Gender bias in EFL textbooks: A Content Analysis of *ProFiles* and *New ProFiles* Textbooks used by Upper Secondary Finland-Swedish Students

Kathy Dang 37858-279-2013
Pro gradu-avhandling i engelska språket och litteraturen
Handledare: Martin Gill
Fakulteten för humaniora, psykologi och teologi
Åbo Akademi 2020

ÅBO AKADEMI
FAKULTETEN FÖR HUMANIORA, PSYKOLOGI OCH TEOLOGI
Abstrakt för avhandling pro gradu

Ämne: English språket och litteraturen

Författare: Kathy Dang

Arbetets titel: Könsdiskriminering i EFS: En analys av engelska texböcker, *ProFiles* och *New ProFiles,* som används av finlandssvenska gymnasieelever

Handledare: Martin Gill

Abstrakt:

Enligt sociolingvisterna Eckert och McConnell-Ginet är det problematiskt att använda generaliserande påståenden om "kvinnor" som grupp och "män" som grupp, eftersom påståendena om de två gruppernas olikheter inte är faktabaserade. Om sådana påståenden kan hittas i undervisningsmaterial som används i skolor så har läraren ansvaret att behandla materialet på ett kritiskt sätt. Läraren ska även uppmuntra sina elever att behandla materialet kritiskt. Kritiskt tänkande och jämställdhet lyfts fram i den nationella gymnasieläroplanen i Finland.

Tidigare studier som har undersökt könsdiskriminering i EFS-textböcker (engelska som främmande språk) har visat att diskriminering sker mot kvinnliga karaktärer. Målet med denna avhandling är att undersöka i vilken utsträckning *ProFiles*-böckerna och *New ProFiles*-böckerna som används i finlandssvenska gymnasier innehåller könsdiskriminering i texter och uppgifter, eller om sådant finns överhuvudtaget. I denna avhandling analyserades sju textböcker för att hitta lingvistiskt innehåll som diskriminerade för eller emot ett specifikt kön, antingen explicit eller implicit. Urvalskriterierna för att hitta sådant innehåll är: könsspecifika fraser och idiom, beskrivningar av utseende samt personlighetsdrag som historiskt sett har varit könsspecifikt och beskrivningar som baseras på könsroller och könsnormer. För att få elevperspektiv intervjuades en grupp med finlandssvenska gymnasieelever.

Resultaten är begränsade, men visar motstridigheter; det finns texter som explicit behandlar sexism som ämne, samt texter som behandlar manliga och kvinnliga karaktärer positivt, men det finns också innehåll som tyder på könsdiskriminering. Böckerna från *ProFiles* och *New ProFiles* serierna borde därmed behandlas kritiskt för att undvika att lärare eller elever förstärker generaliserande påståenden och åsikter som är könsrelaterade.

Nyckelord: genus; könsdiskriminering; EFS; innehållsanalys

Datum: 02.02.2020

ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ARTS, PSYCHOLOGY AND THEOLOGY
Master's thesis abstract

Subject: English Language and Literature
Author: Kathy Dang
Title: Gender bias in EFL textbooks: A Content Analysis of *ProFiles* and *New ProFiles* Textbooks used by Upper Secondary Finland-Swedish Students
Supervisor: Martin Gill

Abstract:

According to the sociolinguists Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, using generalizing statements about "women" as a group and "men" as a group is problematic as these statements can be based on unfounded presuppositions of difference. If such generalizing statements can be found in the educational material used in schools, it should be the responsibility of the teacher to approach the material critically in-class and to encourage students to do so as well. Critical thinking and gender equality are two of the concepts emphasized in the Finnish national upper secondary school curriculum.

Previous research on gender bias in EFL textbooks have shown a bias against female characters. The aim of this thesis is to examine to what extent, if any, the *ProFiles* and *New ProFiles* textbooks used in Finland-Swedish upper secondary schools are gender biased. A content analysis of seven textbooks was conducted, with the aim of finding linguistic items that explicitly or implicitly express a bias against or in favor of one specific gender. The selection criteria for finding this type of linguistic item include: gender-specific phrases and idioms, descriptors of appearance and personality traits that have a history of being gender-specific, and descriptors that are based on gender roles and norms that assign specific traits and behaviors to a specific gender. An interview was also conducted with upper secondary school students who are familiar with the source material; they were asked to discuss a selection of the identified linguistic items, thus providing a student's perspective on the matter.

The findings are limited but do show some conflicting messages; there are texts that explicitly deal with topics of sexism, and texts that positively depict male and female characters, but there are also instances of gender biased linguistic items that fulfill the selection criteria. The *ProFiles* and *New ProFiles* textbooks must therefore be utilized with a critical approach in order to avoid the reinforcement of gender biased generalizations.

Keywords: gender; gender bias; EFL; content analysis
Date: 02.02.2020

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1 Introduction

Findings from past work on gender and language in English as a foreign language (EFL) textbooks have shown a bias against female characters, while male characters are depicted with a positive bias. This bias is reflected in the lexical items used to describe the characters (Sunderland 2000). The first part of the empirical research done for this thesis is a qualitative content analysis of textbooks from the *New ProFiles* (Andtfolk et al. 2016, 2017) and *ProFiles* (Hannuksela et al. 2011, 2012, 2013) series used in Swedish upper secondary schools in Finland, with the purpose of finding biased lexical items. Each lexical item that is identified as being biased is individually analyzed to, firstly, determine whether the item has a feminine or masculine connotation, and, secondly, to determine whether the item has a positive or negative connotation. If there is a positive connotation, then there is a positive bias, and if there is a negative connotation, there is a negative bias. The second part of the empirical research was a group interview with four upper secondary school students at a Swedish upper secondary school in Finland. The interview was conducted in order to find out to what extent, if any, the students were aware of instances of gender bias in the textbooks. The students were also asked about their opinions on gender bias in language.

As for the theoretical framework of this thesis, multiple theoretical perspectives are considered and presented. Social constructivism, which has its roots in the ideas of Piaget, offers an explanation for how people gain, maintain, construct and reconstruct knowledge (Powell and Kalina 2009). This process is tied to how people understand and perceive their lived experiences, which can lead to experiences of bias. Furthermore, to provide a perspective on bias from the field of psychology, Bigler's study on gender stereotyping and gender categorization is presented (Bigler 1996). The relationship between gender and language is further explored by Sunderland, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet. Sunderland has created an analytical framework for teacher treatment of gendered textbook texts (Sunderland 2009), and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet argue that the link between language and gender is found in Communities of Practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992a, 1992b, 1999).

One of the aims of this thesis is to examine whether or not gendered language that is biased is used in the textbooks that are used as teaching material in Finnish upper secondary schools for Swedish-speakers. Another aim is to explore the link between language and gender.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Gender generalizations

According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, there are communities of practice in which gender relations are founded on presuppositions of difference. The authors urge caution when approaching generalizing statements such as "women emphasize connection in their talk whereas men seek status", so as not to categorize those who do not fit the generalization as deviants from a normative gender model, leading to their marginalization (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 470). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet oppose dichotomous categories that suggest a fixed link between gendered identities and biological sex, or reproductive biology (1992b: 463). As they explain:

> There is no guarantee that "women" (or "men") in a particular community will in fact constitute themselves as a coherent social group with distinctive common interests. Even practices closely tied to reproductive biology (e.g. those revolving around menstruation and the "disease" of PMS) are connected in complex ways to other social practices [...] thus making it problematic to speak of "women's" position or interest without reference to other factors.
> (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 463)

The idea of a normative gender model is in itself problematic and unsustainable, if one acknowledges the variability in behaviors within the categories of "women" and "men". Rather than trying to find inherent or fixed differences between gender groups, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet believe that it is more important to examine the relations among language, gender, and other components of social identity (1992b: 471).

An example of why it is necessary to examine other components of social identity in relation to gender is the research done on women's speech: Eckert and McConnell-Ginet note that the portrayal of women as self-effacing, indirect, and concerned with connection is based on research on the American white middle class, and that the American stereotype of women's speech stems from child-centered practices. In addition, research done on interactions between ethnicity and preference for directness shows that African American women disagree with the assumption that directness contradicts universal norms of womanhood (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b:

471). Finally, research conducted in Madagascar has shown that most women are direct, and most men are indirect, thus contradicting the generalization of women as being indirect (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 471). Furthermore:

> Once we raise the question of just who might "see" women's language as deficient, a question that Lakoff ignores by using agentless passives and faceless abstractions like "the culture," it becomes apparent that in few communities will evaluations of women's (or of men's) speech be completely uniform. Not only may people recognize diversity among women and among men in their ways of speaking; one person may celebrate the very same gendered stereotype another deprecates.
>
> (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 471-472)

By solely focusing on biological sex and searching for inherent differences, the full complexity of gender is ignored. Instead, one should study how people negotiate meanings in and among the specific communities of practice to which they belong, and thus examine how gender is constructed in social practice and how gender interacts with other components of identity (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 472).

2.2 Gender and social constructivism

Constructivism is a psychological school of thought that dismisses the notion of objectivity; a purely objective view of the world does not exist because humans are involved in the construction of knowledge (Raskin 2002). Psychologists of constructivism investigate how individuals create systems for understanding their lived experiences. Constructivism is based on Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development, which proposes that humans cannot immediately understand and use the information they are given before they construct their own knowledge (Powell and Kalina 2009: 242). As part of his theory, Piaget presented the idea of schemas, which act as cognitive building blocks that create our mental model of the world around us. Through adaptation processes, we alter our model or make room in our model when we receive new information in our daily lives. These processes occur when individuals go through four different stages of development that begin from childhood, of which the final stage is the formal operational stage that begins at age eleven and continues on into adulthood. During this stage, an individual will start using higher levels of thinking or abstract ideas to solve problems. The aforementioned adaptation processes

are assimilation and accommodation. Piaget describes assimilation as a process during which children acquire new knowledge which is added into their own schemas, and accommodation is when children have to change their schemas to create space for new knowledge (Powell and Kalina 2009). The pace at which this process occurs is different for each person, which is particularly useful and important for teachers to keep in mind in the classroom if they want to respect the individual needs and learning strategies of their students.

Powell and Kalina argue that the methods of cognitive and social constructivism are needed in a constructivist classroom; cognitive constructivism that is based on Piaget's theory and social constructivism that is based on the theory of psychologist Lev Vygotsky. Vygotsky believed that social interaction is an integral part of learning, and that cultural influences have an effect on learning. Variables such as social interaction, culture, and language affects how an individual learns. In social constructivism, in the context of education, learning occurs through the social interactions a student has in the classroom, and the personal critical thinking process of the student (Powell and Kalina 2009: 243). Constructivism is a learning theory that can be used by teachers to create a learning environment that encourages and motivates students to become active participants in their own learning process. This can be achieved through teaching strategies that create meaningful and relevant contexts that can help students construct knowledge based on their own experiences and daily life; students are encouraged to attain new knowledge with the help of their already existing knowledge.

These constructivist theories, with their focus on the educational setting of school and the classroom, arguably support the importance of the type of teaching material used in the classroom and how the material is taught. During the different stages of cognitive development that occur during school years for children and teenagers, the choice of teaching material and the accompanying teaching methods could possibly affect the thoughts and opinions of students. The classroom is one of the many areas in which young people shape their mental schemas through accommodation and assimilation, and this study will examine to what extent the analyzed *New ProFiles* and *ProFiles* textbooks aid teachers in encouraging critical thinking among students when using the teaching material. This is particularly important as the teaching material could potentially be gender biased.

