does not offer a traditional connotation in the present world, but is viewed as a political sign, which “refers to the political reappropriation of Islamic religiosity and way of life rather than its trivialization within established tradition” (Göle, 1996, p. 1). Consequently, a veiled woman became a striking politicized symbol of the new-born Islamic Republic and its ideological principles. Secondly, the role of a woman in the post-revolutionary society was accomplished through her traditional functions within the family, yet not absolutely limited by it. Since the family is attached a great value of a fundamental social unit of Islamic society, woman’s missions of being a good mother and wife were considered as the chief ones. Moreover, as a mother “rearing ... ideologically committed human beings” and “a fellow struggler of man in all vital areas of life” (CIRI, 1979), she was expected to be politically competent and educated. For this reason the government guaranteed to “create a favorable environment for the growth of woman's personality and the restoration of her rights, both the material and intellectual” (Article 21, ibid).

The revolutionary government’s understanding of woman’s human rights differed from the world concept of human rights in general. All citizens of Iran, both men and women, were granted equal protection of the law and equal “human, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, in conformity with Islamic criteria” (Article 20, ibid). However, “Islamic criteria” contemplated diverse social rights and norms for both genders. Due to Islamic criteria, woman’s minimum age for marriage was reduced to 13. She could not be employed without her husband’s permission. On the other hand, men got absolute power over women after marriage and autonomic custody of their children after divorce. In contrast to women, men were granted the

right of unilateral divorce on request and the right to have up to four permanent wives and an unlimited number of temporal ones.

Tashakkori and Thompson (1991) examined the effects of the post-revolutionary Islamization processes on the attitudes of high school students in relation to marriage, family and the social roles and rights of women. They collected three sets of data in high schools of Shiraz in 1982, 1984, and 1986 which followed the Islamic Revolution. The authors found out that students' attitudes were more traditional in 1982 than in 1984 and 1986. It showed an intensive rise of traditionalism in the society shortly after the Revolution and its gradual decrease in later years. Despite the research outcomes demonstrating higher traditionalism levels in the part based on the 1982 data, the study revealed strong tendencies towards modern attitudes, such as egalitarianism of women and men in family and places of employment. The authors concluded that in spite of the post-revolutionary cultural purge and intensive Islamization practices at schools, the students' attitudes on gender roles were closer to modern than traditional ones. They explained it by the general role of education which is "in itself a modernizing agent of socialization, even when it is deliberately stripped of modern ideals" (p. 214).

The shift towards modern attitudes in the educated circles of the society, which started coming into vision in the early and middle eighties (Tashakkori & Thompson, 1991), resulted in further social transformations and some dispensations of public rules, such as public dressing code, for example, that brought about colorful tight dresses and bright waving headscarves to the streets of Iranian big cities. In fact, social and political spheres of Iran have changed within the last twenty years; woman's state-mandated identity was also modified. According to Mehran (2003), these days the Iranian government does not restrict woman's private and public roles to their traditional mission of "the pivot of the home" (Khatami, cited in Mehran, 1999, p. 202), but defines women as self-sufficient human beings who are expected "to recognize their rights and capabilities, and acknowledge their own merits... And the first prerequisite is to increase women's knowledge and education" (La'li, cited in Mehran, 2003, pp. 8-9).

Thus education took on value of a female equalizer in the society and trends of getting educated have been widely disseminated among Iranian women. However, women's literacy still falls behind of men's literacy level, female literacy rate is 70.4% compared to 83.5% of literate male citizens. According to the census data, female primary school enrolment ratio in the period of 2000-2005 was 88% compared to men's enrolment ratio of 89%. In secondary education the difference between female and male students grew bigger; it was 76% for women and 80% for men. Consequently, female primary and secondary school enrolment ratio (2000-2005) was 99 and 95% of male enrolment ratio (UNICEF). Whereas 43% of all university graduates are female, women's representation numbers in economics and politics are not very high (Mehran, 2003, p. 21). In 2004 female employment rate in comparison to male employment was 50% (Human Development Report, 2006); it is higher than related Turkish rates though. Currently women's share of jobs in science, health, engineering and teaching is 31% of total numbers (Human Development Report, 2006). In politics Iranian women do not show high activity rates, either. Representation of women in parliament is 4.1%, which is lower than in Turkey. The number of head posts held by women in legislation and government institutions is 13% of total (ibid, 2006). That signifies a very low level of female empowerment in the society and shows that women still remain marginal to lots of social areas.

Due to multiple social barriers obstructing women's progress in public life, stringent discriminatory laws which are still in force and patriarchal family cultures reinforced by the religious government leaders, female representations in the political and economic spheres of Iran are still among the lowest in the world. However, expanding numbers of educated self-determined women in the country and universal modernizing influences exerted by education endorse an idea that Iranian women's enrolment in public spheres will inevitably increase in the future.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Presentation

This chapter intends to present the design of the study. Firstly, it explains the background to the study. Next, it focuses on the educational materials forming the corpus data of the study. This is followed by the description of the main analysis procedures and explanation of preferences for specific investigation instruments.

3.1. Background to the Study

Culture and language are interrelated, inter-determined entities constructing our personal identities, shaping people's vision of the world, and governing multiple processes in the society. All human language behavior patterns related to gender, social class, ethnicity, age are connected to and cannot be investigated apart from culture, which is socially constructed and socially acquired knowledge shared by large majority of members within a society. Common cultural meanings, "naturalized" connotations, referred to as myths by Barthes (cited in Barker & Galasinski, 2001), are the products of hegemony transferred through the institutions of power and reinforced by the processes of socialization.

Gender is one of multiple cultural meanings, a 'regulatory ideal' ("Foucaultian definition"), constructing our personal identities and being stabilized by social power. The institutions of power, such as schools, consciously and unconsciously indoctrinate students with normative gender meanings and gender roles through the classroom discourses and educational materials. Popularized and legitimized hegemonic norms declaiming against equality of women and men in the society

become a constitutive component of people's cultural capital and are passed on from one generation to another. In order to prevent suppression and passivization of one gender by another, and discrimination on the ground of gender in a bigger society, school curricula and educational materials should be revised for any biased and unfair gender representations.

The present research is aimed at investigation of gender representations and revelation of gender biased meanings in ELT textbooks published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education and the Iranian Ministry of Education for general high schools in these countries. English, the most popular foreign language widely taught by multiple private language schools both in Turkey and Iran, is also an integral part of formal school curricula. ELT textbooks, employed by general high schools, were written by local Turkish and Iranian authors whose cultural meanings, including attitudes to gender and gender roles, were generated by local cultural contexts and controlled by the Ministries of Education.

The study intends to verify gender images and roles favored by power institutions, such as schools, of Turkey and Iran through detailed analysis of texts and illustrations in ELT educational materials. Generally, actual social roles assigned to Turkish and Iranian women can be divided into traditional and modern. Traditional female roles are referred to the position of women within the family as householders and child breeders. Modern female roles depict women's involvement in social life, economic force, scientific spheres and politics. Persistent patriarchal attitudes to gender roles restricting women to mere functioning inside the family and depicting men as major breadwinners affect women's involvement in social life and cause the exclusion of women from the formal labor market. In theory, present-day Turkish and Iranian governments tend to augment women's social roles and to empower women's contribution to economic and political spheres. The current study is concerned with the main issues of gender representations in educational texts and illustrations, whether traditional or modern female roles are mostly emphasized through the educational ELT media, whether Turkish and Iranian female and male

students are given equal opportunities in their language learning, and whether they may be empowered by women and men's portrayals in their ELT textbooks.

In addition to local cultures and ideologies intensifying gender inequalities, the study focuses on linguistic gender bias integrated in the content of local ELT textbooks. English grammatical constructions are strongly related to native cultural meanings and underlying ideologies. Consequently, gender discriminatory grammatical forms in English descend from Anglo-American society and operate through the texts written in English worldwide. If local authors are unaware of new policies preventing gender bias manifestations through the English language in educational materials and employ outdated gender biased grammatical constructions, it may reinforce gender inequality in local societies due to wide spread and growing popularity of English learning in these countries.

3.2. Materials

The corpus data of the present study comprises six ELT textbooks making up a data set of 800 pages. Each three of them form an ELT course set taking students from elementary to intermediate level of the English language proficiency.

The first textbook set, New Bridge to Success (NBTS), was published in 2004-2005 by the Turkish Ministry of National Education for the public high schools in Turkey. Another set of ELT materials, LSRW (i.e., Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing), was issued by the Iranian Ministry of Education aimed at students at local public senior schools. The main reason governing the choice of materials was that both ELT textbook sets, NBTS and LSRW, are coming from the countries of the "expanded circle" (Kachru, 1986) where English is taught as a foreign language. Another reason is that both ELT series were designed for the same age groups of students ranging from 14 to 18 and were published during the same period of time from 2004-2005. Additionally, both course sets come from bordering developing countries in the Middle East (defines a geographical area), which are, in spite of

different polity, culture and ideology, having multiple similarities, including religion. Both series are written by local Turkish and Iranian writers and approved by governing institutions, such as the Ministries of Education. Next, since NBTS and LSRW are integral components of the public high school curricula in Turkey and Iran and strictly adhere to curricula guidelines, both textbook sets are assigned an important role in the processes of socialization of younger generations of these countries and may include prolific data for the subsequent content analysis of gender representations and related ideologies.

3.2.1. New Bridge to Success (NBTS) Series

The New Bridge to Success (NBTS) series includes three textbooks New Bridge to Success I Elementary (Akbulut, Alpaslan, Yıldiran, Aksu, İnci, et al., 2004), New Bridge to Success II Pre-intermediate (Akın, Bayral, Pınar, Baydar, Kindıroğlu, et al., 2004), and New Bridge to Success III Intermediate (Akman, Yıldız, Ergin, Dağdeviren, Dinçel Yetik, et al., 2005).

The NBTS series does not have a particular storyline or main characters; rather, each textbook consists of separate units on different topics such as personality, family, health, climate, manners, education, food and drinks and so on, “in order to satisfy students’ needs and interests” (NBTS I, p. vii). NBTS I (2004) includes sixteen units. NBTS II (2004), the extension of NBTS I (2004), starts the count of units from the unit 17, and also comprises sixteen units followed by grammar reference. NBTS III consists of thirty units followed by grammar reference, eight of them are consolidation units comprising various exercises on grammatical structures and coming after each two-three thematic units.

According to the course introduction article, New Bridge to Success is a student-centered course aimed at the development of the students’ autonomy and the teacher is assigned a role of a monitor and adviser. The central goal of the course is to improve students’ communicative skills in the target language. The syllabus of the course can be defined as notional-functional; the functions are designed according

to the topics of the units. Besides functions, each unit is covering four main skills of speaking, reading, listening and writing, also grammatical points, and vocabulary.

Each textbook of the NBTS series includes colorful drawings and photographs. Page make up is dense and overloaded.

3.2.2. LSRW (Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing) Series

Iranian ELT series, LSRW, which is an abbreviation of four basic skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing, consists of three textbooks. Each part of the course is intended for one academic year at public high schools of Iran. LSRW incorporates LSRW I Elementary (Birjandi, Horuzi, Soheili & Mahmudi, 2005), LSRW II Pre-intermediate (Birjandi, Horuzi & Mahmudi, 2004), and LSRW III Intermediate (Birjandi, Horuzi & Mahmudi, 2005).

Similar to the NBTS series, LSRW does not have any particular storyline or main characters. Each textbook consists of separate units called by their numbers as Lesson One, Lesson Two, Lesson Three, etc. Thereby, LSRW I includes nine lessons, LSRW II consists of seven lessons, and LSRW III, of six lessons. Each part of the course starts and ends by review sections summing up and exercising grammar structures learnt previously. The course is designed around grammatical items which come in the content of each course component according to their complexity; consequently the course syllabus can be identified as structural. In the introductory article the authors explain the necessity of learning grammatical structures as a key to better writing, reading and speaking. Each lesson consists of eight parts: (A) new vocabulary, (B) reading, (C) comprehension, (D) speaking, (E) writing, (F) grammar, (G) pronunciation, and (H) vocabulary review. According to the strict directions given by the book, like “repeat after your teacher”, “listen to your teacher’s pronunciation”, “follow your teacher”, the main role in the classroom is assigned to the teacher as the main and authorized source of knowledge.

LSRW series includes black/blue and white drawings, and no photographs. However, page make up is reader friendly: the font is middle sized and the pages have a lot of spaces for notes.

The content elements of the above-mentioned textbooks, namely visual images, reading passages, dialogues, exercises, instructions given by authors and examples demonstrating grammar rules, were analyzed with reference to both male and female characters.

3.3. Data Analysis

The present case study mainly deals with grammatical gender representations in various types of texts found in two sets of ELT materials, NBTS and LSRW. Critical discourse analysis, represented by Fairclough (1995) as a ‘three-dimensional’ framework encompassing three interfluent types of analysis: description of texts, discourse analysis, which is concerned with production, distribution and consumption of texts, and explanation of socio-cultural practices (p. 2), was chosen for examination of gender issues integrated in the content of the textbooks. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, Fairclough’s three dimensions of CDA should not be abstracted from each other and studied separately; they are all parts of a single whole, mutually supporting and descriptive. The following is a brief explanation of the main reasons for choosing CDA as a framework for this study.

Firstly, CDA is directed toward detection, description and interpretation of different social meanings integrated in texts (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; van Dijk, 2001; Hodge and Kress, 1993). The meanings discovered by CDA are often pathogenic; one of them, gender bias, is taken as a matter of concern by the present study. Secondly, as it was argued by Halliday (1977), texts are constructed by the society and in their turn construct the society by functioning in it. Gender bias, which is an unintentional reproduction through the text of social realities resulting from power

inequalities in the society, consequently affects the society and should be detected and neutralized. Van Dijk (2001) mentions that "...critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately to resist social inequality" (p. 352). Similarly the present research, focusing on linguistic forms which are potential gender bias media, aims to initiate positive change in social discourses and practices. Thirdly, Halliday (1977) in the discussion of the ways of meaning production suggests that linguistic systems can be of lower (grammar, lexis, phonology) and higher (social, psychological, literary implications) levels. The research addresses ideological meanings underlying gender bias indications in the texts, moving from lower to higher level linguistic systems.

The study is focused on marked representations of both genders in all types of texts and illustrations. Illustrations played an important role in the context of the present study. Fairclough argued that nowadays texts became "increasingly multi-semiotic" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4) and cannot be limited merely to a written or transcribed spoken discourse. Kress (1996) also mentioned that visual elements of texts are gaining greater importance in the present world conditions of multiculturalism and globalization. According to Kress (1996), meanings contained by pictures apply to deeper levels of human perception and transfer more comprehensive messages than a written text. For this reason all text components including visual images were taken into consideration.

The present research on gender representations in EFL textbooks is based on two types of analysis: quantitative and qualitative. Data analysis was organized in the following way. First, the numbers of female and male characters appearing in the content of the ELT textbooks were counted and explained. Next, occurrences of female and male characters in terms of names, titles, pronouns and special nouns were examined. After that the instances of first-place occurrences by males and females in gender dual forms and also work-related roles assigned for females and males and social activities involving female and male characters were counted. Moreover, topic orientation of reading passages was identified and the percentage ratio of female-oriented, male-oriented and neutral texts was calculated. The

research is concluded by a detailed analysis of dialogues where male and female speakers are involved, basing on the methodology suggested by Jones et al. (1997). The numbers of dialogues initiated by female and male speakers, numbers of female and male characters' appearances, numbers of turns taken by female and male characters, and finally numbers of dialogue words spoken by male and female characters were counted. Numerical data was explained in terms of gendered stereotypes and ideological preferences.

3.4. Procedures

In order to answer the first research question about an equal presence of females and males in texts and illustrations, Turkish and Iranian ELT textbook sets were examined in terms of:

- occurrences of female and male characters in texts and illustrations;
- gender pronouns, nouns and titled names;
- appearances of both genders in dialogues and interviews basing on Jones et al. (1997) methodology.

In order to answer the second research question about the images of women and men presented in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials study investigated:

- gender-related cultural and ideological assumptions;
- male/female topic presentation in reading passages;
- occupational, social roles and activities assigned to both genders.

In view of the third research question about gender bias of the English language in educational texts, Turkish and Iranian ELT textbooks were explored in terms of:

- generic constructions (whether generic masculine/feminine/neutral forms are used).

In order to answer the fourth research question about the influence of authors' gender on gender balance in educational materials, the numbers of female and male

authors were brought into correlation with the numerical results obtained within the framework of the study.

3.4.1. Presence of Females and Males in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials

3.4.1.1. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations

The first part of the study focused on the presence of females and males in the content of Turkish and Iranian textbook sets. In the initial stage the general visibility of both genders in NBTS and LSRW was studied. Firstly, the words naming female and male characters in reading passages and exercises were counted. The counting was done in the following way. Although in the text “Golden girl Süreyya Ayhan” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 3) the full name Süreyya Ayhan occurred twice, the first name Süreyya only once, related pronouns *she/her* were used for thirteen times, and four related nouns *girl*, *athlete*, *daughter* and *heroine* appeared on one occasion, Süreyya Ayhan as the main character was counted only once. Recurring characters were given one count.

Additionally, all exercises and grammar references were checked for gender representations. Thus, in the sentence “The dinner mother has made smells good” (LSRW III, 2005, p. 73), one female character was counted, and in the sentences “John did not get a good mark in his history test. He is ashamed of showing that to his father” (ibid., p. 23) two male characters were counted. In the sentences similar to “I hardly opened my mouth to call out to my husband for help” or “I went to my little son’s room to suckle him” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 117), one female and one male character were counted for each sentence, since the speakers in both cases are obviously women. However, in controversial cases when the speaker’s gender remained unmarked, like in “It’s my mother’s birthday next week. I should remember to buy her a present” (LSRW III, 2005, p. 1), the speaker was not taken into consideration and only one female character “mother” was counted.