2.3 Hermeneutic constructivism and the classroom

One of the types of constructivism that is useful when analyzing material that has a classroom context is hermeneutic constructivism, because it considers knowledge as a product of the linguistic activity of a community of observers. In the classroom, the community of observers would be the students. It is the roles of language, discourse, and communication that are central in understanding how knowledge systems are developed and maintained (Raskin 2002). Another type is personal constructivism, which describes how individuals develop and produce hierarchically interrelated constructs that are used to anticipate and predict how other people might behave. These personal constructs are continuously tested as individuals track the accuracy of their predictions (Raskin 2002). Students who belong to the same school class can have established constructs that act as the norm; this school class can constitute a social group in which members follow the same, or similar, set of norms of behavior.

Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity states that our gender identities are social performances, which are based on social norms and guidelines (Butler 1990, cited in Plester 2015). This line of thought is present among those who disagree with the notion that there are inherent differences between men and women that are relevant or meaningful enough to put either group in a superior or inferior position among the two. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, the categorical system of gender can lead to a hierarchical gender relation (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b). In line with the theories of social constructivism, they agree that it is "the mutual engagement of human agents in a wide range of activities that creates, sustains, challenges, and sometimes changes society and its institutions" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 462). Included in these activities are gender and language. Gender and language interact in our everyday social practices; they are jointly constructed in people's everyday social practices. Every individual is an active agent in "the reproduction of or resistance to gender arrangements in their communities" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 462). In communities, these socially created constructs decide who is a woman, who is a man, how they should behave to fit those assigned categories, in addition to how members of each category should behave towards each other between and within each category.

2.4 Gender labeling and stereotyping

Gender labeling is one of the cognitive factors that have been linked to gender stereotyping, which is consistent with cognitive developmental theory (Bigler 1995: 1072). According to the gender schema theory as presented by Sandra Bem, children develop gender schemes concerning the characteristics of "males" and "females". When activated, these schemes are thought to produce gender stereotyping and influence the processing of gender-related information (Bigler 1995: 1073). Gender labeling is a cognitive factor that has been linked to gender stereotyping (Bigler 1995: 1072).

An environmental factor that is hypothesized to affect gender stereotyping is the use of gender as a "functional" category in a society; if a broad array of social institutions, norms, and taboos distinguishes between persons, behaviors, and attributes on the basis of a particular category, the category is used in a functional manner in its particular social context (Bigler 1996: 1073). Examples of this includes the act of using gender as an organizational scheme in domains that are irrelevant or neutral with regard to gender, and emphasizing gender when referring to individuals; dividing children into a "boys" team and a "girls" team is an example of the former act, and greeting a classroom of students with "Good morning, boys and girls" would be an example of the latter. What Bem posits with this theory is that once a network of gender-linked connotations has been learned through the functional use of gender, stereotyping increases (Bigler 1996: 1073). Young children are known to have difficulty categorizing people or objects along multiple dimensions simultaneously, as was demonstrated by Piaget (1965); this could be related to the rigid use of gender stereotypes by children. Bigler refers to the ability to categorize people along multiple dimensions as *multiple classification ability*.

Rebecca Bigler conducted a study in which 66 elementary school children were given pretest measures of gender stereotyping and of classification skill. The children were assigned to 1 of 3 groups: functional use of male and female groups, functional use of "red" and "green" groups, or no explicit group. The duration of the study was 4 weeks of summer school, whereafter results showed that the functional use of gender categories led to increases in gender stereotyping, especially among children with less

advanced classification skills. In the study, Bigler found that children who were given training to improve multiple classification skill showed reduced levels of gender stereotyping and improved memory for counterstereotypic information about gender (Bigler 1996: 1073).

Furthermore, from the theoretical perspective of intergroup theory it is suggested that the mere act of categorization is important in the formation of stereotypes (Bigler 1996: 1074). The mere act of categorization, without pre-existing attitudes or group interaction, produces increased in-group favoritism (Brewer 1979, cited in Bigler 1996), increased perception of between-group differences (Messick and Mackie 1989, cited in Bigler 1996), increased use of stereotypes to describe group members (Park and Rothbart 1982, cited in Bigler 1996), and increased perception of outgroup homogeneity (Linville and Jones 1998; Quattrone and Jones 1980, cited in Bigler 1996). This can also apply to gender.

The age of the children in Bigler's study ranged from 6 to 10. Past work suggests that this age group is highly knowledgeable about societal gender stereotypes (Signorella, Bigler and Liben 1993, cited in Bigler 1996), and yet display significant variety with respect to individual differences in the strength of their gender stereotyping (Signorella 1987; Signorella and Liben 1985, cited in Bigler 1996). Furthermore, this age range spans the age associated with the development of multiple classification skill (Inhelder and Piaget 1959; Kofsky 1966, cited in Bigler 1996).

The results of Bigler's study support the hypothesized effects of the functional use of gender categories on children's gender stereotyping. Consistent with Bem's gender scheme theory, the use of gender dichotomies in the classroom increased children's gender stereotyping (Bigler 1996: 1083). One of Bigler's findings was that children who belonged to the "functional use of male and female" group and were in gendered conditions were more likely to rate occupations as appropriate for "only men" or "only women" than were children in the control group. Gender group children were also more extreme in their perception of traits within gender groups than those in the control condition. These findings provide empirical support for the hypothesis that there is an interaction of cognitive and environmental factors in gender attitudes (Bigler 1996: 1083). Children with less advanced classification skills showed significantly less

flexible responses on multiple measures of gender stereotyping after having been exposed to an environment that made frequent use of gender dichotomies (Bigler 1996: 1084). Bigler reached the conclusion that, considering the data, classroom teachers should refrain from grouping children on the basis of gender; especially for the benefit of younger elementary school children, who are of the age during which classification skills are limited and gender stereotypes are forming (1996).

2.5 Gender bias in language education

To state that gender is a social construct does not invalidate the reality of gender and how gender exists in the everyday lives of individuals; it is not the aim of this thesis to invalidate gender or to claim that it does not exist. The actual area of interest is how gender is maintained; how certain patterns of behavior are perpetuated and how individuals can or do resist certain patterns. For educators, it is important to consider the positive and negative biases that can accompany gendered language when they are teaching young individuals who are in the process of developing their identity, their self-worth, and their opinions of other individuals. Sunderland, who writes about gender in the context of language education, also quotes Butler:

> Understandings of gender are now more sophisticated, focusing variously on gender identity, a sense of oneself as 'masculine' or 'feminine', and as performance (Butler, 1990) - but, crucially, do not see gender as *determined*. It is therefore necessary to see gender in language education in new, non-deterministic ways too.
>
> (Sunderland 2000: 150)

Sunderland refers to literacy practices, language tests, performance on those tests, self-esteem, learning styles and strategies as phenomena that may be gendered in the sense that they are possibly playing a role in shaping the "masculinities and femininities" of students. (Sunderland 2000: 151).

Gender bias has been found in the content analyses of some EFL textbooks that have been. used in Germany and Italy, conducted back in the 1970s and 1980s. The gender bias were mainly biased against women, and these instances of gender bias were divided into three categories:

1. *exclusion*: male characters were over-represented (Hellinger 1980 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 151)

2. *subordination and distortion*: male characters tended to occupy more powerful and a greater range of occupational roles than female characters (Porecca 1984 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 151); both male characters and female characters performed gender stereotypical activities (Cincotta 1978 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 151)

3. *degradation*: female characters tended to be stereotypically emotional and were more likely than male characters to be the butt of jokes (Hartman and Judd 1978 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 151) and of implied slurs (Talansky 1986 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 151)

Linguistic analyses of language textbooks from the 1970s and 1980s also revealed gender bias (Sunderland 2000): verbs associated with female characters reflected traditional female-related stereotypes (Hellinger 1980: 272 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 152), and female characters spoke less in dialogues, spoke first less often, and performed a narrower range of discourse roles (Hartman and Judd 1978; Talansky 1986; Poulou 1997 as cited by Sunderland 2000: 152). Sunderland suggests that content and linguistic analyses of gender in language textbooks have since declined in frequency because bias is now less evident than in the past and that the text itself may not be the most appropriate focus of study. Instead, the focus should be on *how* the teacher uses and teaches the text because a bias-free textbook will not of itself mean bias-free teaching (Sunderland 2000). Sunderland states: "A text is arguably as good or as bad as the treatment it receives from the teacher who is using it; in particular, a text riddled with gender bias can be rescued and that bias put to good effect, pedagogic and otherwise" (Sunderland 2000: 155). For the purpose of analyzing how teachers use and teach textbook texts, Sunderland designed an analytical framework:
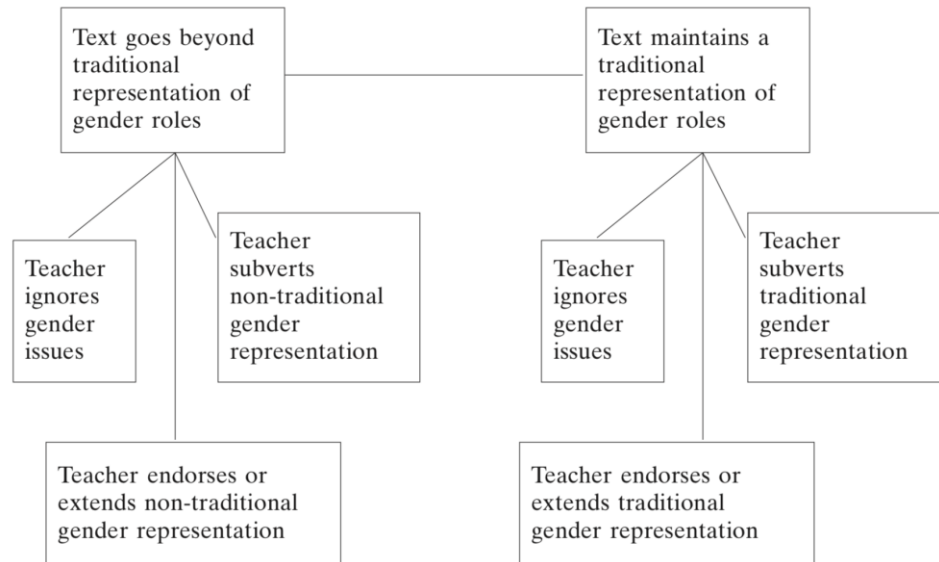
Figure 1 "An analytical framework for teacher treatment of gendered textbook texts," (Sunderland 2000: 157).

With this framework, it can be possible to establish whether texts that depict stereotypical representations of gender roles are typically subverted or endorsed, and whether any apparent gender-related issues are discussed or ignored. The information that would come from such studies could provide useful guidelines for both trainee teachers and working teachers on how to deal with texts that have a negative bias against a subgroup of their students. If their choices are limited and only texts that include bias are available as educational material, teachers can develop and learn methods for dealing with the bias; for example, criticizing the text through useful discussion work, suggesting alternatives, or reversing traditional gender roles in dialogue (Sunderland 2000: 159).

2.6 Community of Practice and gender in the classroom

According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, a link between language and gender is found in Communities of Practice. A Community of Practice is defined as "an aggregate of people who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, way of talking, beliefs and values - in short, practices" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999: 186). An enterprise in this context can, for example, refer to a family, a friendship, or an academic department. A CofP does not only delineate

people who belong to the same group, but also the ways in which group members behave in order to maintain their membership; this can entail the way an individual uses language, and for what purpose. The concept of CofP can be used as a way of focusing on specific aspects of language structure, discourse and interaction patterns of members, who through these practices and activities indicate the extent to which they belong to their CofP (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 175). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet explain that people's access and exposure to, need for, and interest in various CofPs are related to categories such as one's class, age, ethnicity, and biological sex (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992a: 8).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet believe that gender partly emerges from the "differentiation in the kinds of CofP in which males and females tend to participate, and from the differentiated forms of participation that males and females tend to develop in mixed-gender communities of practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999: 188). The provided examples include elementary-school staff and book clubs for women, physics faculties and firefighting teams for men. Eckert and McConnell state that individuals live "their sense of themselves" in these communities; people construct their identities in the day-to-day interactions that take place at a local level (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999: 189). People collaboratively construct a sense of themselves and of others as members of various communities, where each member has various forms of membership, authority and privilege (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b). To become a member of a local community is to participate with other members in a variety of practices that constitute linguistic, gender, and other social identities and relations (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b). Based on the definitions of a CofP, students that belong to the same class could be regarded as a CofP. Students in a class are often divided into different friend groups, with constellations of same-gendered group members or mixed-gendered group members. The behavior of these students in the classroom can be influenced by the presence of specific classmates depending on the relationship status between the students, and also by the presence of the teacher. The impression that a student wants to make on the rest of the class can depend on the student's relationship with everyone else in the classroom. If there are unspoken rules that have been established within a group of friends or within the entire class, students might behave accordingly to avoid negative social consequences. Whether implicitly or explicitly, gender permeates these social norms. There can be

groups of teenage male students who have a different set of behaviors and jargons than groups of teenage female students in the same class, and these behaviors and jargons can be gendered. In order to maintain membership in one's CofP, the correct behavior and jargon needs to be utilized. The rules established in these CofPs play a role in shaping the identities of these teenagers; it has been proposed that norms of friendly peer conversation are mainly learned in all-female and all-male preadolescent peer groups and the norms are different between these two groups (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 465).

2.6.1 Summary

The way in which a teacher deals with a textbook text that has gendered biases can either perpetuate or challenge the gender norms that can affect the behaviors and perspectives of the teacher's teenage students. Understanding the sociolinguistic and cognitive reasons behind gendered language and categorization can help teachers to approach their teaching material in a more careful and critical manner. This is necessary when certain gender norms restrict the behaviors and possibilities of young individuals because of stereotypes; for example, when norms dictate that a certain individual should not pursue a certain life path, such as a hobby or career, because it is not commonly pursued by people of a certain gender. In order to study the interaction between language and gender, it is necessary to look at the social contexts in which language and gender jointly occur and interact. The context provides relevant social and cognitive information that can explain how gendered language is realized, how it is actively reproduced and maintained.

2.7 The Finnish general upper secondary school curriculum

The empirical research material used for this thesis is school material used in the Finnish general upper secondary school, which is why the main focus of this chapter is the curriculum of the general upper secondary school. Stated in the Finnish general upper secondary school curriculum is that students shape their identity, world view, and perspective on people during the upper secondary school years (Opetushallitus 2015: 11).

The role of upper secondary education is therefore to strengthen the identity of students and help them understand their value as unique individuals (Opetushallitus 2015: 34). Written in the official mission statement is that the Finnish general upper secondary education must provide students with the kind of all-round education that teaches knowledge, values, competency, and attitudes that will enable students—as critical and independent thinkers—to cooperate with others in a responsible, emphatic and successful way (Opetushallitus 2015: 12). One of the goals of the Finnish general upper secondary education is to help students understand complex interdependent systems that exist in life, and to help them analyze the phenomena that occur in the world that they are living in (Opetushallitus 2015: 11). Students should also be taught different ways to reduce inequality; bullying, harassment, violence, racism, or discrimination is not to be accepted, but prevented and addressed (Opetushallitus 2015: 37).

The ideals of the curriculum are based on the tradition of *Bildung*, which is the process of personal and cultural maturation. *Bildung* refers to ethical reflection; becoming morally aware, gaining an understanding of values and how to apply them, and seeing things from the perspectives of others. This tradition refers to the ability and will to ethically, empathetically, and constructively deal with conflicts between ideals and reality. The ideal of *Bildung* in the Finnish general upper secondary education materializes in students who strive for positive change, truth, humanity, and justice (Opetushallitus 2015: 12). Equality and a respect for life and human rights is emphasized in the curriculum. Students should be encouraged to form a clear idea of what values, norms and human rights standards form the basis of fundamental and human rights and in which ways these rights are promoted. The Finnish general upper secondary schools must therefore promote equality and equal treatment as well as well-being and democracy. (Opetushallitus 2015: 13)

Another important goal that is stated in the curriculum is gender consciousness; in order to provide education that is gender-conscious and conscious of equality, it is necessary for students to gain an understanding of different gender aspects and sexual orientations (Opetushallitus 2015: 34). The choice of teaching methods and supervision of study methods should therefore strive to identify and change gender-related attitudes and routines (Opetushallitus 2015: 14). Gender consciousness is also

mentioned in the chapter regarding foreign languages, which includes English: gender equality must be strengthened in language studies by encouraging students to have an open-minded approach to language studies and by treating different themes in a diverse manner (Opetushallitus 2015: 111). Identity, equality, and gender are important factors in the national curriculum. For this reason, one of the aims of this thesis is to find out to what extent, if any, the content of the English textbooks used in the Finnish upper secondary schools align with the goals of the curriculum.

2.8 The lack of gender studies in teacher training programmes

Two articles on the need for gender studies for educators were published in *Läraren*, which is a newspaper published by Finlands Svenska Lärarförbund (translation: Finland's Swedish Teacher Trade Union). The members of the union are mainly Swedish-speaking teacher trainees, teachers, educators and principals. Finlands Svenska Lärarförbund is part of the Trade Union of Education in Finland.

In the first article, results from a study led by Gunilla Holm at The Nordic Centre of Excellence (NCoE), a multidisciplinary research network that includes fourteen universities in eight countries, show that cases of marginalization, discrimination, and segregation are common in Nordic schools (Ahlfors 2019). Holm, a professor of Education at the University of Helsinki, states that segregation and marginalization often stem from social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, neurodiversity and language. According to the research team at NCoE, teachers need the relevant knowledge and tools to identify, challenge, and change the prevailing norms and power structures in order to prevent marginalization (Ahlfors 2019). Holm and her team are of the opinion that these tools need to be made available through teacher training programmes so that teachers, students and school staff can work towards positive change.

In the second article, Mia Heikkilä, adjunct professor in Early childhood education and care at Åbo Akademi University, states that it is the responsibility of principals and teachers to work towards equality. Heikkilä believes that gender studies is an integral part of a teacher's lesson plans, and states that enough relevant gender research and information exists for educators to use (Fagerholm 2019).

At Åbo Akademi University, one of two universities in Finland where teacher training programmes in Swedish are available, some have raised doubts about the adequacy of gender bias training for trainee teachers. In 2017, an article about this issue was published in *Svenska Yle*; trainee teachers at Åbo Akademi University in Vaasa were of the opinion that the topic of gender is not as prevalent as it should be in the teacher training programme (Axel 2017). Despite the fact that, according to the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, discussions about gender and gender roles should be brought up in the classroom, this responsibility has remained one-sided, as students are the ones who have initiated such discussions more often than the university teachers. According to both Finnish law and Finnish curriculums, teachers should bring up questions of gender and gender roles, but there is no guarantee that newly graduated teachers have any expertise on these topics (Axel 2017).

3 Empirical research

3.1 Methods and materials

The seven textbooks analyzed in this study are: *New ProFiles 1-3* and *ProFiles 4-7*. These textbooks are used by Finnish Swedish-speaking students in upper secondary school in Finland. The textbooks used for this study were provided by the company Schildts & Söderströms for teacher trainees at Åbo Akademi University during the Finnish school spring term in 2019. At that time, during which the analysis and interview were first conducted, this selection of textbooks were in use at the upper secondary school Vasa Övningsskolas gymnasium. The *New ProFiles* series is to replace the original *ProFiles* series, and as of 2020 there are five *New ProFiles* books, with a sixth one scheduled to be released this year. The structure of the *New ProFiles* and *ProFile* textbooks are similar. A variety of exercises can be found in each textbook: grammar exercises, vocabulary exercises, reading comprehension exercises, listening comprehension exercises, exercises in writing, exercises in pronunciation, and discussion exercises.

The first part of the empirical research conducted for this thesis is a content analysis of the seven textbooks. The purpose of the content analysis was to find linguistic items that can be considered having a masculine or feminine connotation, and based on these gendered linguistic items find out whether the item has a negative or positive connotation because of its gendered characteristic in the provided context. In depth analyses of such linguistic items from each textbook can be found in section 3.2, in which explanations for why the items can be perceived as having certain connotations are provided.

The textbooks are also analyzed for instances of texts and exercises that specifically highlight gender or center on gender issues can be found in *New ProFiles 1-3* and *ProFiles 4-6*. These instances were analyzed in order to examine to what extent the explicit gender-related messages of the textbooks contrast with the implicit messages of the identified linguistic items that reinforce gender norms.

3.1.1 Selection criteria for identifying linguistic items

1. Descriptors of appearance that have a history of being gender-specific
2. Descriptors of personality traits that have a history of being gender-specific
3. Descriptors that are based on gender roles and norms that assign specific traits and behaviors to a specific gender
4. Gender-specific phrases and idioms

3.1.2 List of identified linguistic items

New ProFiles 1	P1.1	who really wears the trousers in their relationship
	P1.2	a young blonde
	P1.3	blond
New ProFiles 2	P2.1	tomboy
	P2.2	acted like a man
New ProFiles 3	P3.1	teenagers' use of social media
	P3.2	red hair
ProFiles 4	P4.1	men [...] attracted to females
ProFiles 5	P5.1	like a man
	P5.2	beautiful
	P5.3	handsome
ProFiles 6	P6.1	handsome
	P6.2	beautiful actress
	P6.3	beautiful young woman
ProFiles 7	P7.1	red-haired

3.1.3 List of identified instances that highlight gender or center on gender issues

New ProFiles 1	"Rod stays at home to look after the kids while his wife brings home the bacon" (sentence in exercise)
New ProFiles 2	"We can do it!" - women in history (unit)
New ProFiles 3	"The woman who was CEO before I took over is now working for a rivalling company" (sentence in exercise)
	"All the world's a stage: ballet off stage, on the road" (text)
ProFiles 4	"Ad's yer lot" - sexist advertisement (text) "EU wants to ban 'sexist' TV commercials" (text)
ProFiles 5	"Up to the year 1967, women in Finland were not allowed to go to a restaurant without male company. Fortunately, that kind of prohibition no longer exists" (sentence in exercise)
	"Is pop music bad for your health?" - sexist lyrics (text)
ProFiles 6	"Laughing" - gender differences (text)

3.2 Analysis of EFL textbooks

3.2.1 Textbook analysis - *New ProFiles 1*

<u>Context</u>	<u>Identified item</u>
"There are some unwelcome guests at Joshua's party. Penny is in tears after Mark dumps her. Molly shows Dean who really wears the trousers in their relationship." (7)	P1.1 who really wears the trousers in their relationship

This item is part of a pair exercise in which the students are told to read twelve text excerpts and decide in what context each piece of writing could be seen, such as on TV or in the streets. The excerpts do not have a common theme. One of the excerpts in the same exercise says: "Take on an empty stomach before bedtime".

The phrase "who really wears the trousers in their relationship" is an idiom describing the person who is in control in a relationship and who makes decisions for both people (Cambridge Dictionary). The sentence "Molly shows Dean who really wears the trousers in their relationship" translates to "Molly shows Dean who is really in charge in their relationship". This idiom originated in the 1500s, during a time when it was unusual for English women to wear pants instead of skirts. Pants, therefore, were associated with an authoritative and masculine role (The Free Dictionary). Despite the fact that women of most societies are no longer restricted to only wearing skirts today, the meaning behind the idiom still persists: the situation in which a woman in a relationship is the one who holds the authoritative role is unusual enough to warrant its own idiom, because she is straying from the default; the man, the one who is *actually* meant to wear pants, is the one who should be in charge. In this context, the word *trousers* has a positive and masculine connotation, while its counterpart, *skirt*, has a negative and feminine connotation. The adverb *really* in "Molly shows Dean who is really in charge" indicates that Dean is either usually in charge in their relationship or that Molly has let Dean believe that he is the one in charge until now.