Furthermore, a precise attention was paid to occurrences of both female and male main characters in illustrations. If photographs of two friends Mary and Susan (NBTS III, 2005, p. 5) appeared twice in the content of the textbook, Mary and Susan were counted only once. As it was previously mentioned, neither NBTS nor LSRW have a singular storyline; consequently there were very few recurring characters in the content of both series that greatly extended the numbers in this part.

3.4.1.2. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names

After that female and male characters in NBTS and LSRW textbook sets were examined in terms of gender related pronouns, nouns, and names. Total instances of gender related pronouns (*she/her/hers/herself* and *he/his/him/himself*), special female and male nouns (*madam, sir, mother, father, wife, husband, bride, bridegroom*) and nouns with unmarked gender (e.g. *neighbor, cousin*) naming female/male characters in the text, also first (e.g. *Sibel, Ralph*), last (e.g. *Mozart, Beethoven, Karadağlı*), proper (e.g. *Shirin Ebadi, Louis Armstrong*) and titled (e.g. *Mrs. Clark, Mr. Sun*) names related to female and male characters were counted in the content of both the NBTS and LSRW series.

3.4.1.3. Female/Male Presentation in Dialogues and Interviews

The following category was concerned with presentations of female and male characters in the textbooks' dialogues and interviews. Firstly, both NBTS and LSRW series were examined for balance between numbers of same-gender dialogues giving equal chances to both female and male students to practice their speaking skills. Secondly, mixed-gender dialogues, found only in the NBTS series, were investigated. In mixed-gender dialogues, used for speaking practice in classrooms with mixed-gender audiences, a close attention was paid to numbers of female/male characters and their appearances in dialogues, numbers of turns taken by each character, and amounts of speech articulated by each character.

3.4.2. Images of Women and Men in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials

3.4.2.1. Gender-Related Cultural and Ideological Assumptions

In the second part of the chapter reporting results images of women and men in Turkish and Iranian ELT series were explored. Firstly, texts and illustrations in the content of Turkish and Iranian ELT materials were examined in terms of gender-related cultural and ideological assumptions. Cultural values, ideologies and social policies emphasized in NBTS and LSRW were highlighted and discussed.

3.4.2.2. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in NBTS

Secondly, the issues of textual organization around female and male characters chosen as role models conveying exemplary personal features and favored social values to the students educated from the NBTS and LSRW series were examined. The numbers of female-oriented, male-oriented, mixed-gender and gender neutral texts were found. Female-oriented and male-oriented texts are the texts spotlighting either female or male characters in the narration. For example, the reading passage under the title of “*Golden Girl Süreyya Ayhan*” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 3), focusing on the female role model, described the road to fame of a female athlete, Turkey’s first gold medalist in the history of the European Athletic games. On the contrary, the story “*The Kindergarten Man*” (LSRW I, 2005, pp. 11-12) centered on a male role model, an educator Friedrich Froebel, who developed the first kindergarten for children. Mixed-gender reading passages involved both female and male main characters, as it appeared to be in “*A Dreamlike Day*” (NBTS I, 2004, pp. 111-112), telling about a girl who accidentally met her favorite singer, Justin Timberlake, and succeeded in taking a picture of him. The last group of texts found in the content specified as gender neutral did not have any major characters, but focused on abstract scientific, medical and environmental topics. Moreover, the main ideologies conveyed by the reading passages in the NBTS and LSRW series

touching upon female and male social images and roles were revealed and explained.

3.4.2.3. Occupational, Social Roles and Activities

Next, the study focused on the representations of both genders in occupational spheres and the types of social activities assigned to female and male characters by texts and illustrations. Firstly, the types of jobs in reading passages, exercises and visuals of the NBTS and LSRW sets of materials were conventionally subdivided into ten general areas encompassing a wide variety of occupational roles, such as education (e.g. *teacher, student, professor*), medicine (e.g., *dentist, nurse, surgeon*), sports (e.g., *diver, volleyball player*), arts (e.g. *musician, actor, painter*), business/trade (e.g. *company worker, secretary, salesperson*), politics (e.g. *statesperson, minister*), law/order (e.g. *inspector, judge, detective*), science/technology (e.g. *scientist, engineer*), mass media (e.g. *journalist, reporter*), and manual labor (e.g. *factory worker*). Secondly, social activities ascribed to female and male characters were put into three broad all-inclusive categories, such as outdoor active roles/entertainment (e.g. *playing football, going to a party*), indoor passive roles (e.g. *watching TV, reading a book, sleeping*), and household (e.g. *washing dishes, cooking, dressing a child*). Occupations, social activities, and instances of different jobs and activities ascribed to female and male characters in both ELT series were counted and general interpretations of the findings were made.

3.4.3. Gender Bias of the English Language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials

3.4.3.1. Generic Constructions

The third part of the research dealt with linguistic manifestations of gender bias of the English language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. It explored gender related pronouns and nouns in the cases of unmarked gender in both the NBTS and

LSRW series. First, all instances of masculine/feminine and plural pronouns referred to gender-neutral nouns and to people of unknown gender were counted. For example, in the sentence “The person who tends to be introverted is one who keeps *his* feelings to *himself*” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 2), two masculine pronouns *he* and *himself* were used in the situation when the person’s gender remained unnoted. Conversely, in the sentence “Remove the victim from the source of the toxic fumes so that *she* can get some [fresh] air as soon as possible” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 110), feminine pronoun *she* was found in its generic use. Generic plural pronouns *they/their* were also employed in several cases in the textbook, like in the sentence “Everyone has the right to rest. *They* should have a limited number of work hours” (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, cited in NBTS III, 2005, p. 97).

Next, masculine, feminine and gender-neutral nouns used as generic terms were identified and counted in the content of both series. In the sentence “The Prophet taught *man* to do good” (LSWR I, 2005, p. 105), the word *man* stands for *humankind*, including both women and men. Similarly, in the sentence “Having proved himself in this area, he moved on to the South African banking industry and was appointed as a trainer by the government so that he could train successful *businessmen* for his country” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 85) the plural noun *businessmen* is used as a general term for all *businesspeople* that person was appointed to train. Rare cases of generic feminine and gender-neutral terms were also taken into account. For instance, in the sentence ““Stop buying goods which are sold in throw-away containers such as plastic bottles and cans’, a government spokesperson said” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 145) a gender-neutral noun *spokesperson* was used for a person with unidentified gender.

3.4.4. Authors’ Gender and Gender Balance in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials

The fourth part of the research aimed at answering the question whether authors’ gender had any influence on gender balance in the textbooks. First, numbers of female and male authors and artists involved in NBTS and LSRW were counted.

Next, taking into account whether particular textbooks were written by male, female or gender-mixed groups of authors, the ratios of female and male representations in NBTS and LSRW textbooks were compared.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.0. Presentation

This chapter focuses on the results and offers interpretations for the findings obtained by the present research. The study designed under four research questions explores seven operating areas of gender bias. Firstly, the presence of females and males in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials was examined. The following part focused on the images of women and men in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. Next, linguistic manifestations of gender bias of the English language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials were investigated. The final part examined whether the authors' gender had an influence on gender balance in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. In the end, the chapter draws generalizations from the results obtained by the research.

4.1. Presence of Females and Males in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials

The first research question focused on the presence of females and males in local ELT textbooks published in Turkey and Iran. Analysis was done using the following set of criteria: examination of female and male occurrences in texts and illustrations, calculation of frequencies of female and male pronouns, nouns and names, and investigation of gendered presentations in dialogues and interviews across NBTS and LSRW. Overall numbers of female-male occurrences in NBTS were approximately the same. However, in general, male dominance was revealed in most examined categories in both ELT series.

4.1.1. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in NBTS

Although the plain counting of gendered characters demonstrated higher numbers of male characters in texts and illustrations in all three parts of the NBTS series, the differences between women and men's occurrences in the content of the investigated materials were not very big. Table 1 shows the numbers of female and male characters in texts and illustrations in each part of the NBTS textbook set and overall numbers for the NBTS course. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. Totally in texts and illustrations the percentage ratio of male-female occurrences made up 54%:46% in NBTS I and III, and 53%:47% in NBTS II. In general, for the NBTS series, the male-female percentage ratio in texts and visuals was 53%:47%.

Table 1. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in NBTS

GENDER	TEXTBOOK	NBTS I	NBTS II	NBTS III	NBTS I, II, III
Male	Text	282 (28)	415 (35)	399 (38)	1096 (34)
	Illustrations	253 (26)	210 (18)	165 (16)	628 (19)
	Total	535 (54)	625 (53)	564 (54)	1724 (53)
Female	Text	257 (26)	381 (32)	349 (33)	987 (31)
	Illustrations	197 (20)	178 (15)	138 (13)	513 (16)
	Total	454 (46)	559 (47)	487 (46)	1500 (47)
BOTH	TOTAL	989 (100)	1184 (100)	1051 (100)	3224 (100)

General counting of gendered appearances in texts and illustrations in the NBTS series did not disclose marked differences between female and male characters. However, an overall 3% difference still indicates male dominance in NBTS. In the study of gender representations in the 6th, 7th, and 8th grade ELT textbooks published by the Turkish Ministry of National education Sivasslıgil (2006) reported bigger differences between occurrences of female and male characters in a few cases. In the 6th grade ELT textbook the difference between female and male characters was 2%, which implies gender balance in the content. However, in the 7th and 8th grade textbooks male-female percentage ratio was 63%:37% and 57%:43%, respectively. Sivasslıgil argued that a bigger difference between female and male

representations in the 7th and 8th grade textbooks signified dominance of male characters in the content. It may be concluded that numerical gender representations in Turkish ELT materials in the present study are more equitable than gender representations in the 7th and 8th grade ELT materials in Sivaslıgil's study.

4.1.2. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in LSRW

The quantitative investigation of female and male characters in the content of LSRW resulted in immense distinctions between numbers of female and male occurrences. Table 2 demonstrates numbers of women and men in texts and illustrations in each part of the LSRW series. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. LSRW I and II demonstrated higher preference for male characters (71%:29%) than did LSRW III (69%:31%). Overall results for LSRW I-III showed that the ratio of men to women's appearances in the content was approximately 2:1.

Table 2. Occurrences of Female and Male Characters in Texts and Illustrations in LSRW

GENDER	TEXTBOOK	LSRW I	LSRW II	LSRW III	LSRW I, II, III
Male	Text	288 (50)	227(50)	250 (52)	765 (50)
	Illustrations	120 (21)	96 (21)	83 (17)	299 (20)
	Total	408 (71)	323 (71)	333 (69)	1064 (70)
Female	Text	124 (22)	107 (23)	109 (23)	340 (23)
	Illustrations	44 (7)	26 (6)	41 (8)	111 (7)
	Total	168 (29)	133 (29)	150 (31)	451 (30)
BOTH	TOTAL	576 (100)	456(100)	483 (100)	1515 (100)

According to the results in this part of the study, the content of LSRW I-III is perceptibly male-oriented. It is evident that women remain underrepresented in ELT educational materials used by general high schools in Iran. Similar results were obtained by Ansary and Babaii (2003) in the study of sexism in Iranian ELT textbooks for secondary schools. The authors argued that “women suffered most obviously from low visibility” (p. 6). The percentage ratio of male-female occurrences in texts and illustrations was 60%:40% in both examined textbooks *Right Path to English* I and II. It should be mentioned, that textbooks published in

Iran have been lacking female images since the post-revolutionary book purging (1979-80), which “in the first instance meant covering up all the photographs of women” (Afshar, 1999, p. 65) or replacing images of girls with those of boys (Seyf, cited in Afshar, 1999, p. 69).

4.1.3. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in NBTS

General examination of female and male characters in texts and illustrations in the NBTS series did not reveal big differences in gender representations. However, deeper analysis on the word level, namely counting all instances of gender pronouns, nouns, first/last, proper and titled names in educational texts, showed that male characters prevailed over female ones in all NBTS textbooks. The following is the list and discussion of some regular occurrences revealed by the study.

Table 3 demonstrates the numbers of gender pronouns, nouns, first/last, proper and titled names in the NBTS textbook set. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage and the ones in square brackets represent the instances of words related to female and male characters. The highest percentage ratio of men to women representations in pronouns, nouns and names was exposed by NBTS I (57%:43%). Both NBTS II and III showed slightly lower distinctions between men and women in this part of the study, which was 55%:45%. Overall results for the NBTS series showed 5% difference between female and male occurrences in pronouns, nouns and names.

Table 3. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in NBTS

Text book	NBTS I		NBTS II		NBTS III	
Gender	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
First Names/ Last Names	335 (20)	318 (19)	285 (15)	276 (14)	242 (13)	219 (12)
Proper Names	55 (3)	25 (1)	42 (2)	17 (1)	65 (4)	39 (2)
Titled Names	71 (4)	38 (2)	21 (2)	14 (1)	54 (3)	20 (1)
Pro-nouns	He/his/him/himself [363] (22)	She/her/hers/herself [197] (12)	He/his/him/himself [538] (28)	She/her/hers/herself [415] (22)	He/his/him/himself [483] (26)	She/her/hers/herself [411] (22)
Special Nouns	136 (8)	149 (9)	153 (8)	140 (7)	163 (9)	141 (8)
Total instances	960 (57)	727 (43)	1039 (55)	862 (45)	1007 (55)	830 (45)
Female+ male/ TOTAL	1687 (100)		1901 (100)		1837 (100)	
Gender	MALE			FEMALE		
NBTS I,II,III	3006 (55)			2419 (45)		
TOTAL/ NBTS I, II, III	5425 (100)					

In fact, occurrences of female first and last names fell only 1% behind male first and last names' occurrences in all parts of the NBTS series. However, male proper and titled names appeared twice more often than female proper and titled names. The polite salutation *sir* was used twice more frequently than *madam*. Similar results were drawn by Hartman and Judd (1978) and referred to as the possible reflection of "the lesser status of women in our society" (p. 389).

Additionally, in gender pronouns male characters dominated in all three parts of the series. Bigger numbers of male pronouns may indicate that there were more men than women in texts, and that more information was provided about male characters by reading passages and exercises than about female ones. For example:

Everybody needs some time to relax and do something they really need to or want to do. So, free time is very important to my family, too. Each member of my family likes different activities in their free time.

My father usually does not have much free time on weekdays because *he* works for long hours. When *he* has free time, *he* watches documentaries on TV, or reads a newspaper. *He* sometimes plays football.

My mother is a housewife, so *she* has a lot of free time on weekdays. *She* likes knitting and doing needlework. We have a lovely garden and *she* likes growing fruit and vegetables. Sometimes *she* meets *her* friends and they go shopping.

My brother, Jason, doesn't have a lot of free time. *He* is a university student and *he* is usually busy with *his* homework. When *he* has free time *he* spends it with *his* friends. They go camping in the mountains. They put up tents near a river or a small lake. They like fishing. They have a walk in the forest or go climbing. In the evening they sit by the fire and talk. *He* also likes playing chess. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 53)

Since two men and one woman were involved in the text, *he/his* appeared ten times, that is twice more often than *she/her*, which was used five times in the content. The passage tells about free time activities favored by each member of the family. The passage emphasizes traditional female and male family roles. It shows a man as a breadwinner, who “works long hours” and “does not have much free time on weekdays”. A woman is a traditional “housewife, so she has a lot of free time on weekdays.” She is fond of knitting and doing needlework, which are generally accepted as feminine activities, in contrast to male ones, such as reading a newspaper, playing football, fishing, climbing, and playing chess.

Female special nouns were more frequent than male special nouns in NBTS I, but in both NBTS II and III male special nouns exceeded female special nouns by 1%. The word *hero* occurred three times more often than *heroine*, signifying bigger numbers of valiant male role models than female ones. The ratio of the words *man/men/boy(s)* to *woman/women/girl(s)* was 1,5:1. In all three textbooks *mother/mum/mommy* appeared in the NBTS series 130 times, that is almost twice more often than *father/dad/daddy*, which appeared 78 times.

Furthermore, the word *bride* in the NBTS course series was generally used twice more often than *bridegroom* that may indicate a greater social significance of marriage for women than for men and social approval of female traditional family roles. The word *husband* occurred 34 times, that is approximately twice more often than *wife*, which occurred 19 times in the content of NBTS I-III. It may signify patriarchal family values, assigning the husband the primary role in the family. Patriarchal family principles also manifested themselves in cases when the word *son* appeared 47 times in the content, that is twice more often than *daughter*, that appeared 23 times. These results are similar to Kağıtçıbaşı's (1986), mentioned earlier, which revealed high boy preference by Turkish families. Moreover, the word *grandfather*, who is the oldest and consequently the most respectful man of the family, came into view almost twice more frequently than *grandmother*. It supports the same idea that men are given more importance by Turkish family culture, and despite the amendments to the Civil Code (2002), implying equality of both partners in the family, this view is being reinforced by the NBTS series. Grandfathers were presented in illustrations (Figures 1-2) and dialogues (NBTS II, 2004, p. 40; NBTS III, 2005, p. 118) surrounded by children, showing old photographs, and sharing their life experiences with the rising generation.

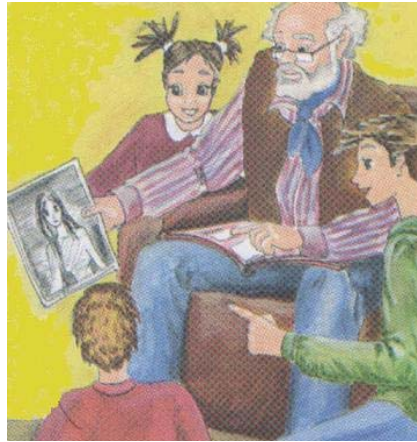


Figure 1. Picture of a Grandfather and Grandchildren I (NBTS II, 2004, p. 40)



Figure 2. Picture of a Grandfather and Grandchildren II (NBTS III, 2005, p. 118)

Grandmothers did not take part in the dialogues. However, in NBTS II grandmother was mentioned twice when one of the children came across her 45 years old picture and exclaimed “she is the most beautiful woman I have ever seen!” and also when the time to eat came: “Let’s have a break now and try the delicious cookies your grandmother made,” said the grandfather (NBTS II, 2004, p. 40). The only information about the grandmother that can be gained from the dialogue is that she used to be beautiful, got married to the grandfather 45 years ago, and that her cookies are delicious. In other words, only her traditional female roles were brought to light by the text. The grandfather is the central figure in both the dialogue and the attached illustration, provided by the authors with adequate power to tell various things about his life, his childhood friend, his wife and his “fastest car”:

- 1st Boy:** Hey, Grandpa, who is that little blond boy in the photo?
Grandpa: Let me see. Oh, he is my friend whose father was a famous surgeon.
Girl: Really? And who is this lovely girl here?
Grandpa: She is the girl who I married 45 years ago.
2nd Boy: Grandma?
Grandpa: Yes, dear!
W: Wow, she is the most beautiful woman whom I have ever seen!
1st Boy: Look at this car, Mary! Isn’t it amazing?
Girl: Absolutely! Was it yours, grandpa?
Grandpa: Yes, it was the fastest car that I have ever had.
2nd Boy: Grandpa, who is the...
Grandpa: OK. Let’s have a break now and try the delicious cookies which your grandmother made.

According to the numerical results in this part of the study, men were assigned the leading part in the NBTS series. Proper names and social titles, which are the terms

of respect, represent a sensitive area (Hartman and Judd, p. 389) in ELT materials. Bigger numbers of male occurrences in proper and titled names in the present study may indicate lower status of women in the society. Higher numbers of male nouns, such as *husband*, *grandfather*, and *son*, obtained by the research may signify patriarchy, which “privileges males and elders and justifies this privilege in kinship terms” (Joseph & Slyomovics, 2001, p. 2). Hortaçsu (2007) argued that Turkish family remains patriarchal:

Despite the movement for women’s rights, the Turkish family is generally male dominated and gender stereotyped. Traditionally, husbands are expected to be older and more educated than their wives, a practice fostering male dominance. Male dominance and gender stereotypy are consistent with both Islamic views and with the patriarchal-patrilineal tradition of Turkic cultures. (p. 104)

Bigger numbers of occurrences of the word *mother* than of the word *father* may denote a great social value attached to motherhood. According to Hortaçsu (2007), in spite of male-dominated character of the society, women generally take part in family decision-making and act as intermediaries between fathers and children and between families of origin and the nuclear family (p. 104). Although man remains dominant in public and private settings, woman plays active roles inside the family, which is the main key to her public status. Investigation of gendered pronouns, nouns and names in NBTS showed that women in texts were mostly referred to as mothers related to their husbands and children that emphasized patriarchal values in the textbooks.

4.1.4. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in LSRW

In the LSRW series gender inequalities manifested themselves in all categories of words examined in the current section. Table 4 shows the numbers of gender pronouns, nouns, first/last, proper and titled names in LSRW. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage and the ones in square brackets represent the instances. Generally, the highest numbers of male pronouns, nouns and names were found in LSRW I (2005), the percentage ratio of male to female words was

79%:21%. LSRW II (2004) and LSRW III (2005) demonstrated slightly higher numbers of female words than did LSRW I (2005), 76%:24% and 71%:29%, respectively. For the LSRW course in general the percentage ratio of male pronouns, nouns and names to female ones was 76%:24%.

Table 4. Gender Pronouns, Nouns, First/Last, Proper and Titled Names in LSRW

Text book	LSRW I		LSRW II		LSRW III	
Gender	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
First Names/ Last Names	168 (17)	32 (3)	90 (13)	19 (3)	96 (19)	29 (5)
Proper Names	9 (1)	0 (0)	14 (2)	0 (0)	1 (0.2)	0 (0)
Titled Names	17 (2)	3 (1)	9 (1)	1 (0.1)	9 (2)	3 (1)
Pro-nouns	He/his/him/himself [400] (42)	She/her/her/herself [92] (10)	He/his/him/himself [275] (39)	She/her/her/herself [100] (14)	He/his/him/himself [182] (36)	She/her/her/herself [86] (17)
Special Nouns	163 (17)	69 (7)	150 (21)	51 (7)	70 (14)	29 (6)
Total instances	757 (79)	196 (21)	538 (76)	171 (24)	358 (71)	147 (29)
Male/ female TOTAL	953 (100)		709 (100)		505 (100)	
Gender	MALE			FEMALE		
LSRW I,II,III	1653 (76)			514 (24)		
TOTAL / LSRW I, II, III	2167 (100)					

In the category of first and last names male-female ratio was 5:1 in both LSWR I and II, and 3:1 in LSRW III. In fact, no female proper names were found in any of the LSRW course books and also the numbers of female titled names, which are the terms of respect, appeared to be insignificant in comparison to the numbers of male titled names; overall ratio of female titled names to male titled names in LSRW was 1:5, that might indicate an inferior position of women in the society (Hartman & Judd, 1978). In gender pronouns men outnumbered women approximately three

times. It reaffirms high visibility of male characters in the LSRW series also revealed by the previous part of the research.

In the same way, the examination of special nouns in the content demonstrated clear superiority of male characters. The results for the LSRW course in general showed that male special nouns occurred about 2.5 times more frequently than female ones. The ratio of the words *man/men/boy(s)* to *woman/women/girl(s)* in LSRW I was 4:1, about 5:1 in LSRW II, and 2:1 in LSRW III, which made up the ratio of about 4:1 for the course in general. In contrast to the NBTS series, the word *father* slightly outnumbered the word *mother* in LSRW I and III and in LSRW II the numbers were almost equal; the *father-mother* ratio for the course in general was about 1,5:1.

In LSRW the word *grandmother* outnumbered *grandfather*. In fact, it did not happen for the reason that grandmothers are socially more appreciable than grandfathers. *Grandmother* appeared as one of the secondary characters in the reading exercise “The Boy Who Made Steam Work” (LSRW, 2005, pp. 71-73). As it is implied by the story title, the *boy* is the central character, not the boy’s *grandmother*. The story is about James Watt, the inventor of the first steam engine. His grandmother was shown as the one who repeatedly failed answering tricky questions of the rising genius. Actually, this “message of inability or inadequacy”, mentioned by Mehran (2003, p. 25), very often attends female characters in the LSRW series and is consequently conveyed to the students educated from the textbooks.

Examination of gendered nouns, pronouns and names in LSRW corroborated dominance of male characters in the content that was revealed by general counting of female and male occurrences in the previous section. The smaller difference between the words *mother* and *father* than between other female-male binary nouns, such as *man/men/boy(s)* and *woman/women/girl(s)*, may indicate that female characters in the content in most cases appeared in their traditional role of mothers. It also signifies that women are given more consideration and power within the family contexts in comparison to other social spheres, but due to bigger numbers of

the word *father* in texts, this authority is not enough to surpass men's superiority within a patriarchal family.

4.1.5. Female/Male Presentation in Dialogues and Interviews in NBTS

Serious consideration should be given to dialogues and other types of speaking exercises in ELT materials, since they provide an opportunity and teach the skill of actual language use. The model provided by Jones et al. (1997) was adopted for examination of dialogues and interviews in the content of NBTS.

Investigation of the NBTS textbooks' dialogues revealed three different categories of dialogues employed by the series: same-gender, mixed-gender and neutral dialogues. Same-gender dialogues represented male-to-male and female-to-female communication, mixed-gender dialogues involved both female and male characters, neutral dialogues did not emphasize the participants' gender and could be presented by both female and male characters. Here is an example of a neutral dialogue in NBTS:

A: I left my timetable at home. What time is the English lesson?
B: It begins at 9 a.m. (NBTS II, 2004, p. 54)

Table 5 shows the numbers of same-gender, mixed-gender and gender-neutral dialogues and interviews in the NBTS series. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. The numbers of same-gender dialogues involving male and female characters were almost equal (51%:49%). Moreover, NBTS included big numbers of gender-neutral dialogues. The percentages of male, female, mixed-gender and gender-neutral dialogues for the NBTS series were 12%, 11%, 25%, and 52%, respectively. A big percentage of gender-neutral dialogues was perceived as positive for the reason that neutral dialogues provide equal unrestricted opportunities for both female and male students' participation in speaking activities. Interestingly, although both NBTS II and III were written by female authors, the biggest percentage of female dialogues, in comparison to male ones (63%:37%) was exposed by NBTS II and the smallest by NBTS III (36%:64%).

A general counting of cases when female and male characters were interviewed by female and male interviewers showed that almost three times more men than women played the roles of interviewees and were asked their opinions on various issues (Table 5). The percentages of male, female, and gender-mixed interviews for the NBTS series were 52%, 16%, and 32%, respectively.

Table 5. Numbers of Same-Gender, Mixed-Gender and Gender-Neutral Dialogues (D) and Interviews (I) in NBTS

Textbook	NBTS I		NBTS II		NBTS III		NBTS I, II, III	
	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I
Male	21 (14)	2 (67)	7 (6)	7 (47)	7 (16)	7 (54)	35 (12)	16 (52)
Female	18 (12)	0 (0)	12 (11)	1 (6)	4 (9)	4 (31)	34 (11)	5 (16)
Gender-Mixed	41 (28)	1 (33)	22 (20)	7 (47)	14 (32)	2 (15)	77 (25)	10 (32)
Gender-Neutral	68 (46)	0 (0)	70 (63)	0 (0)	19 (43)	0 (0)	157(52)	0 (0)
TOTAL	148 (100)	3 (100)	111 (100)	15 (100)	44 (100)	13 (100)	303 (100)	31 (100)

A close examination of mixed-gender dialogues in the NBTS series revealed some cases of female under-representation. Table 6 demonstrates the numbers of male and female characters, initiations, turns, and words in mixed-gender dialogues in NBTS. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. The ratio of male to female characters in mixed-gender dialogues was almost equal (49%:51%). Also the numbers of appearances and turns taken by both genders appeared to be very similar. Consequently, average numbers of appearances per each female and male character for the entire course were almost the same (1.03 appearances per each male character and 1.02 appearances per each female character). Additionally, average numbers of turns per each woman and man's appearance were almost equal (3.8 turns per each male character and 3.5 turns per each female character). However, gender bias manifested itself at the point when mixed-gender dialogues were studied for dialogue initiation by males and females and numbers of words uttered by female and male characters. More mixed-gender dialogues were initiated by male characters than by female ones (59%:41%), and bigger numbers of dialogue words were uttered by men than by women (55%:45%). On average, each male character in gender-mixed dialogues uttered 10 words more than each female

character. Only NBTS II exposed equal numbers of words per each female and male character.

Table 6. Numbers of Male and Female Characters, Initiations, Turns, and Words in Mixed-Gender Dialogues in NBTS

Textbook	NBTS I		NBTS II		NBTS III		NBTS I, II, III	
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Characters	42 (50)	42 (50)	27 (48)	29 (52)	20 (51)	19 (49)	89 (49)	90 (51)
TOTAL	84 (100)		56 (100)		39 (100)		179 (100)	
Initiation	24 (59)	17 (41)	10.5 (48)	11.5 (52)	11 (79)	3 (21)	45.5 (59)	31.5 (41)
TOTAL	41(100)		22 (100)		14 (100)		77 (100)	
Appearances	45 (51)	44 (49)	27 (48)	29 (52)	20 (51)	19 (49)	92 (50)	92 (50)
TOTAL	89 (100%)		56 (100%)		39 (100%)		184 (100%)	
Turns/ character	163 (50)	163 (50)	74 (50)	75 (50)	97 (56)	76 (44)	334 (52)	314 (48)
TOTAL	326 (100)		149 (100)		173 (100)		648 (100)	
Words/character	1607 (52)	1455 (48)	784 (48)	855 (52)	2034 (62)	1250 (38)	4425 (55)	3560 (45)
TOTAL	3062 (100)		1639 (100)		3284 (100)		7985 (100)	
Average of appearances/ character	1.07	1.05	1	1	1	1	1.03	1.02
Average of turns/character	3.9	3.9	2.7	2.6	4.9	4	3.8	3.5
Average of turns/appearance	3.6	3.7	2.7	2.6	4.9	4	3.6	3.4
Average of words/character	38	35	29	29	102	66	50	40
Average of words/appearance	36	33	29	29	102	66	48	39

The following is an example of a mixed-gender dialogue initiated by a woman. Asu uttered 14 words more than Berk in the dialogue:

Asu: Let's do something special.

Berk: All right. Let's go fishing.

Asu: Fishing? I don't think so. I don't like fishing. I want to do something extraordinary.

Berk: Got it! How about bungee-jumping? It's far more interesting than fishing?

Asu: Well, I'm not that bored.

Berk: Oh, yes. Let me think... Why don't we play tennis?

Asu: I said something special, Berk.

Berk: OK, OK. Car racing?

Asu: A very brilliant idea except that we don't have racing cars!
Berk: I know but we can just watch it.
Asu: You're right. To watch a race is much more interesting than to race!
Berk: What about some gardening? The garden looks awful, you know.
Asu: Come on. You make me crazy! Just read your book and I'll watch television. (NBTS II, 2004, p. 118)

There are more dialogues initiated by males than by females in the NBTS series.

The following conversation takes place between two students, Sheila and Alan:

Alan: Have you made up your mind about which film you're going to write about for your project?
Sheila: I've already narrowed down my choices to two most popular blockbusters. *The Leader of the Kings* and *Tristar*.
Alan: Well, *Tristar* is the most impressive science fiction film I've ever seen. On the other hand, it is difficult to write about it as it hasn't got a proper plot. It's much larger than our imagination.
Sheila: Well, you are absolutely right. The clearer plot is, the better you comprehend its philosophy.
Alan: Then why don't you write about *The Leader of the Kings*? Since it's more spectacular and genuine epic, it is easier to write about.
Sheila: I know. Although they have some similarities in that, both of them are action films with great special effects, *Tristar* is beautifully choreographed martial arts and amazing visual effects make it more superior than *The Leader of the Kings*.
Alan: I don't agree with you. In my opinion, *The Leader of the Kings* is as good as *Tristar*. It is the most fantastic action film that has ever been made. (NBTS III, 2005, p.38)

The conversation was initiated by Alan. Sheila mostly used response moves in this dialogue. She uttered 75 words, and Alan uttered 107 words that is 1.4 times more than Sheila. As argued by Sunderland (1992), "underlying all these lies a model of discourse of males both speaking and initiating more" (p.88).

Sivaslıgil's (2006) analysis of dialogues in the 6th grade Turkish ELT textbooks exposed that female characters talked more than male characters. However, similar to the results obtained by the present study, in the 7th and 8th grade ELT textbooks in terms of amount of dialogue words male characters outnumbered female ones.

Inequalities of female and male representations in dialogues, as revealed by Sivasligil's (2006) and the present research, when bigger numbers of female or male characters appear in dialogues, when they speak and initiate more, or take more turns, may be referred to as negative factors in ELT classrooms, since these dialogues cause discouragement in developing speaking skills and passivize classroom roles of either gender. Only gender balanced dialogues, integrating equal numbers of female-male appearances, turns, initiations and words, improve classroom interaction and provide equal opportunities of English learning and use in coeducational ELT contexts.

In interviews in the NBTS series, since for the most part all interviewees were men, it may signify that male-originated information acquire bigger social value and respect than female-originated thoughts and opinions. The majority of male interviewees appeared to be venerable scientists, musicians and actors, but female interviewees were generally students. Since female interviewees were not that famous and authoritative as male interviewees, it possibly indicates an inferior status of women in the society.

4.1.6. Female/Male Presentation in Dialogues in LSRW

In contrast to Ansary and Babaii's (2003) study that revealed one occasion of male-female communication in the content of the examined Iranian textbooks, no mixed-gender dialogues were found by the LSRW series. Table 7 demonstrates the numbers of same-gender, mixed-gender and gender-neutral dialogues in LSRW. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. The percentage difference of male to female dialogues was 78%:22%. The percentages of male, female and gender-neutral dialogues were 9%, 1%, and 90%, respectively.

Table 7. Numbers of Same-Gender, Mixed-Gender and Gender-Neutral Dialogues in LSRW

Orientation	LSRW I	LSRW II	LSRW III	Total LSRW I, II, III
Male	5 (12)	0 (0)	2 (10)	6 (9)
Female	1 (3)	1 (7)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Gender-Mixed	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Gender-Neutral	29 (85)	14 (93)	18 (90)	61 (90)
TOTAL	34 (100%)	15 (100%)	20 (100%)	68 (100%)

Similar to the NBTS series, the LSRW textbooks exposed big numbers of gender-neutral dialogues giving both female and male students equal opportunities to improve their speaking skills in the classroom. Here is an example of a neutral dialogue in LSRW:

A: Do you come from a large family?
B: Yes, I do.
A: How many are there in you family?
B: Seven
A: What does your father do?
B: He's a doctor.
A: What about your mother?
B: She's a teacher. (LSRW I, 2005, p.43)

Interestingly, person **A** in the first place inquired about person **B**'s father, and only after that asked what her/his mother does. It signifies a cardinal importance of father's job, since men usually earn a living for the family in Iran that was repeatedly emphasized by LSRW. The next dialogue, accentuating female domestic roles, takes place between a woman and her daughter:

Daughter: Mother, please bake a cake for us today.
Mother: Sorry, I can't. We've run out of sugar.
(LSRW II, 2004, p. 2)

The following conversation takes place between a man and a male doctor:

Doctor: Ah. Ahmad! Come in! I haven't seen you for a long time.
Ahmad: No, doctor. That's because I haven't been here for a long time.
Doctor: I see. Yes, of course. Well, how are you?
Ahmad: I feel depressed. I haven't eaten anything since last week. I think it's the money!