Context	**Identified item**
"Last spring her father had found a young blonde and moved away from home, giving his wife a nervous breakdown. Their family was shattered." (43)	P1.2 a young blonde
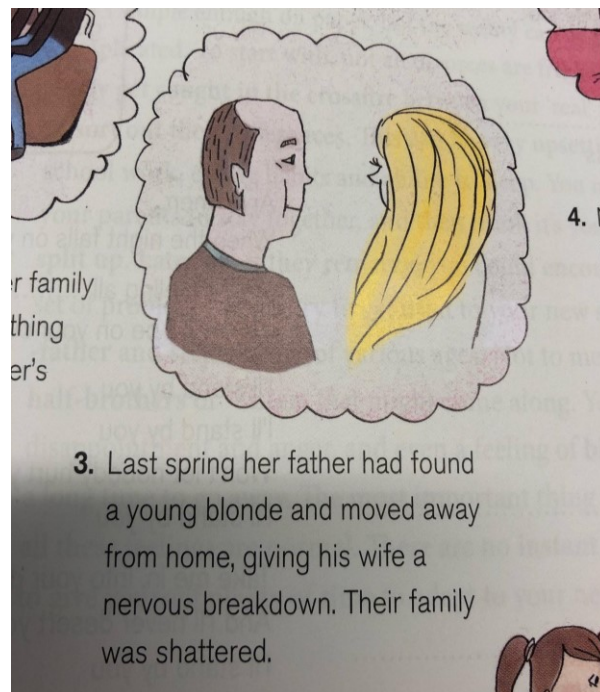
Figure 2. Item P1.2: young blonde from *New ProFiles 1*, page 43.

This item is part of a reading exercise with the following instructions: "Read the following story about Sandra. What would you do in this situation? Do you think what she did was right or wrong?". Through six drawn images and short texts, the story depicts a teenager who remembers happier times with her family before her father moved away from home, and the resulting sadness that the teenager felt. In part six of the story, the teenager discusses with the remaining members of her family about the possibility of suing her father for "what he did", inspired by a news story she had read about a girl in Florida who had sued her parents for their divorce. The identified item in this instance is from part three of the story.

Blonde hair on women has a history of representing numerous stereotypes in popular culture; Annette Kuhn, known for her work on film theory and criticism, divides blonde stereotypes that are found in cinema into three categories: "the ice-cold blonde" who hides a fiery personality beneath a cold exterior, "the blonde bombshell" who is known for her sexuality and availability to men, and "the dumb blonde" who has an overt and natural sexuality in addition to her ignorance (1994: 47). Marilyn Monroe and Madonna are examples of famous people who have adopted the roles of blonde bombshell and dumb blonde for various music projects and movies throughout their careers. Women with blonde hair is also a popular topic in comedy, in the form of blonde jokes. Blonde jokes are almost exclusively about blonde girls and women, with stupidity and promiscuity being the main themes; the blonde women in these jokes are portrayed as intellectually challenged and overtly sexually active (Ross 2011). Furthermore, there is the issue of the character being characterized entirely in terms of a sexualized physical attribute; using a word that is usually an adjective as a noun reduces the personhood of an individual to the confines of that adjective (Brown 2015). The character is a "young blonde," rather than a "young, blonde woman". The word *blonde* in this context, and also in the textbook, has a negative and feminine connotation.

The deliberate decision of describing the father's new partner as "a young blonde" instead of "a new partner" serves the purpose of ascribing a negative connotation to the description "young blonde" and the character herself. The father, on the other hand, is described as "father" without any adjectives, but the picture reveals that the father is a lot older than his new partner. This adds to the negative image of the "young blonde" because it is implied that the new partner is closer to the daughter's age than the father's age. Furthermore, the daughter in the story is depicted as having brown hair, which acts as a clear contrast to the other woman's blonde hair. We are supposed to sympathize with the daughter, who is "the good one" while the new partner is "the bad one". This item is discussed in the group interview. See section 3.3 for the analysis of group interview. See Appendix II for the interview transcript.

Context	**Identified item**
"The typical Finn is tall, blond and well-educated." (93)	P1.3 blond

This item is part of a pair exercise in which the students are to read through ten stereotypical ideas that foreigners may have of Finland and Finns, and then discuss whether or not they think that there is any truth in the statements. Two other statements are: "Finns are shy and quiet but reliable and honest by nature" and "Finns drink a lot of alcohol to help them cope with depression and shyness".

The alternative spellings of *blond* and *blonde* both exist and are used in the English language, with the distinction between the grammatical masculine form and feminine form, respectively, originating from French (Oxford University Press 2019). As previously explained, *blonde* has a negative and feminine connotation. In the previous textbook context, the story and accompanying imagery explicitly indicates that *blonde* refers to *woman*. One possible conclusion following this information would be that *blond* in the sentence "The typical Finn is tall, blond and well-educated" refers to *man*. The word *blond* in this context is therefore masculine-coded, and the positive attributes in this context give *blond* a positive connotation.

3.2.2 Textbook analysis - *New ProFiles 2*

Context	**Identified item**
"When 10-year-old tomboy Amelia Earhart…" (68)	P2.1 tomboy

This item is part of a text that spans two pages, titled "Blue Sky Thinking: The Story of Amelia Earhart". Since the 16th century, *tomboy* has served both as a pejorative and as an empowering term used by girls, women and people in the LGBTQ+ community who rejected restrictive norms (OED 2020, Meltzer 2015). Even as an empowering term, there are issues and no clear consensus regarding the use of it as such, which is common for reclaimed pejoratives, such as *bitch* or *queer*. In an article on why it would be advised against to use *tomboy* to describe girls, Thorpe writes:

> What can be seen as a benign description of a girl who hates dolls is actually a softened term for one of the worst kinds of women in society: the one who was outrageous, sexually licentious, rude, and didn't know "her place". It wasn't necessarily about acting like a man; it was about not acting like a proper woman, and being mocked for it.
>
> (Thorpe 2016)

The word *tomboy* is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "A girl or young woman who acts or dresses in what is considered to be a boyish way, *esp.* one who likes rough or energetic activities conventionally more associated with boys." This would the generally accepted definition of the word today, at least in non-LGBTQ+ circles. In Finland, girls and women are now more free than ever to explore their gender expression beyond traditional femininity and the phrase "to act in a boyish way" is gradually losing its original meaning as rough and energetic activities no longer apply to only boys. In some instances, such as the story of Amelia Earhart in a Finnish school textbook, the word *tomboy* can seem outdated and counterproductive as a means to compliment girls and women. If *tomboy* indicates that a person is acting in an athletic, brave manner, characteristics that according to the word itself are masculine and generally attributed to boys, then someone who is the opposite of *tomboy* would behave in a feminine manner; if *tomboy* has a positive and masculine

connotation, then in the same context the opposite word of *tomboy* would have a negative and feminine connotation; for example, the word *girly* or the word *effeminate.*

The school book text tells us that one of the things that Earhart was celebrated for was that she was the first woman to fly across the Atlantic Ocean. Her gender is intrinsic to this story because it is specifically noted that she was the first woman to do what she did, and the text also includes the societal context during Earhart's time:

> [...]at the turn of the twentieth century, the role of women in American society was changing dramatically. They were no longer just expected to be wives and mothers. Work opportunities took them out of the home and gave them independence, freedom, and income of their own.
>
> (*New ProFiles 2* 2016: 68)

What Earhart accomplished had been unexpected of the women of her time: "Public and press alike just couldn't get enough of this elegant woman who had proved that she was made of strong stuff." (69) The wording of this phrase is consistent with the description of Earhart as a tomboy, because *despite* being elegant, she had *proved* that she was strong. A tomboy is a girl who *despite* being a girl behaves in a rough, "boy-like" manner.

The text states that Earhart designed her own range of comfortable clothes "for the woman who lives actively" (69). This statement is based on a quote of Earhart's own description of her line of women's sportswear: "good lines and good materials for women who lead active lives" (Lindstrom 2017: 90). Earhart was a woman who led an active life who was a role model for other women who led active lives. Using *tomboy* to describe any of these women could today imply the idea that women who lead active lives are an exception to a rule—an unspoken rule that states that it is men who usually lead active lives and not women. Furthermore, calling somebody a *tomboy* is problematic because of the increasing transgender rights and visibility, and current perspectives of gender as fluid instead of binary (Thorpe 2016). What does acting like a girl or acting like a boy actually mean? In our current age, there is an awareness and knowledge of gender identities and expression that did not exist to the same extent during the origin of the word *tomboy*, which is why it is important to consider the relevant context in which the word is used. In one of the newest editions of Finnish

textbooks, the word *tomboy* arguably has a more negative connotation than a positive one. Finally, it can be important to consider the potential effects of choosing to describe Earhart as a 10-year-old tomboy instead of a 10-year-old girl. The message that this description sends to young readers is that there are certain ways they are expected to behave because of their gender and only girls who do things that are "uncharacteristic" of girls can do the things that Earhart did. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the world *tomboy* is being used in relation to the less fluid gender identities of Earhart's time. In that case, it would be the responsibility of the teacher to ensure that this historical context of the word is discussed in-class.

Context	**Identified item**
"She dressed, talked and acted like a man. However, she was remembered as a saint" (76)	P2.2 acted like a man

This item belongs to the same chapter as the aforementioned text about Amelia Earhart, and is part of a reading exercise about well-known American women throughout history. Students are to pair the correct name with the correct text descriptions of these women. The options are Martha 'Calamity Jane' Cannary, Dian Fossey, Billie Jean King, Marilyn Monroe, and Pocahontas. This item is part of a description of Cannary. There are two follow-up questions to this exercise: "Why do you think these women provoked a lot of discussion in their day?" and "How did they break the conventional rules of the age in which they lived?".

This item is similar to the item identified in the previous excerpt detailing the accomplishments of Earhart. In this context, "acted like a man" has a masculine and negative connotation, while behaving in a "saint-like" manner has a feminine and positive connotation. The conjunction *however* and the fact that it is "she", a woman, who is being described is what gives "acted like a man" a negative connotation.

As was the case of *tomboy*, the text implies that there are certain manners and behaviors that are expected of a certain gender. This item is discussed in the group interview. See section 3.3 for the analysis of the group interview. See Appendix II for the interview transcript.

3.2.3 Textbook analysis - *New ProFiles 3*

Context	Identified item
"All of a sudden, when searching for something online, you stumble upon a post by a worried mother in a discussion forum about teenagers' use of social media." (70)	P3.1 teenagers' use of social media
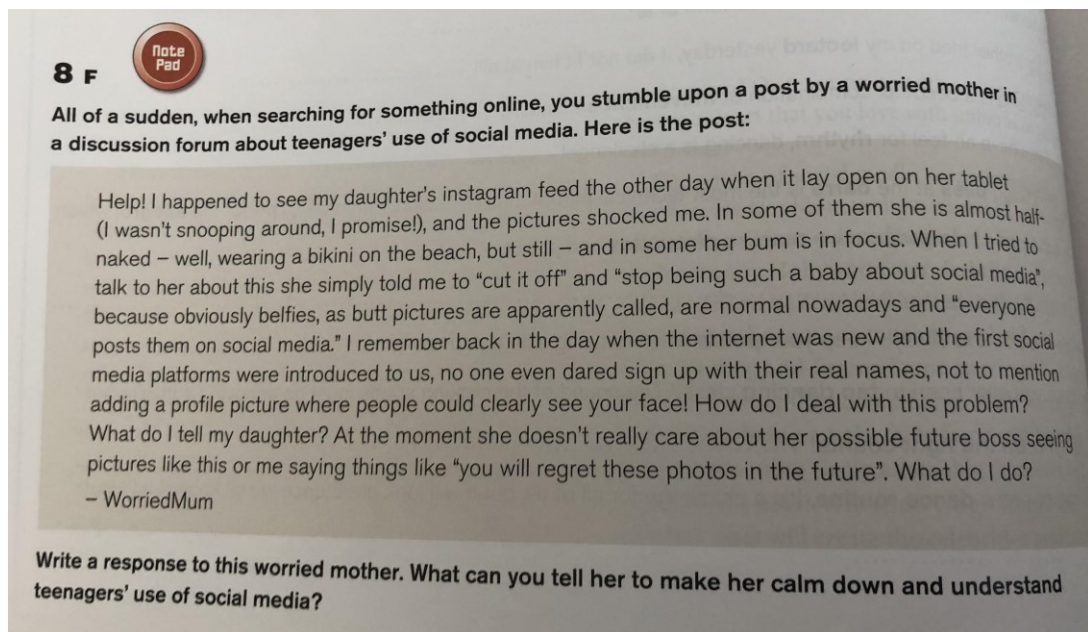
Figure 6. Item P3.1: teenagers' use of social media from *New ProFiles 3*, page 70.