Doctor: The money? What do you mean, the money?

Ahmad: Well, I've got too much. I've got a lot of money, but no friends. My old friends never speak to me. I haven't seen them for years. They haven't spoken to me since I became famous.

Doctor: I see. That is very interesting. (LSRW III, 2005, p. ii)

The absence of mixed-gender dialogues in LSRW clearly indicated the ideology of sexual segregation. There is no practical use for mixed-gender dialogues in Iranian ELT classrooms, since public schools are sexually segregated in Iran.

4.2. Images of Women and Men in Turkish and Iranian ELT Materials

The second research question focused on the female and male images popularized in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. The findings on the portrayal of women and men examined in terms of gender-related cultural and ideological meanings, topic orientation in reading passages, and occupational social roles and activities, showed that patriarchal attitudes, beholding traditional female and male family roles of householders and breadwinners, were frequently emphasized in the content of Turkish and Iranian ELT textbooks. Male characters, in contrast to female ones, were depicted as intellectually dominant, courageous, and successful in education and work. Few female characters had occupations and comparable with men levels of education and professional skills.

4.2.1. Gender-Related Cultural and Ideological Assumptions in NBTS

Visual female and male images, presented by the NBTS series, were emphatically modern. Women and men were shown communicating with each other (Figure 3) and getting involved in various social activities and work.



Figure 3. Picture of a Woman and a Man Shaking Hands (NBTS I, 2004, p. 1)

Along with female images taking care of children (Figure 4) and doing household chores there were a lot of pictures showing women doing sports (Figure 5), studying, playing musical instruments and working outside of their homes (Figure 6).



Figure 4. Picture of a Woman With a Child (NBTS III, 2005, p. 158)



Figure 5. Picture of a Woman Doing Sports (NBTS III, 2005, p. 26)



Figure 6. Picture of a Chemistry Teacher and Students Working in a Chemical Laboratory (NBTS III, 2005, p.66)

Women in the traditional Muslim headscarf and long robes are not as rare in Turkey as the authors of the NBTS series intended to show. With the exception of a picture of an aged woman (NBTS I, 2004, p. 73), photographs of the folk dancing group members (NBTS II, 2004, p. 64) and sewing factory workers wearing headscarves (NBTS III, 2005, p. 94), illustrations of women with modern hairstyles, brightly dressed in the latest fashion, were prevalent in the NBTS series. Figure 7 shows a picture of an aged couple; a woman is wearing a headscarf.



Figure 7. Picture of an Aged Couple (NBTS I, 2004, p. 73)

NBTS series emphasized the point that women must fulfill their female family duties of mothers and wives. Therefore, in NBTS I (2004) the speaker, comparing her own life to her sister's, says:

I am married. I have got two children. My sister is divorced. She hasn't got any children. She is alone. She is rich. She has got a lot of money, but I haven't got any money. I am happy. I haven't got any problems, but she has got a lot of problems and she isn't happy" (p. 17).

It seems fair to suppose that from this passage the students will get an idea that a divorced childless woman, even though she is having a lot of money, is an oddity and a symbol of desperation and unhappiness, and the only way for a woman to gain happiness is to get married and to have children, other possibilities of female self-actualization are excluded.

An ideal male portrait in the NBTS series illustrated the one who "will take the university examination", in accordance with his family wishes will study medicine, after that will go to America to gain experience, will not stay there forever, but come back to his hometown "to help poor people", "will get married at the age of thirty" and "have two children, preferably a boy and a girl", and in culmination of all "will have a house and a car" (NBTS I, 2004, p. 122). In this case the NBTS series approves traditional vision of a man as a breadwinner in the family, and conveys the message that men's contribution to the society and to the family is made through his professional career, which is a key to his higher public status,

self-confidence and welfare. For this reason man's studies and professional growth, reinforcing his social ego, were shown as prior to his marriage and fatherhood. Moreover, the text emphasized the point that children are supposed to comply with their family's decisions, even if their own ambitions and aspirations do not coincide with their parents' plans. For example, the boy does not want to be a surgeon, but will study medicine in order to please his family:

I am sure I will take the university examination and go to a medical school. Actually, I don't want to study medicine but my family does. I want to be a lawyer. You know, medical school will take six years and it will be very difficult to finish it, but anyway, in the end I will graduate. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 122)

Traditional perception of female-male family roles, depicting women as householders, who gain public status and social appreciation by means of marriage and motherhood, and men as breadwinners, who gain public status and social power by means of education and professional growth, were repeatedly emphasized in the content of the NBTS series.

Another important point emphasized by NBTS was that the family normally makes decisions concerning their children's future. Family decides what is better for their children, and children must act in accordance with their family's wishes. Joseph and Slyomovics (2001) justified it on the basis of the strong relationship between personhood and family in the Middle East: "persons are encouraged to view themselves as always linked with, reciprocally shaped by, and mutually responsive to family and relatives" (pp. 6-7).

Omission of young women wearing headscarves in the content of the textbooks published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education signifies the state headscarf regulation, prohibiting "wearing any type of headscarf by requiring staff at public organizations and institutions to wear 'ordinary, sober, *modern* dress'" (Bleiberg, 2006, p. 140). The Turkish government views the headscarf as a religious symbol that has taken on political meaning in Turkey today (ibid., p. 148), and as incompatible with the principles of secularism (ibid., p. 156), which is the strict

separation of religious meanings and government policies. Modern female and male images in the NBTS series emphasized secular character of Turkish society. In conclusion, female and male images in NBTS demonstrated twofold modern-traditional character of Turkish society: adherence to the principles of secularism, upholding gender equality in the society on the one hand, and preservation of traditional family roles on the other hand.

4.2.2. Gender-Related Cultural and Ideological Assumptions in LSRW

The marked features of the LSRW textbooks were Islamic veiling and sexual segregation. All women and girls in the LSRW series were properly veiled in accordance with the Iranian public dressing code. However, only in two cases women were shown as wearing the chador, which is all-covering one piece of dark material favored by the post-revolutionary government and considered as a “more complete garment”, preferred by “good women” (Ardastani, cited in Afshar, 1999, p. 198). Generally women in the LSRW series were dressed in headscarves, sometimes even nicely patterned ones, and loose coats. Men in LSRW I-III were also dressed in accordance with the Iranian public dressing code, which obligates men to wear long trousers and long-sleeved shirts. Figure 8 shows a woman and man dressed in accordance with the Iranian public dressing code.



Figure 8. Picture of a Woman and a Man Dressed in Accordance with the Iranian Public Dressing Code (LSRW I, 2005, p. 40)

However, LSRW included nine images of men wearing sports shorts and short-sleeved shirts (e.g., LSRW I, 2005, pp. 20, 109, 120; LSRW II, 2004, pp. 13, 36, 56; LSRW III, 2005, pp. 29, 30, 74). Figure 9 shows a boy wearing a T-shirt and shorts, and Figure 10 shows a man wearing a short-sleeved shirt. However, there were no pictures of girls or women wearing sports clothes in the LSRW series.



Figure 9. Picture of a Boy Wearing a T-shirt and Sports Shorts (LSRW III, 2005, p. 30)



Figure 10. Picture of a Man Wearing a Short-Sleeved Shirt (LSRW III, 2005, p. 29)

It may indicate that the Iranian dressing policies reflected in the LSRW materials, showing women veiled even in home settings (Figure 11), in reality treat them more strictly than men.

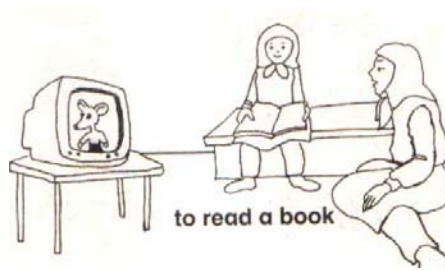


Figure 11. Picture of two Iranian Women Wearing Headscarves at Home (LSRW II, 2004, p. 37)

Both women and men were sometimes shown as working with rolled up sleeves (Figures 12-13), which to some extent provided the sense of labor equity in the textbooks. However, women in contrast to men were mostly shown in the LSRW series as working at home, washing and cooking. Men in LSRW usually worked outside of home.



Figure 12. Picture of a Woman Washing Dishes with Rolled Up Sleeves (LSRW III, 2005, p. iv)



Figure 13. Picture a Man Mending a Car with Rolled Up Sleeves (LSRW II, 2004, p.36)

In general, female and male characters in the LSRW series were not shown talking to each other, studying, playing or working together (Figures 14-15).



Figure 14. Picture of a Female Classroom (LSRW II, 2004, p. 21)

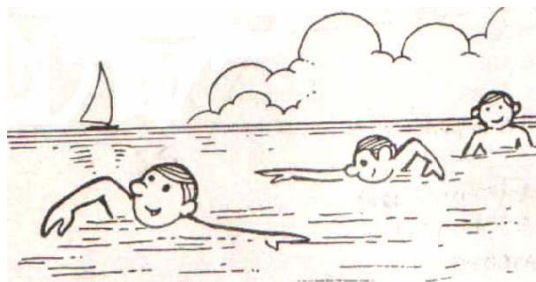


Figure 15. Picture of Swimming Boys (LSRW II, 2004, p. 56)

Interaction between women and men was observed only inside the family. For example, Figure 16 shows a girl and a boy, and the comment to the picture, removing all doubts about how they are related to each other, reads as follows: “Tom ate the whole cake. He didn’t leave any for *his sister*” (LSRW II, 2004, p. 71).



Figure 16. Picture of a Sister and a Brother (LSRW II, 2004, p. 71)

Figure 17 shows an Iranian family having a picnic. The central position in the picture belongs to a man, who is obviously the head of the family. A boy is placed beside his father. A veiled woman, whose face is turned away, is sitting beside her husband.



Figure 17. Picture of Iranian Family Having a Picnic (LSRW II, 2004, p. 21)

Figure 18 shows a woman and her son, who is being naughty. He refuses to read a book, and insists on watching TV.



Figure 18. Picture of Mother and Son (LSRW III, 2005, p. 30)

These images standardize the statutory requirement prohibiting contacts of any kind between a woman and a man who are not related to each other (Afshar, 1999, p. 214).

Patriarchal family values, enhancing the power of men over women, were repeatedly emphasized in the content of LSRW. The pictures in LSRW I (2005, pp. 5, 8) communicate the abovementioned idea very efficiently. Figure 19 shows an

Iranian family gathered together in front of the TV-set in the evening. On the foreground of the picture there is a boy watching cartoons on TV. He is sitting on the floor beside his father. The father, a man of dignified appearance sitting in the armchair, is concentrated on reading his newspaper. On the background of the picture a woman and a girl, both veiled, are sitting on the floor, and the woman is teaching her daughter reading. The most noticeable figure is the father, taking up the biggest part and the highest place in the picture. The boy, the father's successor, is the closest figure to him. Mother's figure, placed at the father's feet, is the farthest and seemingly endowed with less importance than the father's figure. However, her role as an educator of her children is still considerable. Interestingly, sexual segregation factor manifests itself here by putting all male figures on the left and female figures on the right side.



Figure 19. Picture of Iranian Family in front of the TV Set I (LSRW I , 2005, p. 5)

Figure 20 also shows an Iranian family in front of the TV set. Female and male characters are separated, which indicates sexual segregation. Two women are on the background, and two men are put on the forefront of the picture.

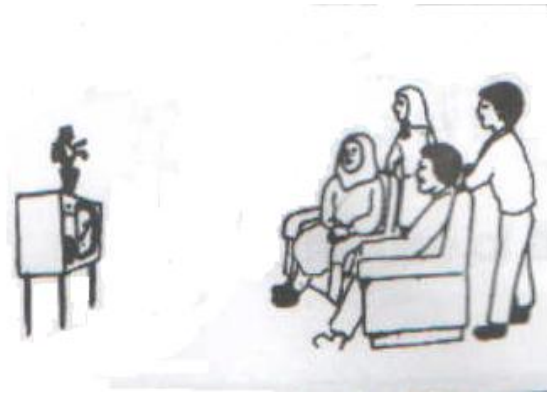


Figure 20. Picture of Iranian Family in front of the TV Set II (NBTS I, 2005, p.88)

Another illustration (Figure 21) depicts an Iranian family in the garden (NBTS, I, p. 8). Two boys and their father, tossing up his youngest son, are placed on the forefront. A little girl jumping the rope is put a bit aside from the male group. Similar to Figures 19 and 20, in Figure 21 mother was put on the background of the picture. Figures 19 and 21 underline the significance of female traditional roles as householders (e.g. educating children, watering flowers); however, male family roles assume ever greater importance in comparison to female roles inside the family, since fathers and sons were put on the forefront in the pictures.

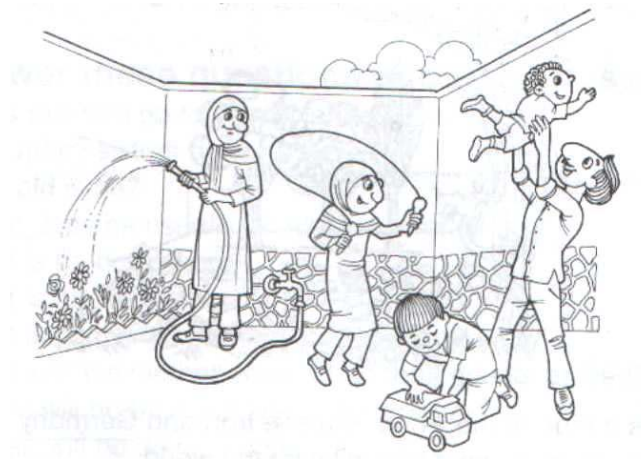


Figure 21. Picture of Iranian Family in the Garden (LSRW I , 2005, p. 8)

Female characters in LSRW were frequently shown as insufficient in various fields. For example, in the sentences “This little girl doesn’t have any friends. She is playing alone” (LSRW I, 2005, p. 8), “My sister couldn’t remember her teacher’s

name” (ibid, p. 18), “Mehri’s ruler is long. Bahram’s ruler is longer than her ruler. Hassan’s ruler is the longest” (ibid, p. 49), “She is drawing a cat. Her drawing is not good. She wants to draw another one” (ibid, p. 58), “This table is too heavy. She can’t move it. Does she need help to move it?” (ibid, p. 70), or “She could not explain how jet engines work” (LSRW III, 52), the meanings of female insufficiency become very clear and are gradually reinforced by sentences and supplementary illustrations. Figure 22 shows a girl who cannot understand her lesson, the sentences to the picture read as follows: “There are many new words in this lesson. I can’t understand them. Is it easy to understand this lesson? Why can’t you understand this lesson?”



Figure 22. Picture of a Girl Who Cannot Understand Her Lesson (LSRW I , 2005, p. 59)

Men also at times met with failure in the LSRW series (e.g. they lost something, hurt themselves, got sick, got bad marks or could not answer the questions), but in general, male images were more positive and empowering than female ones. For instance, in one of the pictures (Figure 23) a smiling with satisfaction male teacher is standing in front of the boys’ classroom and the comment to the picture reads as follows: “My students are clever. They learn very fast” (LSRW I, 2005, p. 22).

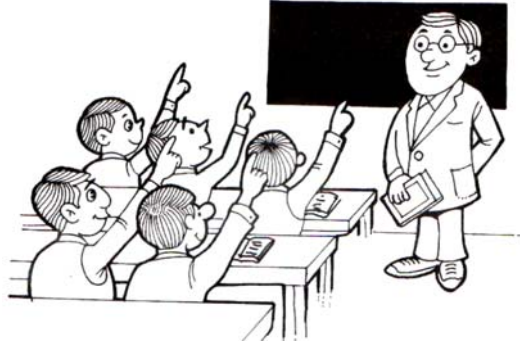


Figure 23. Picture of a Male Teacher and a Male Classroom (LSRW I, 2005, p. 22)

Sentences implying favorable disposition towards male characters were often found in the content of the LSRW series, for example, “Ahmad is a wise boy. He never drives when he feels sleepy” (LSRW, 2005, p. 35), “He always gets very good grades. He is the best student in our class. (ibid, p. 115), “My brother can tell you the names of the students in his class. He has a very good memory.” (LSRW III, 2005, p. 38), “You know Reza. He has a very good memory. Once he reads a story, he can tell you everything about it. In fact, he has a photographic memory” (ibid). Figure 24 shows a boy who gets good marks.

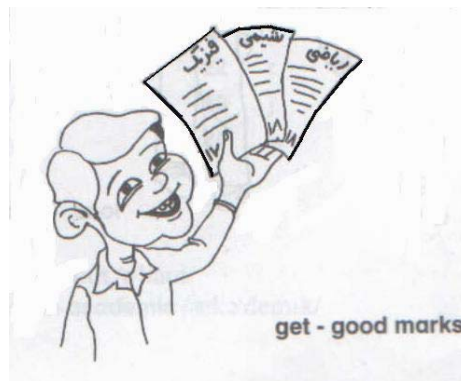


Figure 24. Picture of a Boy Who Gets Good Marks (LSRW I, 2005, p. 119)

Islamic veiling and sexual segregation, the most prominent gender-related meanings in LSRW, were identified by Saktanber (2002) as “patriarchal forms of control over women” (p. 31). Sexual segregation and Islamic veiling, imposed by the revolutionary government in 1979 and still remaining in effect, were repeatedly

emphasized by the LSRW series. Sexual segregation means separation of women and men and prevention of any physical contact and communication between them in public places, including schools, workplaces, hospitals, public transport, and so on (Afshar, 1999, p. 210). According to Saktanber (2002), “if such exercise of rigid social control was regarded as necessary for women, then this could only come into being as an extension of the perception of women as potential source of social [disorder]” (ibid.). The meanings supporting sexual segregation were conveyed by the LSRW series through the pictures showing boys and girls studying and playing apart, men and women working separately or talking only to the representatives of their own gender, except for cases of communication inside the family with their relatives of the opposite gender. These ideologies gradually gain the sense of normality in students’ brain and the LSRW textbooks function as supportive and reinforcing elements in this process.

Female characters, in contrast to male ones, were undermined and shown to disadvantage in the content of the investigated materials. Since “there are no sex differences in general intelligence” (Halpern & LaMay, 2000, p. 229), the fact that girls and women are frequently shown as less intelligent than male characters in the content of the textbooks is discriminatory and intensifies “a patriarchal educational environment which [values] the learning styles of boys over those of girls” (Walkerdine, cited in Francis, 2000, p. 36). Halpern and LaMay (2000) argued, that the question whether women or men are smarter is, in fact, a politicized issue, having important implications for a wide range of social policies (ibid., p. 230). According to President Rafsanjani (cited in Afshar, 1999), Iranian women “graduating at great expense and gaining great skills just become housewives and never serve the community... even when they do work they don’t work well enough” (p. 73). A similar point was made by a leading Iranian theologian Ayatollah Azari Qomi (cited in Afshar, 1999), who demarcated female and male social roles in the following way:

Internal domestic work of the household is the duty of those who have a pure spirit and pure emotions. External activities are based on wisdom and intelligence and therefore the duty of men. (p. 150)

Iranian public policies, reflected in texts and illustrations in LSRW, uphold female family roles and reinforce a “message of inability or inadequacy” (Mehran, 2003, p. 25) of women, restraining female self-actualization in other social fields.

4.2.3. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in NBTS

Overall results for the NBTS course in gendered topic presentation area demonstrated higher numbers of gender-neutral and male-oriented texts. Table 8 shows the numbers of female- and male-oriented, gender-mixed, and gender-neutral texts in the NBTS textbook set. Table 9 omits the numbers of gender-mixed and gender-neutral reading passages, and demonstrates the ratio of female-oriented to male-oriented reading passages in NBTS. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. The percentages of male-oriented, female-oriented, mixed-gender, and gender-neutral reading passages for the entire NBTS series were 30%, 21%, 7%, and 42%, respectively. In comparison to gender-neutral, male- and female-oriented reading passages, the numbers of mixed-gender texts, representing both female and male characters, in all three NBTS course books were the smallest. The percentage ratio of male- to female-oriented texts appeared to be 58%:42%. The biggest percentage difference between the numbers of male- to female-oriented readings (61%:39%) was found in NBTS III (2005). However, more than half of all texts (51%) in the content of NBTS III were gender-neutral articles about scientific and environmental matters.

Table 8. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in NBTS

Orientation	NBTS I	NBTS II	NBTS III	NBTS I, II, III
Male	19 (40)	25 (29)	30 (26)	74 (30)
Female	14 (30)	20 (23)	19 (16)	53 (21)
Gender-Mixed	4 (9)	5 (6)	8 (7)	17 (7)
Gender-Neutral	10 (21)	36 (42)	60 (51)	106 (42)
TOTAL	47 (100)	86 (100)	117 (100)	250 (100)

Table 9. Ratio of Female-Oriented to Male-Oriented Reading Passages in NBTS

Orientation	NBTS I	NBTS II	NBTS III	NBTS I, II, III
Male	19 (58)	25 (56)	30 (61)	74 (58)
Female	14 (42)	20 (44)	19 (39)	53 (42)
TOTAL	33(100)	45 (100)	49 (100)	127 (100)

Although in reading passages on neutral abstract topics no male characters were identified, with the exception of a single occurrence of Elvis Presley in a gender-neutral text about youth subcultures (NBTS III, 2005, p. 17-18), male presence was clearly marked in a few readings. In the text listing the first aid regulations (NBTS II, 2004, p. 115) the authors explained how to open the airway of an unconscious person, check for breathing and blood circulation. However, some instructions in that neutral medical introduction were related exclusively to male body: “To check for circulation, you must check the victim’s pulse at one of the carotid arteries, located in the neck on either side of *Adam’s apple*” (ibid, p. 115). Adam’s apple is the prominent part of the larynx, which is peculiar to men. Another gender-neutral reading passage (NBTS II, 2004, p.125), cautioning about bungee jumping accidents, was attended by a picture of a male bungee jumping instructor and two male bungee jumpers, thus predisposing students to thinking that dangerous and challenging kinds of sports, such as bungee jumping, are exclusively masculine (Figure 25).

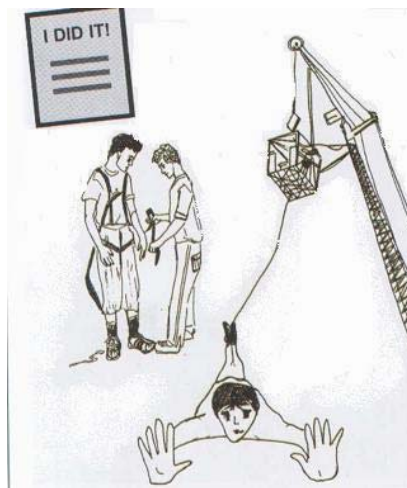


Figure 25. Picture of a Male Bungee Jumping Instructor and Two Male Bungee Jumpers (NBTS II, 2004, p.125)

The third neutral reading, dedicated to various youth subcultures (NBTS III, 2005, p. 17-18), illustrated hippy style in the following way: “Hippies in the 60s favored longer hair styles, *thin beards along the jaw line* and horn-rimmed glasses” (ibid, p. 17). Since women do not have beards, it may be argued that according to NBTS III, hippy was a male-dominated subculture.

Male-oriented texts in the NBTS textbooks represented greatly empowering male characters having their valuable contributions to the social, artistic and scientific spheres. The most important and frequently mentioned male role model in the NBTS course series appeared to be Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey and its first president. In general, NBTS included three texts describing his accomplishments (NBTS I, 2004, p. 96; NBTS II, 2004, p. 7; NBTS III, 2005, p. 63). The texts about Atatürk depicted him as “a national hero” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 63), “the genius of the 20th century” (NBTS I, 2004, p. 96), “a real patriot, humanist and a revolutionary” (ibid.), and “a military commander of genius” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 7). Every NBTS textbook was opening with a page-sized picture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his appeal to the Turkish youth. There were also a few references to Atatürk attended by his photographs in NBTS III (2005, pp. 2, 44). Moreover, the introduction to the story about a gifted athlete, Turkey’s gold medalist, Süreyya Ayhan (NBTS II, 2004, p. 3), included Atatürk’s invigorating saying, “A healthy mind in a healthy body”, emphasizing importance of Ayhan’s victory in sports. Reading passages about Atatürk and his photographs, illustrating authoritative and self-sufficient statesperson, reinforced a powerful respectful image of a strong national leader, a creator of modern Turkey (NBTS II, 2004, p. 7), and indicated strong patriarchal values in the society putting its political leaders in the position of national family patriarchs, who are being treated as heads of families, implying fidelity and morality of kinship relations in political and economic spheres (Joseph & Slyomovics, 2001, p. 7).

In most cases male-oriented texts in the NBTS set of materials tended to focus on generally recognized successful male characters, such as a popular British musician

Sting, who “is not only a great singer and bass player but also a master songwriter, a poet and an actor” (NBTS I, 2004, p. 50), “brilliant sportsmen” Hidayet Türkoğlu and Mehmet Okur playing basketball in the National Basketball Association (ibid, p. 110), and famous Turkish actors, Mehmet Aslantuğ and Şener Şen (ibid, p. 113). There were readings about “one of the greatest philosophers of his age” Mevlana Celaleddini Rumi (ibid, pp. 114-115), “the highest-rated chess player” Garry Kasparov (NBTS II, 2004, p. 121), and one of the most respectable businessmen” in Turkey, Sakıp Sabancı (NBTS, 2005, p. 100). Other male characters brought out by NBTS also appeared to be very influential and emphatic: an ambitious young footballer, who wants to play in European leagues (NBTS I, 2004, p. 42), and a hardworking persistent long distance runner, who finally won a golden medal in the Olympic Games (NBTS II, 2004, p. 95). There were “a historian and archeologist who has done many studies”, Professor Wolfgang Scholl, “a very popular hunter and soldier of the king”, Hattu, a wealthy factory owner (ibid, p. 138), and Uncle George, who is “a successful executive manager” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 4). In the story “A Brave Man Lays His Life on the Line”, Morlan O’Bryan, at great risk to his life, “running directly into the line of fire, heroically saves two children” (ibid. p. 122). However, NBTS did not provide any examples of women who performed heroic deeds demonstrating courage.

In contrast to male-oriented texts, female-oriented readings included very few well known female characters. One of them was Candan Erçetin who is a popular Turkish singer (NBTS III, 2005, p. 21). With the exception of a restrained eulogistic comment that “...only a few of the pop singers are really good at their work. Candan Erçetin is one of them”, the text confined itself to general listing of her professional achievements. Another famous woman found in the NBTS series was Süreyya Ayhan described by the text as a gifted athlete being “very lucky as she is the daughter of a farmer who is also an amateur” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 3). According to the text, Süreyya Ayhan who gained great results in athletics and became Turkey’s first gold medalist is not a self-reliant autonomous person but a daughter subjected and obliged to her father represented as her major “role model and

supporter”. Despite Ayhan’s outstanding social value as a successful sportsman, the text emphasized her family roles.

Traditional father’s dominance, revealed in the previously examined text, was also exposed by other female-oriented reading passages. For example, Tina’s friends prepared a farewell party for her because her father was starting a new job in another city, and Tina’s family had to move: “Tina is leaving the school because they have to move to another city. Her father is starting a new job soon.” (NBTS I, 2004, p. 80). Although the reading passage was focused on Tina and her farewell party, the main reason for the party was her father’s new job. One more female character in NBTS had to move due to her father’s job: “When we moved to Egypt because of my father’s job, I felt depressed and unhappy” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 87). The story is about the girl’s depression that she started having in Egypt, where she moved because of her father’s job. Traditional male role of a breadwinner in the family was represented as a norm and reinforced by reading passages and illustrations. Figure 26 presents visual explanations of the idiomatic phrases “to bring home the bacon” and “to sweat blood”. Both idioms are related to labor; “to bring home the bacon” means “to earn a living for the family”, and “to sweat blood” is another way to say “to work hard” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 89). The male characters, “sweating blood” and “bringing home the bacon”, disseminate ideas that men are the ones who normally work hard and earn living for the family.



Figure 26. Picture of Men “Sweating Blood” and “Bringing the Bacon” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 89)

The unit on music and dance in NBTS III (2005), referring to the big names of Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Louis Armstrong, Miles Davis, Charlie Parker, Elvis Presley, The Beatles, and Bob Marley (pp. 40-41), diminished women's contributions in the field of music to a girls' pop band "Atomic Kitten" (p. 43), whose highlighted professional characteristics were being "outgoing, good-looking and young." Moreover, the authors mention that one of the singers in this band, Kerry Ketona, "left her full time career in order to be a good mother", which was a direct confirmation of gendered traditionalism in family roles.

In most cases beautiful appearance was an essential female characteristic emphasized by the NBTS texts and visuals. Overweight girls were generally ridiculed, criticized and put on a diet. For example, Andrea, a 21 year old girl who was "a little plump", could not find anything of her size in the shop: "It is always difficult for me to buy something to wear" (NBTS II, 2004, p. 43). In the story, while looking for a dress for her sister's wedding ceremony, Andrea had a lot of difficulties, and finally "stepped on the dress and tore it into two pieces", then "fell down and twisted her ankle." The picture supplementing Andrea's story (Figure 27) showed her in a very poor position as sitting on the floor with an upset face and a broken shoe heel.

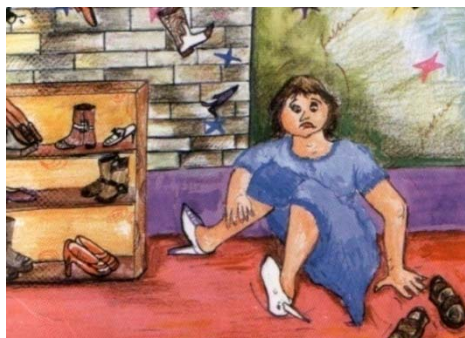


Figure 27. Picture of Andrea Sitting on the Floor with a Broken Shoe Heel (NBTS II, 2004, p. 43)

In the reading passage “Now and Then”, exercising present and past forms of the verbs, a girl who used to be “a little fat” in the past wonderfully transformed and became thin and beautiful after putting herself on a diet:

Hi! I’m Pinar. I was born in 1979. In this photo, I was twelve years old. As you can see, I was a little fat because I used to eat a lot of junk food like hamburgers and pizzas... Now, I’m twenty-five years old. I give importance to my physical appearance because it is very important for my job. Generally I’m on a diet. I don’t eat junk food anymore. I eat healthy food like vegetables and fruits. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 97).

The text is supplemented by two pictures showing Pinar when she was fat and her present picture when she is thin (Figure 28).



Figure 28. Picture of Pinar When She Was Fat and When She Became Thin (NBTS I, 2004, p. 97)

In mixed-gender reading passages, representing both male and female characters, men were frequently given more authority than women. Female characters were often portrayed as physically, psychologically or professionally dependent on male characters. NBTS texts presented various types of asymmetrical relationship between women and men. In the text “A Traffic Accident” two men helped to save the life of a female victim of a traffic accident (NBTS I, 2004, p. 35), they called the police and the ambulance. In another story a policeman, endowed with certain powers, interrogated a desperately weeping mother of a sixteen years old criminal (ibid, p. 106). In the story “A Dreamlike Day” a female teenage admirer of a pop star Justin Timberlake by chance took a picture of her music idol (ibid, p. 111). A

supplementary illustration shows the girl clasping the photograph to her bosom (Figure 29).



Figure 29. Picture of a Girl Clasping the Photograph of her Music Idol to Her Bosom (NBTS I, 2004, p. 111)

In other cases gender-mixed NBTS texts presented a woman having measles and a male doctor treating her (NBTS II, 2004, p. 22), a male company manager and his female secretary (ibid, pp. 93-94), a male judge and two female participants of the trial, a petitioner and respondent (ibid, p. 102). Figure 30 shows a male manager of the company giving orders to his female secretary.

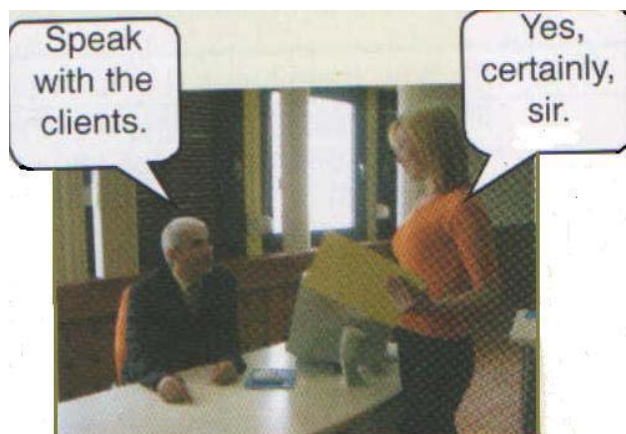


Figure 30. Picture of a Secretary and Her Boss (NBTS II, 2004, p. 94)

Very few gender-mixed texts in the NBTS series depicted equally related female and male characters; some of them were two female and male school friends (NBTS I, p. 94), and two lovers living in the times of the Roman Empire (NBTS II, p. 141).

Frequent occurrences of talented, ambitious and successful male characters in NBTS increase self-reliance and confidence of male students and encourage them to recognize their unique abilities and to achieve their full potential in science, arts, business, and politics. Gender-neutral texts organized around scientific, environmental, medical and sports topics in a few cases comprised direct and indirect references to men and masculine physical features. Female characters were often shown as subjected to male characters, and men were portrayed as having authority over women in social and private settings. Despite a few occurrences of women as artists and sportspeople, their traditional family roles were given more consideration and were appreciated more than professional achievements. It should be noted that none of the readings gave an account of families where mothers were represented as major breadwinners; however, there are both male- and female-headed households in Turkey. The proportion of female-headed households in Turkey is 11.3% (TURKSTAT, 2002-2006). The personal traits such as leadership, courage, intelligence, talents, outstanding faculties, and imagination were generally attributed to male characters. However, physical features of being beautiful or overweight were ascribed principally to female characters, emphasizing the bigger importance of physical appearance than intelligence for women in the NBTS series.