This item is part of a writing exercise in which students are to write a response to a text written by a mother who is worried about her teenage daughter's use of social media. The overarching themes of the chapter are social media, art and images.

The exercise pictured in Figure 6 is presented with the description "[...] a discussion forum about teenager's use of social media", indicating that the text is about all teenagers in general. The follow-up question "What can you tell her to make her calm down and understand teenager's use of social media?" also implies that the text is about all teenagers. That is not the case, however, as the text only mentions the actions of a teenage girl. In this text, teenagers' use of social media is equated with the teenagers posting pictures of themselves in swimwear, pictures of their behinds, and pictures where their faces are visible. These actions are described as negative acts, as is implied by the concern and condemning tone of the mother character: "What do I tell my daughter? At the moment she doesn't really care about her possible future boss seeing pictures like this or me saying things like 'you will regret these photos in the future'".

The textbook authors have made the deliberate choice to make the exercise exclusively about the behavior of a teenage daughter. It would have been possible to also include the behavior of teenage boys on social media, or to describe the child of the mother as *teenager*, without specifying the gender of the child.

A potential problem of assigning this exercise to students is that it can reinforce the stereotype that teenage girls spend a lot of time posting pictures that are deemed inappropriate. The exercise supports the idea that this is how teenage girls mainly use social media, instead of looking at how teenage girls also use social media as a communicative tool, using messaging services to socialize with other teenagers. Another potential problem is that students who are teenage girls in a classroom where this exercise is assigned might be automatically associated with this stereotype because of the fact that they can be sorted into the category of teenage girls. The lesson that teenagers should be careful of what they post online is an important one, but this lesson can and should be taught without shaming the teenagers, especially when one separate group of individuals are singled out and overemphasized in a negative manner. Furthermore, the exercise disregards other perspectives that could lead to useful discussions about proper social media use; for example, parents who are concerned because their teenage son looks at pictures that are deemed inappropriate on social media, or because the teenage son sends unwanted and inappropriate pictures to others.

Ultimately, it is the responsibility of the teacher to encourage students to approach this exercise critically, instead of accepting what is written at face value. It is possible that students will respond to and question the exercise critically of their own accord, and the teacher would therefore need to act as a diplomatic mediator in the classroom. This role is especially crucial in the case of dispute between a group that is critical of the exercise and a group that supports the stereotype of the exercise.

In the context of this exercise, the item "teenagers' use of social media" is coded feminine, and because of its condemning and shaming nature, the feminine-coded item has a negative connotation.

Context	**Identified item**
"Women who have red hair are said to be quick-tempered." (exercise, p. 164)	P3.3 red hair

---

This item is part of a grammar exercise on the use of commas in written English. The student is asked to add commas where they are needed in the sentences, and to discuss with a partner the differences between the sentences with and without commas. There is no common theme among the four sentences of the exercise. The other three sentences are: "Slow children crossing!", "The acrobat walked on his head a bit higher than before", and "Has the dog already eaten Ben?".

This item is similar to item P1.2 "a young blonde" because of how the phrase reaffirms stereotypes based on women's hair color. For comparison, in an excerpt from *ProFiles 7* a male character is described as having red hair without having a personality trait attributed to his hair color. See Item P7.1 "red-haired". Quick-tempered is arguably a negative trait; therefore, the feminine-coded item "red hair" has a negative connotation in this context.

3.2.4 Textbook analysis - *ProFiles 4*

Context	**Identified item**
"Apes display similar behaviour, so men may be genetically programmed to be attracted to females wearing red" (164)	P4.1 men [...] attracted to females

This item is part of a grammar exercise about relative pronouns. The exercise, titled "Seeing red", is in the format of a cloze test, and the text is about a study that suggests that men are more physically attracted to a woman who wears red. A source for the text is not provided. Students are instructed to complete the text with the missing relative pronouns.

In this excerpt, a negative connotation is attributed to the word *female*. The first reason is that it is used as a noun, and therefore reduces the personhood of the individual to the confines of the adjective (Brown 2015). Robin Lakoff argues that because a *female* can be any species but only a human can be a *woman*, referring to a woman as *a female* is to downgrade her to a lower mammalian status (as cited in Newton-Small 2016). The second reason for the negative connotation is that *female* appears in the same excerpt as the word *men*; *female* is used for women, but *male* is not used for men.

Explanations for why *female* can have a negative connotation when used alongside *man* or *guy* instead of *male* can be found in three comments submitted to the online article written by Brown about the problem with calling women *females* (Brown 2015). See Figures 3, 4, and 5. Each comment includes a star figure with a number beneath it, which signifies the number of people who like or agree with the comment.

BrightEyes › Kara Brown
2/05/15 2:44pm

679

Whenever I hear somebody use female as a noun while referring to humans, it is an immediate sign to me that whatever is coming out of their mouth will be deeply rooted in misogyny. I have yet to be wrong.
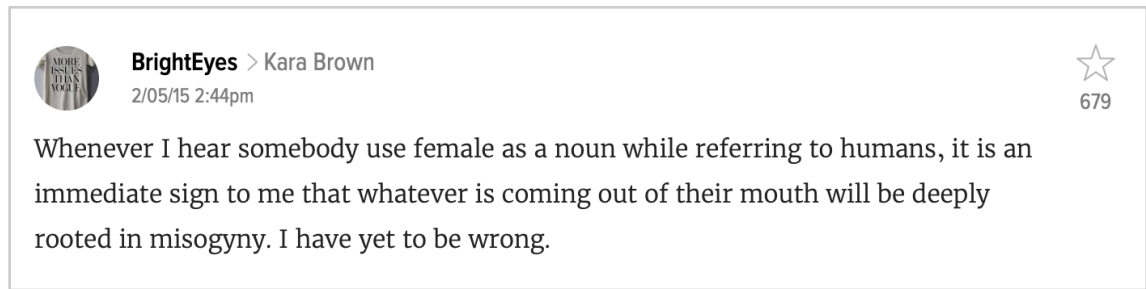
Figure 3. "female as a noun". Jezebel comment.

Womansplainingitup › Kara Brown
2/05/15 2:52pm

45

I lived with a male roommate/co-worker who once said upon meeting my father and describing how his day had gone "oh it was great, all the females were gone, so we men had a lot of fun today just being guys." I was actually aghast that he had thought that would be an appropriate thing to say - all the FEMALES were gone so the MEN got to have fun? Thank god my dad thought he was a douchebag anyway. But Lord, I was pissed.

Figure 4. "all the females were gone". Jezebel comment.

Mo- › Kara Brown
2/05/15 2:48pm

309

I never felt any way about the word "female" until I was on another blog and a guy chimed in an said that, in his experience, most of the men he knew that used it did so as a sort of substitute for the word bitch. He used a few sentences to illustrate:

"These females out here are scandalous."

"Most females wouldn't know a good man if they saw one."

He then went on to explain that if you replaced the word "female" with "bitch" that's pretty much the meaning assigned. It was just a more PC way of conveying the same sentiment. "These bitches out here are scandalous," etc.

I remember reading that, thinking about the men I knew who used that word to refer to women on a regular basis and sure enough, for a lot of them, if you replaced "female" with "bitch," I could definitely see what he meant.

Figure 5. "substitute for the word bitch". Jezebel comment.

3.2.5 Textbook analysis - *ProFiles 5*

Context	**Identified item**
"I took it like a man" (15)	P5.1 like a man

This item is part of a text that spans two pages, titled "Desperately seeking culture". The text is in the format of a conversation between three university students who are discussing their assignment of describing their cultural profile. One of the students, Dominic, says "I took it like a man" in response to Meredith, one of the two other students, who says "I'd love to get a tattoo. But it must hurt like hell, right?".

To "take it like a man" is an idiom that means that a person is to suffer, endure, or accept something in a stoic, unemotional manner (Farlex Dictionary of Idioms 2015). The example sentences provided by the Farlex Dictionary of Idioms are: "I'm sorry for being blunt, but if you can't take criticism like a man, then I suggest you find work in a different industry," and "You broke the rules, and now you've got to take your punishment like a man" (2015). The item "I took it like a man" has a masculine and positive connotation. As is the case with the word *tomboy* from Item P2.1, this phrase also indicates that there is a phrase with the opposite meaning that is feminine and negative. For example, the phrase "throw like a girl" would suit these criteria, as "like a girl" has a feminine and negative connotation while "like a man" ha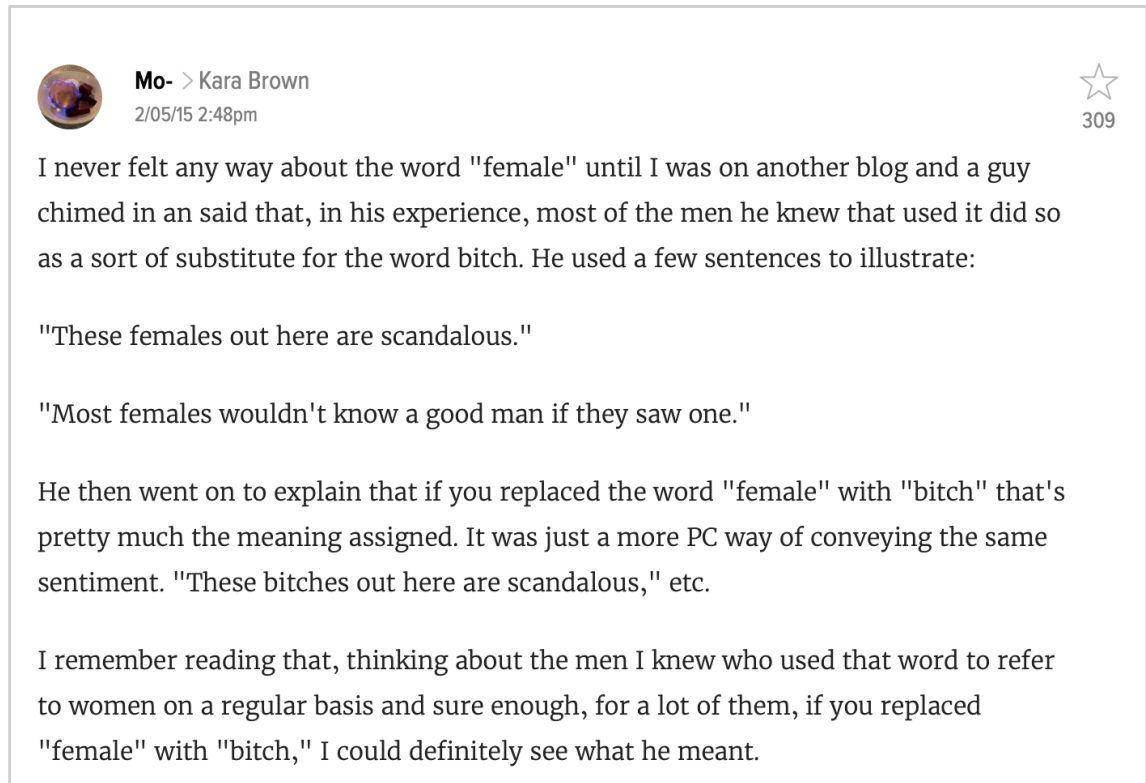s a masculine and positive connotation. It can be perceived as having a positive connotation because of its desirability; it is desirable to remain calm and collected in the face of adversity. One of the issues with this idiom is that these desirable traits are limited to "man" in addition to placing restrictions on what it means to be a "man".