4.2.4. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in LSRW

Overall results on topic presentation in the LSRW readings indicated that the LSRW authors practically excluded female characters from the content of the materials. Table 10 shows the numbers of male- and female-oriented, gender-mixed, and neutral readings in LSRW. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. The total number of female-oriented reading passages in the LSRW series appeared to be zero. The percentages of male-oriented, mixed-gender and

gender-neutral reading passages for the entire LSRW course series were 39%, 22%, and 39%, respectively.

Table 10. Topic Presentation in Reading Passages in LSRW

Orientation	LSRW I	LSRW II	LSRW III	LSRW I, II, III
Male	6 (60)	3 (43)	0 (0)	9 (39)
Female	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Gender-Mixed	2 (20)	2 (28.5)	1 (17)	5 (22)
Gender-Neutral	2 (20)	2 (28.5)	5 (83)	9 (39)
TOTAL	10 (100)	7 (100)	6 (100)	23 (100)

Similar to the NBTS series, in the LSRW course books gender-neutral readings on scientific topics demonstrated high percentage rates. However, gender-neutral passages implying the absence of any reference to either gender often tended towards male representations. For example, the reading passage about tame monkeys, helping farmers in gathering crops (LSRW I, 2005, p. 24), was supplied by a picture of a monkey throwing a coconut to a man standing under the palm tree (Figure 31).



Figure 31. Picture of a Monkey Throwing a Coconut to a Male Farmer (LSRW I, 2005, p. 24)

In another passage about farming, farmers were mentioned in general terms: “Farmers raise plants, vegetables, and flowers. They also raise animals.” However, the supplementary drawing depicted only male farmers at work (Figure 32).



Figure 32. Picture of Male Farmers Working in the Field (LSRW I, 2005, p. 21)

Additionally, generic usage of the noun “man/men” in a few gender-neutral readings presupposed that only men “have summer and winter homes” (LSRW I, 2005, pp. 82-83), conduct investigations in space (LSRW II, 2004, pp. 16-17), get educated and employed (LSRW III, 2005, pp. 24-25).

Similarly to the NBTS series, male-oriented passages in the LSRW materials were concerned with highly empowering images of well-known philosophers, writers, scientists and inventors. The major male role models in LSRW were Holy Prophet Muhammad, Friedrich Froebel, Isaac Newton, Charles Dickens, James Watt, and Alexander Graham Bell. The story about the Holy Prophet depicts him as a person whose “truthfulness, honesty, and sense of duty” (LSRW I, 2005, p. 104) were highly admired by the people of Mecca: “They gave him the title of ‘Al-Amin’ which means ‘the trustworthy’” (ibid.). The most influential figure in the development of science, Isaac Newton, was characterized as “one of the greatest Englishmen who ever lived” (ibid, pp. 36-37). Another important male role was Friedrich Froebel, who despite multiple difficulties and privations of his early years became a famous educator and started the first kindergarten (ibid, pp. 11-12). Similar to the story about Friedrich Froebel, in the text “Charles Dickens and the Little Children” it was mentioned that Charles Dickens had a difficult childhood, “he had to go out and work when he was a boy”, but when he grew up “he never forgot those terrible days. He wrote his book [Oliver Twist] so that other children could have a better life” (LSRW II, 2004, pp. 45-46). Two readings in LSRW refer to the prominent inventors, James Watt and Alexander Graham Bell. James Watt

“built the first steam engine that could really do work for man” (LSRW I, 2005, p. 72). Graham Bell’s invention of the telephone obtained the recognition of people all over the world: “Everyone thought the new invention was wonderful” (LSRW III, 2005, p. 67).

The LSRW female characters came into vision only in mixed-gender readings. Although in most cases when female and male characters occurred simultaneously, women were usually ascribed subordinate and insignificant roles. For example, in “A Story about Newton” a woman was assigned the role of a servant. It was mentioned that “few men of that time were greater or wiser than Newton but he often forgot small things.” Newton’s female servant took care of Newton and the things generally ignored by the great scientist, who had more important things to think about:

One morning Newton got up very early because he was working on a very difficult problem. He did not leave the problem to go to breakfast. But his servant thought Newton needed food. Therefore, she went to his room with a pan of water and an egg. (LSRW I, 2005, p. 36)

Another story about a famous person, “The Boy Who Made Steam Work” (LSRW I, pp. 71-72), in contrast to a powerful male image of a famous inventor who built the first steam engine, portrayed an absolutely incompetent in scientific matters female image of Watt’s grandmother. The text “TV or no TV” (LSRW III, 2005, pp. 6-7), listing advantages and disadvantages of television in general for both women, men and children, emphasized the point that housewives “spent an average of about five hours a day watching TV while their husbands were out at work”. Remarks like that undermined women and illustrated them as lazy and inefficient in social and family settings.

It may be concluded that the concept of male dominance was reinforced by all LSRW readings exemplifying powerful, self-sufficient, and hardworking men and powerless inferior women. The lack of female-oriented readings in the content of Iranian ELT materials was also reported by Ansary and Babaii (2003). It was

asserted that that out of 40 topics presented in dialogues and reading passages 27 (67.5%) were male-oriented. Gender-neutral texts about farming, accompanied by illustrations of male farmers, overlooked the fact that Iranian women are also involved in agriculture. Formally women constitute 8.8% of the agricultural workforce in Iran (ICCIM, 2000). However, according to UN FAO (1996), Iranian rural women are engaged in “various phases of crop production, including planting (particularly of rice), weeding, pest control, harvesting, processing and marketing. Women also play an important role in livestock raising and dairy production and in the processing and marketing of fish.” Outstanding male characters, having their worldly appreciated achievements, serve as empowering role models for male students educated from LSRW. Female characters, presented by LSRW, were generally shown in their domestic roles.

4.2.5. Occupational, Social Roles and Activities in NBTS

Table 11 represents occupations of men and women in texts and illustrations in NBTS. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage. All three NBTS course components demonstrated very similar percentage differences of male to female occupational roles 62%:38%. Thus men’s professional involvement in the NBTS series outnumbered women’s almost 1.5:1. Overall ratio of male-female appearances in various occupational roles in the NBTS textbooks was about 2:1. The highest percentage ratio of male-female appearances in occupational roles was exposed by NBTS I (73%:27%) written by both female and male authors.

Table 11. Occupations of Men and Women in Texts and Illustrations in NBTS

Textbook	NBTS I		NBTS II		NBTS III		NBTS I, II, III	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Occupations	57 (62)	35 (38)	64 (62)	40 (38)	58 (62)	35 (38)	179 (62)	110 (38)
Total occupations	92 (100)		104 (100)		93 (100)		289 (100)	
Instances	180 (73)	67 (27)	149 (67)	72 (33)	156 (57)	119 (43)	485 (65)	258 (35)
Total Instances	247 (100)		221 (100)		275 (100)		743 (100)	

General counting of jobs held by women and men along with instances of occupational roles assigned to both female and male characters in the NBTS series revealed under-representations of women in almost all occupational areas. For example, in arts and music male singers and musicians outnumbered women three times in texts and twice in illustrations. Numbers of female and male actors both in texts and illustrations were almost equal, however, only male film producers and directors were found in the content. A similar tendency was observed in other occupational spheres, for instance, numbers of male-female appearances in medicine were not very different, but male characters were mostly shown as physicians, therapists, dentists, surgeons, and cardiologists, and only half of females involved in medical sphere had comparable with men qualifications, another half of females was put in a subordinate position of nurses. Similarly in business sphere men commonly held responsible and respectable positions as managers, personnel directors, and sales representatives, but almost one third of women in business were represented in the content as secretaries and receptionists. For example, in the following dialogues women are presented as subordinate workers:

1. **Susan:** Would you like some orange juice?
Boss: Yes, of course. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 88)

2. **Mr. Adams:** This is urgent, Miss Space. Let the employees know about the new resolution at once: they're not allowed to be away at the same period of the season!
Miss Space: Certainly, sir. Could I use the telephone on your desk, Mr. Adams? Mine doesn't work properly.
Mr. Adams: Of course, Miss Space. (NBTS II, 2004, p. 61)

However, in some cases women in business held higher positions than men, for example:

- Richard:** I can't live on a hundred pounds a week. Could I have a raise in April?
Mrs. Time: Sorry, you have to wait for the raise on my salary.

Professional sports appeared to be also male-dominant; male-female ratio in sports was 3:1 in texts and 8:1 in illustrations. Men were frequently exemplified as being involved in power and extreme sports, such as boxing, rafting, surfing, motor racing, cycling, rowing, wrestling, football and basketball. Moreover, senior roles of coaches, referees, fitness and karate instructors were constantly assigned to male

characters. Women were portrayed as gymnasts, tennis players, and figure skaters. In very few cases professional female distance runners, volleyball players and divers were found. In manual labor category women were illustrated in traditional female occupations of seamstresses and carpet-weavers.

In occupations related to politics, law, military, science and technology women were excluded. In contrast to male characters commonly shown in responsible and skilled professions, there were no female ministers and government workers, lawyers and judges, police officers, scientists and engineers. Men involved in unskilled labor were shown as miserable, unhappy and having money problems: “John Benson isn’t satisfied with his life. He works as a sanitary worker in a big hospital. Although he works twelve hours a day to support his greedy wife and four children, he just can’t make both ends meet” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 95). Firstly, the text failed to demonstrate the whole importance and necessity of different kinds of jobs for the society. It also showed the man as a struggling breadwinner and his wife as a traditional housewife economically dependent on her husband.

In occupations related to mass media the numbers of female and male reporters and journalists were equal, and the only occupational category where women outnumbered men was education. In fact, numbers of women in education are high in Turkey; 35% of all academicians in Turkey are women, and 50 % of all teachers are female (Balçı, 2007). Results of gendered appearances in education revealed by the present study confirmed high visibility of women in this field. Female teachers appeared almost twice more often in texts and four times more often in illustrations of the NBTS series than male teachers. Moreover, a few occurrences of both male and female professors were found. Female students appeared more frequently than male students in texts and in illustrations their numbers were equal. It possibly indicated interior purpose of the Turkish Ministry of National Education, sustaining “Support for Girls’ Schooling Campaign” (“Haydi Kızlar okula!”) started by UNICEF in 2004, to attract more girls from traditional Turkish families being skeptical about female education. On the back cover of NBTS III published in 2005 there is a sign of this campaign (Figure 33).



Figure 33. An Official Sign of “Support for Girls’ Schooling Campaign” (“Haydi Kızlar okula!”)

Apart from stereotypical female occupations of a manicurist, baby-sitter and housewife a few examples of a woman pilot and taxi-driver were found. However, women having professions requiring fast decision-making and utmost concentration, such as a pilot and taxi-driver, were shown as facing multiple difficulties and referred to as unusual and odd cases. For example, a common attitude that women cannot be good drivers in general and taxi-drivers in particular was demonstrated in the story “Sevim-A Taxi Driver”. Sevim had to contest social norms in order to prove her professionalism:

“I enjoy the day-to-day battle with the Istanbul traffic”, she says. She wishes more people got in her taxi. But *most* people who don’t believe that a woman can be a good driver prefer male drivers (NBTS III, 2005, p. 88).

Sevim’s friends did not approve her job, since it is dangerous: “Her friends think it is an unsuitable job for her. ‘You should be careful when you go out, especially at nights, because muggers and vagrants are staggering around’, they say.” This text communicates an idea that dangerous jobs and activities are not for women.

Several pictures and comments in the NBTS textbooks portraying women as victims of traffic accidents reinforced the stereotype that women cannot be good drivers (Figure 34).

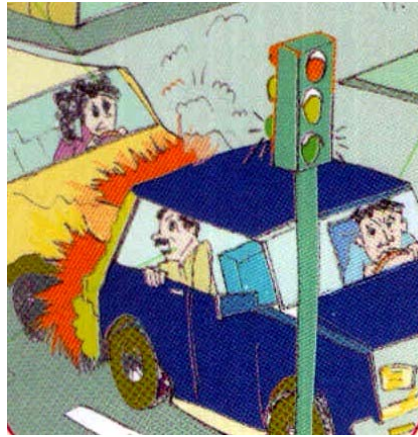


Figure 34. Picture of a Car Accident Caused by a Woman (NBTS I, 2004, p. 28)

Female and male characters in the NBTS series were shown as getting involved in various social activities in both texts and illustrations. Generally, the types of outdoor activities ascribed to opposite genders were not very different. Both women and men were portrayed as playing volleyball and basketball, going to parties, traveling, swimming, paragliding and even fishing. However, some activities, such as playing football, cirit (a traditional Turkish sports game), hunting, doing karate, motor racing, and wrestling were represented as exclusively masculine activities and buying clothes for fun as feminine. According to the NBTS series, dangerous and difficult activities are commonly not for women:

Suzie: ...Do you advise me to do karate? Is it a good way to lose weight, Jack?

Jack: Hmm... But why karate? It's a difficult and dangerous sport. Go jogging in the mornings if you want to lose weight. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 131)

Some types of female and male indoor activities like reading, watching TV, and studying were very similar with the exception of doing knitting and sewing for women. In contrast to women, male characters preferred playing computer games and surfing the net. Moreover, female characters were shown twice more often as talking on the phone to their friends. Also taking care of their own appearance, being on a diet and crying were perceived as female activities and behaviors. In a few cases women's attempts to look beautiful were ridiculed and being beautiful was opposed to being intelligent, for example:

Tom: Hello, madam. May I show you some *encyclopedias*?
Sue: I'm afraid you can't. I've got no time.
Tom: It takes only two minutes, madam.
Sue: No, thanks. *I don't want to buy encyclopedias.*
Tom: Then, madam, would you like to see some *books on how to stay young and beautiful*?
Sue: Oh, really? That sounds interesting. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 61)

Investigation of gendered social roles in family settings demonstrated that women had more responsibilities and duties than men inside the family and were often expected to be dedicated to their husbands and children. In contrast to men, women frequently appeared as involved in traditional household activities like cooking, washing, and taking care of children (Figures 35-36): “While my mother was cooking in the kitchen, my father was reading a book in the living-room” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 188).



Figure 35. Picture of a Woman Doing Housework (NBTS I, 2004, p. 79)



Figure 36. Picture of a Woman with Children (NBTS III, 2005, p. 163)

Seven times more women than men were shown as cooking by the NBTS texts. Men's household activities generally implied washing a car, building or painting a house, repairing a bike, and buying a ram for Kurban Bayram (a religious Turkish holiday). Sometimes men were shown as taking care of children; however, those occasions were not viewed as natural ones and normally mothers were expected to take care of their children, not fathers, for example:

A: My daughter had a temperature yesterday.

B: Did you have to stay at home with her?

A: No, I didn't. Because my husband was at home so he *had to* look after her. (NBTS I, 2004, p. 130)

It may be concluded that more men than women in the NBTS materials were portrayed as having responsible and respectful professions implying good education, developed intellectual faculties and capability to make decisions and resolve problems. NBTS communicated an idea that dangerous and responsible jobs are not suitable for women. Women in stereotypically masculine professions were regarded as unusual cases. Indoor activities, such as reading, studying, watching TV, and outdoor activities, such as playing volleyball and basketball, going to parties, traveling, and swimming, ascribed to female and male characters were similar. However, social roles assigned to male and female characters in the content reflected and reinforced traditional female and male roles of householders and

breadwinners more expressively than modern ones, emphasizing gender equality in public and private settings.

4.2.6. Occupational, Social Roles and Activities in LSRW

The LSRW series demonstrated higher percentages of male occupations and male occurrences in occupational roles than the NBTS textbooks. Table 12 presents the numbers of occupations of men and women in texts and illustrations in LSRW. Numbers in parentheses show the percentage. Overall ratio of jobs held by men to jobs held by women was 77%: 23% that contradicts factual female employment rate in Iran which is 50% (Human Development Report, 2006). Instances of employed males to employed females in the LSRW series appeared to be 80%:20%. Similarly to the results in the previous parts of the study, the highest numbers of female occupations and female instances in occupational roles were exposed by LSRW III (2005) and the lowest by LSRW II (2004).

Table 12. Occupations of Men and Women in Texts and Illustrations in LSRW.

Textbook	LSRW I		LSRW II		LSRW III		LSRW I, II, III	
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Occupations	23 (77)	7 (23)	29 (83)	6 (17)	18 (69)	8 (31)	70 (77)	21 (23)
Total occupations	30 (100)		35 (100)		26 (100)		91 (100)	
Instances	64 (79)	17 (21)	52 (85)	9 (15)	33 (73)	12 (27)	149 (80)	38 (20)
Total Instances	81 (100)		61 (100)		45 (100)		187 (100)	

Occupational roles assigned to women in the LSRW textbooks commonly referred to education and medicine, due to sexual segregation of schools and hospitals in Iran (Figures 37-38).



Figure 37. Picture of a Female Teacher in a Female School (LSRW III, 2005, p. 59)



Figure 38. Picture of a Female Doctor in a Female Hospital (LSRW III, 2005, p. 47)

However, even in education and medicine, where Iranian women have won official social approval, they were for the most part under-represented in comparison to men by the content of the LSRW series. Although female and male students were represented almost equally in illustrations, in texts male-female students' ratio was about 4:1 that does not correspond to the facts, since female involvement in education is high in Iran, and 43% of all university graduates are female (Mehran, 2003, p. 21). The numbers of female and male teachers were almost the same in both texts and illustrations. However, the numbers of female doctors in LSRW were low. In texts the ratio of male to female doctors was 7:1, and only one female doctor and a nurse were shown in illustrations.

In sports, arts, business/trade, politics, law/order, and science/technology only male characters were involved. Apart from education and medicine, women were often

portrayed in home settings as traditional housewives doing chores (Figure 39) and taking care of children (Figure 40).



Figure 39. Picture of a Woman Doing the Laundry (LSRW III, 2005, p. 30)



Figure 40. Picture of a Woman Dressing a Girl (NBTS I, 2005, p. 90)

A day of an average housewife was represented by the LSRW series in the following way:

My mother is watching TV now. She is tired. She has worked a lot today. She has cooked our dinner. She has made a cake. She has washed the dishes. She has cleaned the kitchen. She has helped her children. (LSRW I, 2005, p. 106)

Moreover, satisfaction of man's daily wants and needs was depicted as his wife's natural responsibility, for example: "Mr. White didn't wear the shirt. His wife didn't wash it" (LSRW II, 2004, p. 8). Similarly to the NBTS series, in the LSRW materials male household chores were stereotypically limited to washing a car, painting a house and working in the garden.

Examination of gender-related activity types showed that male characters enjoyed a wide range of both outdoor and indoor activities (Figures 41-42). In addition to reading newspapers, listening to the music, studying and watching TV, men were often illustrated as playing football, ping-pong, riding a bicycle, and traveling.

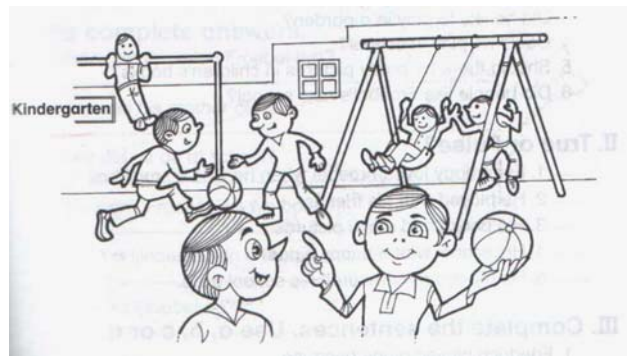


Figure 41. Picture of Boys on the Playground (LSRW I, 2005, p. 11)



Figure 42. Picture of a Boy Going to Play Ping Pong (LSRW III, 2005, p. 30)

In contrast to men, female characters were portrayed merely at home or in the classroom as studying (Figure 43), reading, and watching TV, with the exception of

the occasions when female characters were jumping a rope, playing ping-pong and shopping. Results in this part of the study were very similar to the results obtained by Ansary and Babaii (2003) in the study on gender bias in Iranian ELT series *Right Path to English I-II* (Birjandi & Soheili, 1999). The authors claimed that women in the examined textbooks “were fundamentally shunted into indoor passive activities” (p. 7).



Figure 43. Picture of a Girl Studying Her Lessons (LSRW III, 2005, p. 29)

According to the results in this part of the study women remained marginal in occupational roles and activity types demonstrated by the LSRW course materials. Only male characters in the LSRW materials were shown as going to or coming from work: “He says his prayers, eats his breakfast at about 6 and then goes to work” (LSRW I, 2005, p. 5). It substantiates a popular post-revolutionary attitude that “work outside the home and paid employment is the domain of men” (Mohamadi, cited in Afshar, 1999, p. 82). Female occupational representations in the LSRW series confirmed and reinforced post-revolutionary attitudes to women’s employment that “women, whatever qualifications they may have or however learned they may be, must remain the pivotal core of the family and play their parts as exemplary housewives” (Habibi, cited in Afshar, 1999, p. 81). Education and medicine were the only occupational fields involving women in LSRW. In fact, these findings have well-grounded social interpretations. As mentioned by Afshar (1999), “[women] have been most successful in the field of medicine, where they have benefited from the twin fears of the Islamists that male doctors should come into contact with the naked bodies of women and ever-present arguments about the

‘natural tenderness of women’” (p. 74). Whereas in the absence of female teachers male teachers can be employed by women’s schools in Iran, things become more difficult when women’s hospitals are at issue. Due to sexual segregation of schools and hospitals, Iranian women appeared to be involved in these occupational fields more often than in any others. However, numbers of men in education and medicine in LSRW exceeded numbers of women in these fields. Similar to the present study, Ansary and Babaii (2003) mentioned that in the Iranian secondary school ELT materials women’s occupations were generally limited to a student and nurse, with a few exceptions of a teacher and doctor. In contrast to women, men were shown in a wide range of occupational roles, such as policemen, soldier, dentist, farmer, and teacher.

4.3. Gender Bias of the English Language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials

The third research question focused on gender bias of the English language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. In order to reveal gender imbalance at code level in reading passages and exercises, generic use of female, male or gender-neutral pronouns and nouns was examined across both ELT textbook sets. The findings confirmed that frequent use of English androcentric generics in NBTS and LSRW predisposed elimination of females in texts.

4.3.1. Generic Constructions in NBTS

The concept of male dominance in both ELT series was intensified by generic usage of male pronouns and a generic *man* in reading passages, instructions given by the authors, and in exercises. Analysis of generic forms in the NBTS series revealed extensive use of masculine terms for unmarked gender.

Table 13 shows the numbers of gender related pronouns and nouns in the cases of unmarked gender in NBTS. Numbers in parentheses represent the percentage and

the ones in square brackets represent the instances of female, male, and neutral pronouns and nouns in the cases of unmarked gender. The percentages of generic masculine, feminine, and gender-neutral terms for the NBTS series were 83%, 5%, and 12%, respectively. The biggest percentages of masculine pronouns and nouns for unmarked gender were exposed by NBTS II (2004) and NBTS III (2005). Although the smallest percentage of generic masculine terms was found in NBTS I in comparison to NBTS II and III, generic feminine words were absent in this part of the series, and only a few generic gender-indefinite terms were found. The percentage ratio of generic masculine nouns and pronouns to gender-neutral terms in NBTS I was 70%:30%. The percentages of generic masculine, feminine and gender-neutral terms for NBTS II were 81%, 14%, and 5%, respectively. The percentages of generic masculine, feminine and gender-neutral terms for NBTS III appeared to be 86%, 2%, and 12%, respectively.

Table 13. The Numbers of Gender Related Pronouns and Nouns in Generic Constructions in NBTS

GENDER	TEXTBOOK	NBTS I	NBTS II	NBTS III	NBTS I, II, III
Male	He/his/him/himself for unmarked gender	4	9	27	68(83)
	Masculine nouns for unmarked gender	Salesman [1], statesman [1], brotherhood [1]	Man [3], fireman [1], businessmen [1], brotherhood [1], bellboy [1], chessman [1]	Man/men [7], salesman [2], businessmen [1], Dear Sir [2], sportsmen [1], firemen [1], mankind [2], postmen [1]	
	Instances	7 (70)	17 (81)	44 (86)	
Female	She/her/hers/herself for unmarked gender	0	3	1	4 (5)
	Feminine nouns for unmarked gender	0	0	0	
	Instances	0 (0)	3 (14)	1 (2)	
Neutral	They/their/theirs/themselves for unmarked gender	1	1	3	10 (12)
	Neutral nouns for unmarked gender	Shop assistant [2]	0	Salesperson [2], spokesperson [1]	
	Instances	3 (30)	1 (5)	6 (12)	
TOTAL	Instances	10 (100)	21 (100)	51 (100)	82 (100)

Generic masculine pronouns were often used in the instructions given by the authors for various activities, for example: “Find a person in the class who doesn’t agree with you. Try to persuade *him* to agree with your comparison of two famous people” (NBTS I, 2004, p. 111), or “Your friend is anxious about being fired. Console *him*” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 24). Generic masculine terms focusing primarily on male students, disregarding and marginalizing female ones, play the role of potentially demotivating factors in the classroom.

A generic usage of *man* and its derived *mankind* ratifies masculine superiority and gives the impression that the entire world is under men’s control: “There is no reason to fear new technologies if they are used for the benefit of *mankind*” (ibid., p. 115); “*Men* could carry out big scientific experiments in “zero gravity” and look for valuable metals and minerals” (ibid., p. 116); “In many countries trees have been cut down because of the land needed for *man*” (ibid., p. 138). According to the NBTS series, men, but not women, “carry out big scientific experiments”, “look for valuable metals and minerals”, and everything in the world, including “new technologies” and “land”, are for their supreme “benefit” and exalted aims.

Additionally, compound words, including masculine components, such as *fireman*, *businessmen*, *sportsmen*, *bellboy*, *statesmen*, *salesman*, and *brotherhood*, and two occurrences of address *Dear Sir* to a person of unknown gender, instead of *Dear Madam/Sir*, in official letters were revealed.

Despite generic male dominance, a few occurrences of generic feminine and gender-neutral terms were found. In one case instructions for a speaking activity were addressed to female learners, but it looked like a misprint for the reason that in the first sentence of the instructions double male/female pronouns were used: “Your friend invited you to *his/her* 15th birthday party next Saturday. Talk to *her* and talk about your plans for how you will help *her*” (NBTS II, 2004, p. 54). In two other sentences employing generic female nouns, “Remove the victim from the source of the toxic fumes so that *she* can get some [fresh] air as soon as possible”

(ibid., p. 110), and “One of your friends has spots, which make *her* unhappy” (NBTS III, p. 103), women represented two miserable figures of a victim and a dermatopathic friend. It may be argued that these sentences convey a “message of inability or inadequacy” (Mehran, 2003, p. 25) to female students, and work as demotivating factors in the classroom.

Similarly to generic female terms, cases demonstrating generic use of gender-neutral words were scanty. One such case in the content was a quotation taken from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights published in the west, where linguistic gender bias in English is a sensitive area: “Everyone has the right to rest. *They* should have a limited number of work hours” (NBTS III, 2005, p. 97).

Generic usage of male pronouns in English was defined by Sunderland (1992) as “yet the traditional, prescriptive ‘rule’ of using *he*, *him*, etc., after sex-indefinite nouns and to refer to a person of unknown sex” (p. 81). Generic function of *man* as a term for people in general and generic male pronouns caused elimination of women in texts. Both generic *he* and *man*, classified as linguistic gender biased forms at code level, are being excluded in western educational materials nowadays. Instead of generic masculine pronouns *he/his/him/himself* double feminine and masculine pronouns are employed, or the plural pronoun *their*, which is considered as more neutral and politically correct than double pronouns. Generic *man* is also being avoided and substituted by gender-indefinite words *humanity*, *humankind*, *men and women*, *individuals*, and *people*. The use of generic male pronouns and nouns in NBTS may intensify gender bias in Turkish culture; since meanings in educational materials are fundamental to students’ perception of the world, reinforced by means of languages they ever learn (Trudgill, 1974).

4.3.2. Generic Constructions in LSRW

The LSRW set of materials exposed hundred-per-cent consistency of traditional generic masculine terms applications. Table 14 demonstrates the numbers of gender related pronouns and nouns in the cases of unmarked gender in LSRW. Numbers in

parentheses represent the percentage, and the ones in square brackets represent the instances of specific gender pronouns and nouns. Generic masculine pronouns and nouns were used in the instructions, reading passages and exercises of all three LSRW course books. The biggest number of generic masculine terms were employed by LSRW I (2005).

Table 14. The Numbers of Gender Related Pronouns and Nouns in Generic Constructions in LSRW

GENDER	TEXTBOOK	LSRW I	LSRW II	LSRW III	LSRW I, II, III
Male	He/his/him/himself for unmarked gender	3	4	10	37 (100)
	Masculine nouns for unmarked gender	Man/men [7], Mankind [1], Englishmen [2], Frenchmen [1]	Man/men [7]	Man/men [2]	
	Instances	14 (100)	11 (100)	12 (100)	
Female	She/her/hers/herself for unmarked gender	0	0	0	0 (0)
	Feminine nouns for unmarked gender	0	0	0	
	Instances	0	0	0	
Neutral	They/their/theirs/ themselves for unmarked gender	0	0	0	0 (0)
	Neutral nouns for unmarked gender	0	0	0	
	Instances	0	0	0	
TOTAL	Instances	14 (100)	11 (100)	12 (100)	37 (100)

Similar to the NBTS series, multiple cases of a generic *man* and *mankind* overestimating men's merits and depreciating the roles of women were revealed in the content of LSRW I-III: "God has sent many prophets for the guidance of *mankind*" (LSRW I, 2005, p. 104), "The Prophet taught *man* to do good" (ibid., p. 105), "The other side of the moon has always been a secret to *man*" (LSRW II, 2004, p. 17), "Long ago in Egypt, *men* learned how to make sheets of paper from papyrus" (LSRW III, 2005, p. 68), and "*Man* has sent spacecrafts to other planets" (ibid., p. 80). Isaac Newton was characterized as "one of the greatest *Englishmen* who ever lived" (LSRW I, 2005, p. 36). The use of the word *Englishmen*, instead of *English people*, in this sentence eliminates women. The word *Frenchmen*, which

was also used in the content, communicates the same idea. From the instructions provided by the textbooks it became obvious that the main authority in the classroom was given to the teacher who was generally assumed to be male: “These words have the /aɪ/ sound. Listen to your teacher and repeat after *him*” (LSWR I, 2005, p. 17); “Now listen to your teacher as *he* reads the following words aloud” (LSWR III, 2005, p. 36). Although the LSRW textbooks have been extensively used for teaching English in both female and male schools in Iran by both female and male teachers, merely male teachers were mentioned by the LSRW series.

Generic masculine constructions conveying gender-biased ideologies undermined female social image in many cases. Generic “he” in the sentence “And when someone fasts, it means *he* doesn’t eat” (LSWR III, 2005, p. 68) suggested that an exemplary Muslim observing a fast is male. Although both Muslim women and men fast and observe religious rules, Muslim women were excluded from the context.

Generic masculine pronoun in the following example made it clear that education and further employment are the prerogative of men in the society and indirectly put emphasis on the female family roles: “This education should prepare the person for the job *he* can do best” (LSRW III, 2005, p. 24). As it was mentioned by Afshar (1999), since the revolution in 1979 “Iranian women have systematically lost out in the formal labor market” (p. 81). A closer look at the sentence, communicating an idea that having a job is “the primary obligation of the man” (Mohamadi, cited in Afshar, 1999, p. 82), may cast light upon the difficulties of female employment in Iran.

Since generic masculine pronouns and nouns were not uncommon in the content of both series, it is too early to say that “‘androcentric generics’ may be disappearing” (Cooper, cited in Sunderland, 1992, p. 82). Similar results were obtained by Ansary and Babaii (2003), mentioning that in Iranian ELT textbook set *Right Path to English* (Birjandi & Soheili, 1999) when the person’s gender was unmarked, traditional masculine generic forms were used.

4.4. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials

Involvement of male authors in textbook writing was called as one of the reasons for gender inequality in educational materials (Gupta & Yin, cited in Sunderland, 1992). It was argued that male textbook writers, adopting traditional “genre norm” (ibid., p. 90), are not conscious about equalizing gender policies and instinctively abandon females in the content. The following part of the study investigated whether authors' gender had some effect on gender balance in the textbook sets. The analysis of NBTS showed that the authors' gender did not exert influence on the results in this study. Since LSRW involved only male authors, it could not be examined if gender balance in Iranian ELT series was affected by the authors' gender or merely by Iranian culture and ideology.

4.4.1. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in NBTS

The NBTS series involved only mixed-gender and female teams of authors. No Turkish ELT materials written by male authors were found. NBTS II (2004) and NBTS III (2005) were written exclusively by female authors, and NBTS I (2004) was written by five female and three male authors. Illustrations for New Bridge to Success I and II were made by four female artists and one male artist. Illustrations for New Bridge to Success III were prepared by seven female and one male artist (Table 15).

Table 15. Numbers of Female and Male Authors and Illustrators in NBTS

Textbook	NBTS I		NBTS II		NBTS III	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Writers	5	3	9	0	9	0
Illustrators	4	1	4	1	7	1
Total	9	4	13	1	16	1

The main assumption was that NBTS I, written by a mixed gender team of authors, would expose greater gender inequity than NBTS II and III written exclusively by female authors. In fact, males in NBTS I outnumbered females in the categories of gender pronouns, nouns, and titled names, gendered presentation in interviews, and in numbers of occupational instances. However, male characters in NBTS III, written by female authors, outnumbered females in bigger number of cases, such as generic constructions, topic presentation in reading passages, gendered orientation of dialogues, initiations, turns and words in mixed-gender dialogues. It may indicate that gender inequities are generally supported and reproduced by both women and men in the society.

4.4.2. Authors' Gender and Gender Balance in LSRW

In contrast to NBTS, LSRW I, II, and III were written exclusively by male authors. No Iranian ELT textbooks written by female or gender-mixed groups of authors were found. Furthermore, visual designs in LSRW were prepared by male artists (Table 16).

Table 16. Numbers of Female and Male Authors and Illustrators in LSRW

Textbook	LSRW I		LSRW II		LSRW III	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Writers	0	4	0	3	0	3
Illustrators	0	2	0	2	0	2
Total	0	6	0	5	0	5

The issue of unbalanced gender representations in LSRW may be related to the fact that only male authors were involved, as well as to Iranian cultural peculiarities and social policies, which imply strict gendered distinction between public and private domain. As argued by Joseph and Slyomovics (2001), in the Middle East male social roles are historically associated with public settings, and female roles with the private (p. 12). It suggests that even if Iranian ELT materials were written exclusively by female authors, it would not imply gender equality and women's

involvement in other social spheres distinct from medicine, education and family in the content, since textbook writers generally reproduce their personal cultural meanings and ideologies, formed by local social contexts, which are male-oriented in Iran.

4.5. Conclusions

The present study, concerned with gender balance and gender representations in local Turkish and Iranian ELT materials, explored the presence of females and males, images of women and men, gender bias of the English language in Turkish and Iranian ELT series, and the influence of authors' gender on gender balance in the textbooks.