Relevant to the question of what it means to be, act or take something like a man is the term hegemonic masculinity. This term was first introduced in an Australian study of social inequality, and describes a fantasy of masculinity that is normative but not embodied by all men (Plester 2015). The fantasy is the ideal way of being a man, and this ideal varies depending on the cultural context. According to Alsop et al. (2002, as cited by Plester 2015: 540) there are two key ideas that emerge in critical studies of

masculinity: firstly, that hegemonic masculinity is a cultural ideal that is unattainable for most men, and secondly, that hegemonic masculinity rejects both femininity and homosexuality. In order for an individual to conform to hegemonic masculinity, it is necessary to distance oneself from both femininity and homosexuality. As examples of how to achieve this, Plester mentions the act of displaying overtly heterosexual or homophobic behavior (2015: 540). Different forms of masculinity can be achieved by anyone regardless of their biological sex. According to Butler's theory of gender performativity, our gender identities are formed from our own social performances and from those of other people towards us. Behind these gender performances are "scripts" that act as guidelines for how to achieve the ideals of masculinity or femininity (Plester 2015). This concept is similar to that of Piaget's schemas, as mentioned in chapter 3 and chapter 4, in the manner that people adjust their models of how they expect others to behave and how they think they themselves are expected to behave, expanding and adjusting these models as they learn about new "scripts".

In the context of the school book text in which the item "take it like a man" is identified, the phrase is uncritically used as encouragement, which gives it a positive connotation. The phrase "take it like a man" could be argued to support hegemonic masculinity, and the prerequisite for a hegemonic masculinity is that femininity is negative.

Context	**Identified items**
"To begin with, there's a beautiful woman who falls in love with a handsome man." (172)	P5.2 beautiful P5.3 handsome

This item is part of a cloze test of a text about a movie plot. The words missing from the cloze test text are provided in Swedish and the students need to translate the words into English. The plot details a story of a woman who falls in love with a man, then

the woman is framed for murder by who is believed to be the man she fell in love with, but it turns out that it was the man's twin brother who framed her. The exercise is titled "A real disaster movie".

In this text book excerpt and in the three following excerpts, the word *beautiful* is used to describe a female character and the word *handsome* is used to describe a male character. The items have a positive meaning and are used in a positive manner in the excerpts. Beautiful has a feminine connotation and positive connotation, when applied to a female character. Handsome has a masculine connotation and positive connotation, when applied to a male character. In order to confirm that *beautiful* is generally used in combination with female characters outside of the textbook, and *handsome* in combination with male characters, *Google Trends* was used. *Google Trends* is a website that shows how frequently a specific search term is entered into the Google search engine relative to the total search volume of the site over a given period of time, with features such as comparing a set of keywords. An explanation of the meaning behind the statistics provided by *Google Trends* can be found on the website:

> Numbers represent search interest relative to the highest point on the chart for the given region and time. A value of 100 is the peak popularity for the term. A value of 50 means that the term is half as popular. A score of 0 means that there was not enough data for this term.
>
> (Google Trends 2019)

In the first search term comparison, the collocations *handsome woman* and *handsome man* were compared to find out whether or not *handsome* is more often used to describe a male person. See Figure 7 and Table 1 for results.
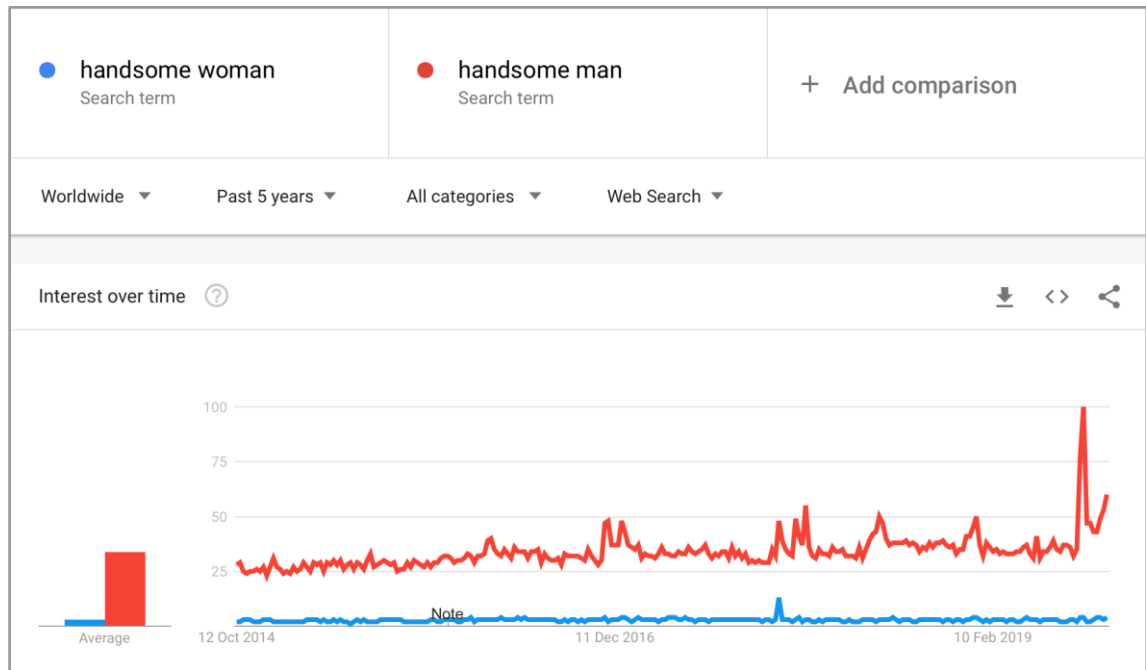
Figure 7. Google Trends search term comparison of *handsome woman* and *handsome man*, worldwide from October 2014 to 2019. Data collected: 12.10.2019.

Date	handsome woman	handsome man
12-18 October 2014	2	26
11-17 October 2015	2	31
9-15 October 2016	3	29
8-14 October 2017	3	32
7-13 October 2018	2	35
6-12 October 2019	4	60

Table 1. Search interest on Google Trends of *handsome woman* and *handsome man* relative to the highest point on the chart worldwide from October 2014 to 2019. Data collected: 12.10.2019.

The search term *handsome man*, visualized in red in Figure 6, has continuously been more popular than *handsome woman*, visualized in blue in Figure 6, for the past five years worldwide. In order to find out the more specific extent to which the search volume has varied for the two terms throughout the years, data was collected from the beginning of October of every year from 2014 to 2019. Besides a peak in 2019, the search interest for each term has been consistent. See table 1 for the data.

In the second search term comparison, the terms *beautiful woman* and *beautiful man* were compared to find out whether or not *beautiful* is more often used to describe a female person. See figure 7 and table 2 for results.
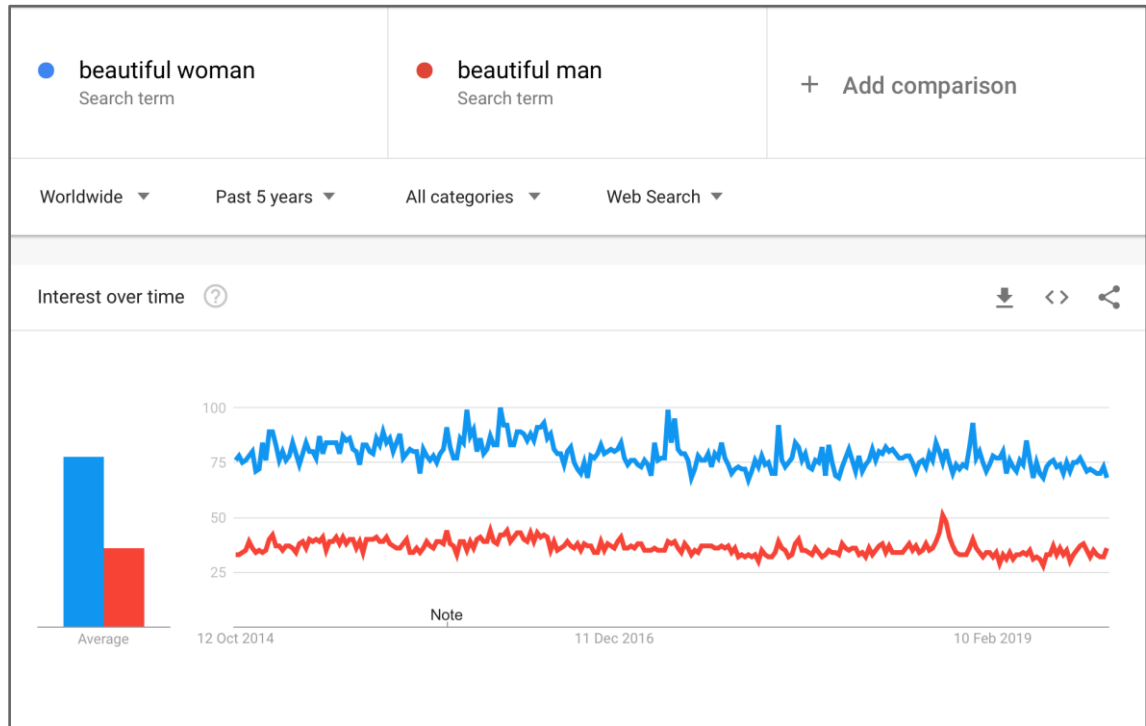
Figure 8. Google Trends search term comparison of *beautiful woman* and *beautiful man*, worldwide over the past five years. Data collected: 12.10.2019.

Date	beautiful woman	beautiful man
12-18 October 2014	75	36
11-17 October 2015	78	34
9-15 October 2016	73	37
8-14 October 2017	75	31
7-13 October 2018	75	36
6-12 October 2019	72	36

Table 2. Search interest of *beautiful woman* and *beautiful man* relative to the highest point on the chart worldwide from October 2014 to 2019. Data collected: 12.10.2019.

The search term *beautiful woman*, visualized in blue in Figure 8, has continuously been more popular than *beautiful man*, visualized in red in Figure 8, for the past five years worldwide. In order to find out the more specific extent to which the search volume has varied for the two terms throughout the years, data was collected from the beginning of October of every year from 2014 to 2019. The search interest for each term has been consistent. See Table 2 for the data.

The results of both search term comparisons support the hypothesis that *handsome* is generally used to describe a male person and that *beautiful* is generally used to describe a female person, indicating a strong masculine association with the word *handsome* and a strong feminine association with the word *beautiful*. Both terms have a positive connotation in the textbook excerpt. In chapter 3.2.3, the question of whether or not the connotations become negative when a feminine-coded term is used for a male person and a masculine-coded term is used for a female person is discussed.

The following three items, item P6.1, item P6.2 and item P6.3 from *ProFiles 6* are listed successively without a separate analysis to avoid redundancy. Item P6.1 is from a two-page text titled "Obituary: Hamilton Naki". Item P6.2 is from a cloze test about Hedy Lamarr; the words missing from the text are provided in Swedish, and the students need to translate them into English. Item P6.3 is from a cloze test about George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*; students need to fill in the missing prepositions and adverbs.