The equality of female-male presentations was examined by counting occurrences of female and male characters in texts and illustrations, in gender pronouns, nouns and names, in dialogues and interviews of NBTS and LSRW. Male characters outnumbered female characters in both NBTS and LSRW. However, in NBTS the difference between female and male occurrences was 3% that implies an approximate gender balance. According to the numerical results obtained by counting female-male occurrences, the content of LSRW was male-dominated. In both NBTS and LSRW series men outnumbered women in gender pronouns, nouns and names. It was hypothesized that more frequent occurrences of male proper and titled names indicate lower status of women in the society. In mixed-gender dialogues, found only in NBTS, men uttered more dialogue words than women and initiated more conversations. In the NBTS series more men than women were interviewed and asked for information, that may signify bigger social value of men's knowledge.

Research into female and male images in the textbooks included examination of gender-related cultural and ideological assumptions, gendered topic presentation in reading passages, and occupational and social activities assigned to both genders.

Patriarchal social values were reflected in both NBTS and LSRW. In reading passages male role models were more successful and empowering than female ones often shown as inferior and dependent people. Traditional roles of women as housekeepers and of men as breadwinners were frequently emphasized by the content of both series. Additionally, more male than female characters were involved in occupations and social activities implying responsibility, decision-making, special education and skills, and developed intellectual faculties.

Next, NBTS and LSRW were explored in terms of gender related pronouns and nouns in the cases of unmarked gender. Both NBTS and LSRW exposed extensive use of masculine terms for unmarked gender causing exclusion of female characters in the texts and underestimation of women's contributions to the society.

Finally, the influence of authors' gender on gender representations in the textbooks was discussed. It was concluded that the authors' gender did not have any influence on gender representations in NBTS. In LSRW the effect of the authors' gender on gender balance in the content could not be explored, since LSRW was written exclusively by male authors.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

5.0. Presentation

This chapter starts with the summary of the study followed by generalized interpretations of the results obtained by the present research. Next, pedagogical and cognitive implications of gender imbalance in ELT textbooks were discussed. The chapter is concluded by overall evaluation of the current study and suggestions for the further research.

5.1. Summary of the Study

The study was conducted for the purpose of examining gender representations and gender bias manifestations in ELT materials published in Turkey and Iran. The study comprising two ELT sets of materials, NBTS and LSRW, investigated linguistic and non-linguistic representations of both genders with regard to seven operating areas of gender bias in ELT textbooks.

Firstly, the presence of female and male characters was evaluated by counting occurrences of females and males in texts and illustrations, instances of gender pronouns, nouns and names, and appearances of both genders in dialogues and interviews. Numbers of female and male occurrences in NBTS were approximately equal, that implies gender balance in the content. However, further counting of masculine and feminine pronouns, nouns and names, demonstrated higher numbers of masculine forms, with the exception of the word *mother*, that stressed the point that women in NBTS mostly appeared as mothers. Additionally, male overall occurrences in dialogues across NBTS outnumbered female occurrences. The

content of LSRW textbook set was male-dominated due to higher numbers of male characters, masculine terms and male appearances in speaking exercises.

Secondly, female and male images in Turkish and Iranian textbooks were explored in terms of gender-related cultural and ideological assumptions, occupational and social roles and activities assigned to female and male characters, and gendered topic presentation in reading passages. The findings showed that patriarchal values, privileging men's achievements in various social, scientific and artistic fields and confining women's social contributions to motherhood and household, were repeatedly accentuated in texts and visuals of NBTS and LSRW.

Thirdly, the study focused on gender bias of the English language that was identified in generic constructions in NBTS and LSRW. The results obtained in this part of the research exposed extensive use of classical androcentric generic forms, causing exclusion of women from texts in both ELT series.

Lastly, the study addressed the issue of gender inequality in the examined ELT textbooks by focusing on numbers of female and male authors involved in NBTS and LSRW. It was concluded that authors' gender did not have a significant influence on the results of the study.

5.2. The Interpretation of the Findings

It may be claimed that despite the amendments to the Turkish Civil Code (2002), implying equality of both genders in public and family settings, and regardless of recent political changes in Iran where government showed supposedly positive attitudes to an active presence of women in the society (Khatami, cited in Mehran, 1999, p. 202), gender imbalance, gender-related stereotypes and ideologies subordinating women and minimizing their social importance manifested themselves in each investigated part of ELT series published in Turkey and Iran.

The first research question focused on the presence of women and men in the content of Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. The current study revealed multiple differences between numerical female and male presentations. In the NBTS textbooks, written by Turkish authors, occurrences of female and male characters appeared to be almost equal. However, further examination of gender representations in pronouns, nouns, and names, and participation of female/male characters in the textbooks' dialogues and interviews in most cases revealed clear predisposition for male characters and masculine forms. It was suggested that bigger numbers of masculine kinship terms, such as *husband*, *grandfather*, and *son*, signified patriarchy in the society, which was reflected in the content of NBTS. Higher numbers of occurrences of the word *mother* than the word *father* indicated a great social value of motherhood, since a lot of women in NBTS were shown as mothers. Iranian LSRW series exposed high gender inequity in female and male occurrences, gender pronouns, nouns, and names, and in appearances of both genders in dialogues. In all three examined categories women's presence in the content was approximated to zero. Low occurrences of female characters in LSRW were related to the post-revolutionary textbook purging, which meant exclusion of women from the content.

The results obtained with regard to the second research question, concerned with female and male images popularized in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials, revealed discriminatory gender meanings across both ELT series examined in terms of gender-related cultural and ideological assumptions, female and male occupational and social roles and activities, and gendered topic presentation in reading passages. Male-dominated nature of the bigger society, where women are generally assigned inferior roles in public contexts and men are empowered by heroic and self-sufficient male models having their achievements in various social, scientific and artistic fields, became apparent in texts and illustrations of the NBTS series. Omission of veiled women in NBTS and multiple references to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, reinforced the principles of secularism, implying the strict separation of religious meanings and government policies. Both patriarchal family values and the Kemalist ideology of secularism,

rejecting religious ideas opposed to modernization, were highlighted by NBTS that reflected twofold traditional-modern character of the Turkish society. Similar to NBTS, patriarchal values were strongly emphasized by the LSRW textbooks. In several cases where women came into view, their contributions to the society did not go beyond traditional roles of exemplary mothers and wives totally subjected to their husbands and having very narrow range of interests and talents. Ideologies of sex segregation and obligatory veiling, which are “patriarchal forms of control over women” (Saktanber, 2002, p. 31), were constantly accentuated by the authors of LSRW. The only occupational spheres involving women in LSRW appeared to be medicine and education. In contrast to women, men were represented as a major force heading all important social processes and comprising outstanding traits, such as leadership, bravery, and intelligence.

The third research question, concerned with gender bias of the English language, focused on generic constructions in texts of NBTS and LSRW. Traditional androcentric generic forms of English were identified as linguistic gender bias at code level (Sunderland, 1992, p. 81). It was argued that the use of male pronouns and nouns in the cases when the person’s gender is unmarked entails exclusion of women from texts. Both NBTS and LSRW exposed extensive use of masculine terms for unmarked gender. Generic *man* and *he* were frequently used in reading passages, authors’ instructions, and exercises across both ELT series. Politically correct generic gender-neutral terms, such as generic *they*, and gender-indefinite nouns, such as *humanity*, *humankind*, and *person*, were less common than masculine generic constructions. It was mentioned that foreign linguistic sexism in local ELT materials may reinforce gender bias in local societies due to wide spread of English in Turkey and Iran, and has to be eliminated from NBTS and LSRW textbooks.

With regard to the final research question the influence of authors’ gender on gender balance in NBTS and LSRW was examined. In a few investigated categories, such as gender pronouns, nouns, and names, occupational roles and social activities, NBTS I, written by a gender-mixed team of authors, exposed

higher numbers of male occurrences than NBTS II and III, including only female authors. The fact that in most examined categories male occurrences in NBTS III, which was written exclusively by female textbook writers, outnumbered female occurrences may indicate that stereotypical gender roles and underlying ideologies are generally accepted and consciously and unconsciously reproduced by both women and men in the society. In LSRW the influence of authors' gender on gender balance in the content could not be verified, since all three parts of LSRW were written by male authors. It was suggested that even if LSRW were written by female authors it would not have a big influence on gender balance in the content, since inequity of gender representations in LSRW descends from Iranian culture and ideology.

5.3. Pedagogical Implications of Gender Imbalance in ELT Textbooks

The present research focused on gender balance, female and male images, and gender bias of the English language in Turkish and Iranian ELT materials. The findings obtained by the study signified multiple gender inequalities and gender-related discriminatory meanings in the content of the investigated textbooks. This study has the following implications for Turkish and Iranian textbook writers, publishers and educators.

From the results of the study, regarding research questions 1-3, concerned with female/male presence, images of women and men, and gender bias of the English language, it may be implied that Turkish and Iranian textbook writers and publishers need to pay their precise attention to the numbers of female and male characters, gender-related cultural and ideological meanings, topic orientation of readings, portrayal of women and men in occupations and social activities, and the foreign language bias in the content. Furthermore, they need to be aware of the possible negative outcomes of gender imbalance in textbooks and the ways it may affect students' learning styles and socialization processes.

From the results of the study, regarding research question 1, it may be implied that numerical occurrences of female and male characters in texts and illustrations need to be balanced, since bigger numbers of male characters in the content, revealed by the present research, entail underestimation of women's social roles and achievements. A very careful consideration in ELT materials needs to be given to dialogues and other types of speaking exercises, since they provide an opportunity and teach the skill of actual language use. Balance between numbers of same-gender dialogues gives equal chances to both female and male students to practice their speaking skills. In mixed-gender dialogues, used for speaking practice in classrooms with mixed-gender audiences, a close attention should be paid to the numbers of female/male characters and their appearances, numbers of turns taken by each character, and amounts of speech spoken by each character. If the above-mentioned issues are being neglected it may result in underperformance of either gender in the classroom. According to Jones et al. (1997), if one sex has fewer words than the other in speaking exercises, "the 'silenced sex' will have poorer practice opportunities in playing their roles as dialogue participants" (p. 473). Moreover, if more initiation parts in dialogues are given to male characters and females typically take responsive and follow-up roles, female students will have less active speaking practices. Keeping in mind all possible negative outcomes of gender imbalance in dialogues, it is implied that textbook writers and publishers need to be considerate to roles and speech distribution between male and female audiences; it would be reasonable to ensure that output opportunities are available for both genders in the classroom (Jones et al., 1997, p. 473).

Basing on the results of the study, regarding research question 2, it may be implied that NBTS and LSRW textbook writers and publishers need to revise female and male images in the content. If texts and illustrations in educational materials impute to women a very narrow range of interests reduced to beauty treatment, fashion and marriage, and portray them as doing the dishes, cleaning and taking care of children, while men are playing football, riding bicycles, carrying out scientific experiments, building factories and flying in space, these role differentiations gradually gain a concept of normality in student's minds. Sunderland (1992) argued

that any unconscious influence of female characters in the textbooks, whose social, behavioral, and linguistic roles are confined, does not suggest cognitive and communicative empowerment for female students in the classroom (p. 86). In cases when gender imbalance is present in educational literature, female students, whose femininity is being shaped and regulated by inferior passivized female images, underestimate themselves and lose their enthusiasm and interest to learning. It is suggested that writers and publishers need to make sure that such qualities as intelligence, leadership, self-dependency, and courage are equally divided between female and male characters in the content.

From the results of the study, regarding research question 3, it may be implied that linguistic representations of gender need to be avoided in educational literature. As it was demonstrated by the present research, classical androcentric generic forms of English are still accepted as more prestigious than female or gender-neutral constructions by local ELT textbook writers that undermines woman's image, minimizes her role in the society, and produces an impression of female underrepresentation in texts. Thereby local authors who are not aware of gender-neutral alternatives, e.g. 'singular *they*' instead of generic *he* and gender-neutral nouns, such as *businessperson* instead of *businessman*, adopt foreign gender bias by using classical masculine generic constructions and gender-linked occupational names. If local authors are aware of gender-neutral linguistic constructions popularized in the west, local gender bias in textbooks may be positively weakened.

Another group of people who may become interested in the results obtained by the present research are the instructional materials committees of schools and teachers who could use the present findings for establishing textbook selecting criteria designed to reveal and exclude gender bias in educational media. These sets of criteria may include the presence of female and male characters in texts and illustrations, balance of gendered linguistic terms in the content, appearances of women and men in speaking activities, such as dialogues and interviews. Performance of females and males in texts and equal presentations of women/girls and men/boys as central characters in stories and supplementary visuals need to be

taken into account. It should be considered whether both female and male characters are shown as successful, initiative and self-sufficient people, and represented in different professional roles, implying various levels of education, responsibility and professionalism. Analysis of family and social relations between genders need to focus on dominant and subordinate roles of females and males in public and private settings. Precise attention should be paid to the language used by the textbook authors in the content, whether patronizing language, demeaning and depreciating either gender, and sexist linguistic forms, such as androcentric generics, are avoided. The abovementioned guidelines would help to discover possible gender bias and gender-related discriminatory meanings in the content of ELT materials.

However, when textbook selection takes place on the state level, like in Turkey and Iran, school administrators and teachers are not authorized to choose educational materials that are going to be used in their classrooms. All educational materials used in Turkish and Iranian public schools are developed or approved by a governing body, such as a Ministry of Education. In such cases teachers must be conscious about discriminatory meanings integrated in the textbooks they have to employ for their lessons, and need to adapt the content of the textbooks in order to eliminate gender bias and improve language learning and classroom interaction. Texts and visuals conveying gender bias should be highlighted and omitted or substituted by gender balanced readings and illustrations. Additional classroom materials may be chosen by using guidelines for identifying gender bias in textbooks mentioned above.

In conclusion it should be made clear that not only textbook writers, publishers and teachers are responsible for gender bias messages infiltrating into students' minds, but also students themselves should give critical thought to what is presented in their educational materials. School textbooks, which are frequently depicted as "tools used to maintain and support oppression" (Renner, 1997), contain implicit cultural meanings, and ideological perspectives, i.e. refined knowledge, generally speaking a hidden agenda/curriculum, which can be disclosed and opposed by

critical analysis of structure and social contexts of school semiotic items and texts and also by increasing learners' critical literacy. Literate learners are active recipients of knowledge, capable of detecting and interpreting implicit meanings and making their own conscious choices and constructing their personal meanings on the basis of what is written in the textbooks. Critical literacy, defined by Pennycook (2004) as "pedagogical application of critical discourse analysis" (p. 785), is aimed at thoughtful analytical reading skills' development and works to empower learners by providing them with critical analytical framework that would help them reflect on their own experiences with language and on the language practices of teachers and peers in the educational institutions where they study and in the wider society within which they live (Clark & Ivanic, cited in Pennycook, p. 785).

5.4. Implications for Further Research

The present study focusing on gender representations in educational media examined two ELT series issued by the Turkish Ministry of National Education and the Iranian Ministry of Education. It investigated seven operating areas of gender bias in ELT textbooks. Taking into account the authors' gender, it drew various conclusions and brought up details on gender representations, gender-based ideologies and numerical imbalances in illustrations and texts, including dialogues, interviews and reading passages, in occupational roles and social activities, in gender pronouns, nouns and names, and in generic constructions. However, the current study may be improved in some ways.

First, a similar study may include a greater number of countries in the Middle East that defines a geographical area including countries in Southwest Asia and North Africa. The study would analyze one textbook, instead of three, from each examined ELT series coming from various countries in the Middle East. This approach would broaden and diversify the corpus data and provide more

information on gender representations and gender-based ideologies in ELT materials in the Middle East.

Additionally, it would be interesting to explore gender representations and related ideologies in locally published ELT materials intended for elementary and secondary public schools, which are important agents of socialization processes whereby children learn their social identities, gender roles, cultural values and norms. It would definitely improve the findings if in addition to the textbooks published in 2004-2005 older and more recent local ELT textbooks were examined.

The results obtained by the current study might be compared with gender implications in Western ELT materials, such as *New Headway* and *Cutting Edge* widely employed by private schools and language courses in Turkey and Iran. The study may include more textbooks by local and international publishers, since gender bias in educational materials occurs in both Eastern and Western cultures and should be taken into consideration by the textbooks' publishers and teachers all over the world.

Textbooks written within the same culture by exclusively male and female groups of authors could be examined that would make research findings on the influence exerted by authors' gender upon the gender representations in the content of the materials more accurate.

Moreover, in gender-mixed dialogues the role of dominant speakers could be explored in terms of initiation, response, and follow-up in formal and informal settings as it was done in Japanese ELT textbooks by Farooq (1999) adopting Francis and Hunston's analytical categories (1995), which helps to convert the dialogues into exchanges, composed of moves, which in turn incorporate acts (Farooq, 1999, p. 7).

As it was mentioned by Fowler (1996), although texts are set to channel readers, due to their prior meanings and discourses readers do not passively assimilate

integrated into texts cultural and ideological implications. For this reason, to further enhance the findings of the present research the role of the classroom interaction, students and teachers' experiences with local ELT textbooks and their attitudes to gender representations in ELT materials may be taken into consideration. It can be done with the help of detailed interviews, questionnaires and observations, video/audio recordings of students and teachers' performance and the actual English language use in the classroom.

The present study intended to explore gender-based discriminatory meanings in ELT materials published in Turkey and Iran where English gained the status of an international language nowadays. Further attempts imply elimination of other types of bias in ELT materials requiring further examination, such as age, social class, and race. These categories may be investigated basing on van Leeuwen's (1996) framework which in a systematic way depicts representations of social actors in texts.

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