3.2.6 Textbook analysis - *ProFiles 6*

Context	**Identified item**
"The chief transplant surgeon, the young, handsome, famously temperamental Christiaan Barnard, had asked to have him on his team" (72)	P6.1 handsome

Context	**Identified item**
"This Austrian-born actress is considered by some to be the most beautiful actress to ever appear in films." (102)	P6.2 beautiful actress

Context	**Identified item**
"He is joined by Julia, a beautiful young woman [...]" (195)	P6.3 beautiful young woman

3.2.7 Textbook analysis - *ProFiles 7*

Context	**Identified item**
"I was really looking forward to seven days of magic, but then a red-haired guy who bashed flies with a baseball bat caught my attention." (40)	P7.1 red-haired

This item is from a cloze test about a person's experience at a summer camp, titled "A not-so-happy camper". The student is instructed to complete the anecdote. The words missing from the text are provided in Swedish and the student needs to translate them into English.

This item from *ProFiles 7* is included as a comparison to item P3.2 "red hair" from the excerpt "Women who have red hair are said to be quick-tempered," because both items include a description of red-haired people. As is mentioned in the analysis of

P3.2, "red hair", the male character of P7.1 is not explicitly assigned a personality trait based on his hair color. The item "red-haired" is masculine-coded and has a positive—or neutral—connotation in this context.

3.2.8 Textbook analysis - explicit treatment of gender issues

In a vocabulary exercise on idioms in *New ProFiles 1*, the sentence "Rod stays at home to look after the kids while his wife brings home the bacon" (2017: 39) counteracts the gender stereotypes of heterosexual relationships in which the woman is expected to stay at home while the man is the one who goes to work. The meaning of the idiom "brings home the bacon" is explained in the textbook as "Earns a living for the family".

In *New ProFiles 2*, there is a unit titled "We can do it!" dedicated to well-known female historical and public figures. The unit details historical accomplishments of women in a positive manner. Students are taught about the achievements of these women, but also the struggles the women had to face because of their gender. Two gendered linguistic items were identified in this unit: "tomboy", and "acted like a man". The unit consists of two main texts: a two-page text about Amelia Earhart and a three-page text about Malala Yousafzai. The vocabulary, writing, and comprehension exercises in the unit center on Earhart, Yousafzai and five others: Martha 'Calamity Jane' Cannary, Dian Fossey, Billie Jean King, Marilyn Monroe, and Pocahontas. In an exercise where students are to match the correct name with the correct description, King's description is about how she beat Bobby Riggs in a game of tennis after Riggs stated that no woman could ever beat him, and that King promotes health education and fitness for women and girls (2016: 76).

The text about Yousafzai consists of extracts from her biography and textbook questions that students are asked to reflect upon. On the topic of being a girl in her community, Yousafzai explains: "I was a girl in a land where rifles are fired in celebration of a son, while daughters are hidden away behind a curtain, their role in life simply to prepare food and give birth to children". The follow-up question for students reading the text is: "How does your community celebrate when a child is born? Is this reaction different for boys and girls?". In a discussion exercise following the main text, students are told to read another excerpt from Yousafzai's book:

"The most astonishing thing is that it's my father whose voice wakes me up now. He gets up first every day and prepares breakfast for me, my mother and my brothers Atal and Kushal." Following the excerpt, students are asked to discuss in groups the following question: "What do you think these swapped gender roles feel like for Malala's parents?" (2016: 82). The highlighted gender norm that is referred to in the question is that the mother of a family is expected to cook for the rest of the family.

In a rewriting exercise in *New ProFiles 3*, the sentence: "The woman who was CEO before I took over is now working for a rivalling company" (2017: 63) counteracts the gendered assumption that a CEO is male.

In *New ProFiles 3*, a two-page text titled "All the world's a stage: ballet off stage, on the road" details the work of a photographer who works with ballerinas. In this text, ballet, ballerinas and dancing are things seemingly ascribed to girls and women, while boys and men are excluded. The photography project is described as follows: "The project not only brings ballet into your average Jane's life, it also gives the ballerinas an audience outside their traditional venue" (2017: 67). The text also mentions a famous female dancer, whose name is described as: "A household name on every dancing girl's lips" (2017: 68). Male ballerinas and dancers are not mentioned, despite the fact that professional male dancers exist. In a follow-up translation exercise, one of the sentences reads: "My brother tried on my leotard yesterday, it did not fit him at all!" (2017: 69) , which is the only explicit mention of a male character. The leotard is presumably a dancing leotard, as the rest of the sentences in the exercise are all dance-related.

In *ProFiles 4*, there are two texts that address sexist advertisement. Both texts detail a proposal to ban advertisements deemed to portray women as sex objects or reinforce gender stereotypes. The style of the first one-page text, titled "Ad's yer lot", is written in the format of a tabloid article, while the second one-page text, titled "EU wants to ban 'sexist' TV commercials" is written in the format of a broadsheet article.

The tabloid article, as is explained in the textbook, uses provocative language: "In fact, if the killjoys in Brussels have their way, you can stop looking at ads like this for good". The citation that is used in the article opposes the ban proposal:

"The approach suggested is inflexible and impractical" (2017: 86). The picture attached to the tabloid article depicts a male underwear model, with the caption "David Beckham flashing his undies". The broadsheet article explains in a detailed and informative manner the reasons behind the proposal, as well as what the ban would entail. In this article, the citation used supports the ban: "Gender stereotyping in advertising straitjackets women, men, girls and boys by restricting individuals to predetermined and artificial roles that are often degrading, humiliating and dumbed down for both sexes" (2017: 87). The picture attached to the broadsheet article depicts four topless women in heels from behind, with the text "Keep your eyes on the road" covering their behinds. The caption under the picture reads: "TV regulators have been asked to take a zero tolerance approach to sexist insults and degrading images by the EU's women's rights committee".

Among the 25 phrases and words that are part of the follow-up exercises, two address gender explicitly and one sentence alludes to gender. In the first instance, students must match the word "gender" with its synonym, which according to the textbook is "sex". In the second and third instances, students must translate the sentences "Many ads reinforce gender stereotypes" and "It is degrading to use half-naked people in ads", in addition to discussing whether or not they agree with the statements. The students must also give examples that support their views. The rest of the exercises focus on the stylistic aspects of newspapers. Critical discussions of gender would be warranted, considering the content of the news articles, but the lack of questions centered on gender in the follow-up exercises enables the teacher to instead focus on stylistic devices used in different newspapers. A stronger emphasis on gender questions would have been suitable. Furthermore, there is a potential issue with the synonym exercise: the textbook authors are seemingly equating "gender" with "sex", which is problematic because their historical interchangeability has become increasingly obsolete. It would be up to the teacher to discuss this matter in class if no student does.

In a vocabulary exercise in *ProFiles 5*, in which students are to work out the meaning of words by reading sentences, a gender-related law is mentioned: "Up to the year 1967, women in Finland were not allowed to go to a restaurant without male company. Fortunately, that kind of prohibition no longer exists" (2017: 27). The positive word "fortunately" implies that the textbook authors support the improved status of women.

Also in *ProFiles 5*, sexism is mentioned in a two-page text that is an abbreviated version of a real newspaper article about the conflicting research findings on whether or not music with violent, sexist, and racist lyrics can have a negative effect on the mental health of young people, affecting their behavior. The conclusion of the article is that there are not enough findings that prove that music is the reason behind social issues; rather, violence in music is a reflection of lived experiences. The author of the text calls for more public discussion and to spread awareness of facts about the topic. Regarding sexism, the author mentions "research projects that show heavy metal fans are likely to have a low regard for women, while rap listeners have a higher tendency to aggression" (2017: 29), but does not provide a reference. The author also writes:

> There is an abundance of sexual and racial stereotyping in the problem music that gets released, along with bucket-loads of abuse. But there is nothing to show that this changes attitudes in listeners who are not previously inclined to aggression
>
> (*ProFiles 5* 2017: 30)

Gender, through sexism, is mentioned in this text, but it is not the main focus of the text. The follow-up questions and exercises do not explore gender-related issues. One can assume, based on the content of the text, that the author most likely does not endorse sexism, which could reflect the intended stance of the textbook authors.

In *ProFiles 6*, gender is mentioned in a one-page text about why humans laugh:

> Gender differences also shed light on why we laugh. On average, women laugh more than men, but men are more humorous than women. This raises the question of whether laughter is a factor in our mating behavior. Research conducted on the personal ads in newspapers found that women were more likely to request humour in a prospective date, while men were more likely to offer it. In the same vein, men are more interested in women who laugh heartily in their company. Both findings seem to be saying that it is the laughter of the female, not the male, which is a crucial indicator of a healthy relationship.
>
> (*ProFiles 6* 2017: 39)

The sources cited at the end text are: *New Scientist, Scientific American,* and *Psychology Today.* The research findings are presented as facts, without critical analysis, which is problematic when the topic is gender, as there is a risk of reinforcing gender stereotypes and essentialist theories. In order to avoid this risk, it would be beneficial for students if teachers encourage a critical discussion of the topic.

The follow-up exercises do not ask students to question the research findings. In a comprehension exercise, the student is asked to answer the question "What is said about laughter and gender in the text?". In a vocabulary exercise, the student is to translate the word "gender differences", and in a translation exercise, students need to translate the sentences "Many scientific studies highlight gender differences in laughter", "Men are more humorous despite the fact that women laugh more than men on average", and "Humans laugh in the company of others because it promotes a sense of community and makes it easier to find a partner" (2017: 40-41).

In conclusion, it seems as if the explicit messages of the textbooks do not completely match the implicit messages. Gender issues are highlighted in the textbooks but the supportive message and calls for awareness are undercut by texts such as the ballerina and laughter ones, in addition to the limited follow-up exercises, and the gender-related identified linguistic items. The textbook authors seem to acknowledge explicit, more obvious examples of gender issues, such as the reasons behind the game of tennis between King and Riggs, the story of Yousafzai, and the newspaper articles detailing sexist advertisement. More subtle instances of gender norms, roles, and microaggressions seem to be overlooked.

3.3 Group interview

The second part of the empirical research for this thesis is an analysis of a group interview conducted with upper secondary school level students at a Swedish school in Finland. The purpose of the interview was to gauge the reactions of the students to certain linguistic items from the same textbooks used for the content analysis. Through their commentary, it was possible to find out whether or not they recognized any connotations linked with the linguistic items. A pre-selected set of linguistic items in their original contexts were presented to the students, who were asked to freely comment and share their thoughts on the provided content. Chapter 3.2 includes more details about the interview process and a transcription of the interview. The transcription is followed by an analysis of the students' analyses.

The interview was conducted with four voluntary participants. At the time of the group interview, one interviewee was 18 years old and the rest were 17 years old. All four participants were female upper secondary school students. The students were familiar with *ProFiles* and had worked with at least one textbook from that series. The interview was conducted in English and recorded using the iPhone *Voice Memo* application.

The participants were aware of the recording and consented to being recorded. Before recording began, the interviewees were given a printed sheet of paper with six linguistic items in their original contexts, extracted from *New ProFiles 1* and *New ProFiles 2*. See Figure 9. The interviewees were told to quickly skim through the selected sentences and were given about a minute of time for this activity. The interviewees were also told that the source of the provided material was *ProFiles* and that the subject of the interview was stereotypes; a general descriptor used to avoid a gender-related confirmation bias. In addition to the general descriptor, three decoys were included in the material for the same purpose: item 2, item 5, and item 6. Because of a time constraint, item 6 was skipped altogether. See Figure 9. These items depict stereotypes but are not relevant to the topic of connotations presented in this thesis. The interview was recorded in five parts. See Appendix I.

1.

3. Last spring her father had found a young blonde and moved away from home, giving his wife a nervous breakdown. Their family was shattered.

2. "Beware of guys you meet who use their 'religion' as a reason why you shouldn't be afraid to take up their offer of a lift home."

3. "There are some unwelcome guests at Joshua's party. Penny is in tears after Mark dumps her. Molly shows Dean who really wears the trousers in their relationship."

4. "She dressed, talked and acted like a man. However, she was remembered as a saint"

5. "For people who come from outside the Western cultural sphere, the Finnish way of life may pose challenges."

6. "Finns are tough. Finns enjoy silence. Finns seem to be quite content to be quiet."

Figure 9. The items used for the group interview.

3.3.1 Analysis of group interview

In this section, the commentary of the interviewees is analyzed. Commentary on the decoys is not analyzed, as it is not relevant to this study. The relevant items are item 1, item 3, and item 4. The objects of analysis in this section are the reactions of the interviewees towards the identified items, if a reaction has occurred, and what the interviewees think about the identified items, if they have thoughts about the items. See Appendix II for the transcript of the interview.

Beginning with recording 1, the interviewees immediately respond to the term "young blonde", thus identifying item 1:

> The first thing that I started to think about is that *young blonde*… maybe that's one, cuz I mean, I don't know if it's a stereotype but like, ooh a young blonde, beautiful woman– she could be whatever color, whatever– I mean, it's kinda– isn't it kind of typical? That it's always a *blonde*? It kinda infuriates me…
> *(Interviewee 1, Recording 1, item 1, [00:14])*

Interviewee 1 expresses negative emotions, noting a recurring pattern of the stereotype that is related to blonde women: "isn't it kind of typical? That it's always a *blonde*? It kinda infuriates me. " Both interviewee 1 and interviewee 2 describe this occurrence as "typical":

> Mhm. And also that… it kinda like, mocks the wife in a way… um, that they had– probably had like, long marriage and that it's like, this really typical aah young blonde, like… I just kinda like… mm I dunno.
> *(Interviewee 2, Recording 1, item 1, [00:36])*

Based on the negative reactions expressed by the interviewees and their word choice in describing the perceived stereotype, it could be assumed that the interviewees perceive the word "blonde" as having a feminine and negative connotation.

> Yeah… The fact that it says young blonde girl, uh, because, uh, on the picture you for example can see that the father at least seems to be a bit older and that it's always this se–stereotype, like, that uuh, an old man finds a young woman…
> *(Interviewee 3, Recording 1, item 1 [00:49])*

Interviewee 3 also notes the fact that "the young blonde" in the excerpt is described as young, and a young woman who is involved with an older man. This observation fits the "blonde bombshell" stereotype mentioned in chapter 3.1 in which the same linguistic item is analyzed.

In recording 2, the interviewees identify the same linguistic item that is identified in chapter 3.1, which is item 3, "who really wears the trousers in their relationship":

> Everything else is kinda like, okay this is fine like Penny is in tears okay, good for her hahaha [unintelligible]for her, but still– hahaha– but like, that last thing with Molly shows Dean who really wears the trousers so it's kinda like, eeeh…
> *(Interviewee 2, Recording 2, item 3 [00:25])*

Interviewee 2 displays discomfort at the trousers idiom. At the 00:38 time stamp mark interviewee 2 and interviewee 4 seem to be in agreement over the fact that the saying of wearing the trousers implies that it is usually the man that wears the trousers and therefore holds the status of a higher position in a relationship. Interviewee 4 mentions the word "manly" and that "the dude in a relationship" is the one who "takes all control". The interviewees discuss that it is the man in the relationship who has a "higher role" and "rank" in the relationship. It is clear that the interviewees are aware of the idiom, its meaning, and that "trousers" is coded masculine in this context. In the following exchange, interviewee 1, interviewee 2, and interviewee 4 discuss why they think the idiom was used in the textbook:

> That's like, maybe like, uh, it's like, it's– it's supposed to be like the man who wears the trousers but then they have to like be like *this! is how it is* like, *wow!* it's like the other way around in this thing maybe, and, yeah…
> *(Interviewee 4, Recording 2, item 3 [01:09])*

> So I feel like they kinda like, try to make it something good, like kinda try to go against that the man is like the man in the relationship, but at the same time… the trous– I don't know! It's… it's confusion–
> *(Interviewee 2, Recording 2, item 3 [01:27])*

> I mean, the meaning is good but like, they use old kind of stereotypes that only men wear trousers and only women wear skirts or something like that…
> *(Interviewee 1, Recording 2, item 3 [1:30])*

Interviewee 1 perceives the idiom as being outdated, saying "they use old kind of stereotypes that only men wear trousers and only women wear skirts". The other two interviewees recognize that the text in the textbook is attempting to go against the old stereotype by placing the female character in the role that is traditionally reserved for the male character, but they seem uncertain and reluctant when discussing this matter.

One possible explanation could be that they are recognizing the fact that using the outdated idiom itself may prove counterproductive to the attempt to thwart the outdated, gendered implications of the idiom.

The final item that was up for discussion was from recording 4, item 4, "she dressed, talked, and acted like a man".

> Uh…hahaha– I don't like the *however* in that part, like okay she dressed, talked and acts like a man– that's not wrong, like, you can do that, however she was remembered as a saint, otherwise what would she, I mean–
> *(Interviewee 1, Recording 4, item 4 [00:07])*

Interviewee 1 states "that's not wrong" in response to the use of the conjunction *however*, clearly disagreeing with the notion that the female character in the text seemingly cannot possess all of the mentioned characteristics–manly and saint-like–without a disclaimer. Interviewee 3 agrees with interviewee 1:

> Yeah, that's like a.. unnecessary part of the sentence– you could just have– like, sh– she was remembered as a saint and you wouldn't even need the first part, because like wha– wha– what kind of difference does it make if she walks and… acts like a man?
> *(Interviewee 3, Recording 4, item 4 [00:19])*

In response, interviewee 1 states at 00:33: "Yeah– so– if she's a saint, but the only downside of her is that she acts like a man… that's the like… I–I don't get it". Interviewee 1 does not understand why "acting like a man" would be negative, or perhaps more specifically, why the character as a woman "acting like a man" is negative. Furthermore, at 00:44 interviewee 4 notes: "It could be like, she dressed like *this* instead of… she dressed like a man. Yeah.", suggesting that the gendered description could be replaced with a neutral option. Interviewee 2 continues the discussion:

> And also I feel like, when they say *however* she was remembered as a saint, um, it's probably not literal, but more like, she was this good girl kinda type and she was like really nice and stuff, *but*– she dressed- ah or kindalikeyouknowkindalike– puts men down, too, at the same time so– she– acts like a man, how*ever* she was still a saint, so like–
> *(Interviewee 2, Recording 4, item 4 [00:50])*

The connotations in connection to the word *saint* that interviewee 2 identifies are "good girl kinda type" and "really nice". This connotation is questioned by both interviewee 1 and interviewee 2, the former asking at 00:50: "so men can't be saints?". To this, interviewee 2 replies: "Yeah exactly, that's kinda the question I think about– like thats– I dunno." The interviewees are effectively describing item 4 as having a feminine connotation, and they are questioning why it cannot be applied to men. They are also identifying the implication that the act of women behaving like men is a negative act. The interviewees have noticed that the text designates masculine-coded behaviors to men, and that it is out of the ordinary if these masculine-coded behaviors are applied to women.

In the final discussion that took place after the interviewees had commented on the excerpts, the interviewees were asked if they think that some words are associated more often with being feminine and some words more often with being masculine. They were also asked to elaborate on their thoughts on this topic. At 00:37 in recording 5, interviewee 1 states: "I can't come up with examples but if you describe something as masculine then you use words that a-at least I think of like, a *man*[...]*"*. Interviewee 2 connects masculine-coded words with men. Interviewee 3 agrees that there are certain associations, and provides two examples: "[...]like if you're speaking about like, a– for example like in poetry or something you're like *she's beautiful like a flower*" and "those kinda soft words". Interviewee 3 perceives "soft words" as being feminine-coded, and mentions "beautiful" as a word that belongs to that category. Interviewee 3 compares this with how men are described, stating that a man would be described as "very tough". Interviewee 1 agrees with this notion, adding that men are described as "macho". In this case, the interviewees deem "tough" and "macho" as being masculine-coded. Interviewee 2 then adds:

> So kinda like when you say you c– you can say like, he was tough as a lion, but you can't really say she was tough as a lion, because it– or may- well maybe but still, it's kinda like, okay, lion is kinda like a masculine word, you can't really relate that to… a woman
> *(Interviewee 2, Recording 5, general discussion [01:12])*

Interviewee 2 is describing the dissonance of applying masculine-coded words to women. There is uncertainty as the interviewee describes the unwritten rule that states that a woman cannot be described as being tough as a lion, because those are words reserved for describing men. The uncertainty is noticeable when the interviewee backtracks right away, saying "well maybe," as in, women *can* be described with these words, but the conclusion is the return to the original unwritten rule: "[...] lion is kinda like a masculine word, you can't really relate that to… a woman".

The interviewees were then asked to elaborate on whether or not they had previously thought about the masculine words that they themselves had mentioned, such as *tough*, as being generally positive or negative. They were also asked the same thing about words that usually have a feminine connotation, such as *beautiful* and *caring*. The perception of the interviewees seemed to be that certain words do have either a feminine or masculine connotation and that these words also have a negative or positive connotation depending on whether it also had a feminine or masculine connotation. Interviewee 2 states:

> Yeah, um… Feminine words are usually like really positive in a way and like beautiful and describing, but they can also be used as, like a weakness? Kinda like, they're kinda like, seen, like, looked down on– meanwhile men are like– more negative words or they're these really hard words, like– not hard words but like, you know, they kinda describe something really tough and stuff.
> *(Interviewee 2, Recording 5, general discussion [01:46])*

Interviewee 2 is of the opinion that feminine words are usually positive but the same words can be perceived as a weakness, stating that these words are "looked down on". The interviewee then seemingly tries to explain that even though there are many words that are masculine and therefore negative, the negative connotations of masculine words like *tough* are not looked down upon; the use of the conjunction *meanwhile* supports this hypothesis. Two of the interviewees then exchange thoughts on using words with a feminine connotation to describe men and using words with a male connotation to describe women:

And, um, something– I don't know how it is today, but at least before if you describe a woman with something masculine it was kind of, like, negative and if a man is feminine it's like, *what– what are you?* Are you a man, like… Men have, like, they have to be masculine. It's just like, a thought.
(Interviewee 1, Recording 5, general discussion [02:11])

Kinda like, yeah– yeah, like, just one comment about that, like weakness thing. Kinda like, um, saying *she runs like a girl* or like you ru– kinda like telling a guy *you run like a girl–*
(Interviewee 2, Recording 5, general discussion [02:27])

According to the interviewees, using words with a feminine connotation to describe men and using words with a masculine connotation to describe women are negative acts. The words become insults when the gender of the connotation does not match the gender of the person that is described. Interviewee 1 responds affirmatively to the mention of the phrase "she runs like a girl", stating that it is like an insult, to which interviewee 2 adds that it "has always been used". The interviewees present this phenomenon as something that exists but they do not seem to support it; rather, they seem to be expressing disapproval. The statement "I don't know how it is today" indicates that interviewee 1 might be of the opinion that the phenomenon is outdated, much like the trousers idiom that was discussed earlier in the interview.

There seems to be an awareness among the interviewees that some sets of words do indeed have gendered associations, and the interviewees recognize that certain gendered associations also have a positive or negative connotation, depending on the context. The interviewees are, to an extent, describing what this thesis is trying to explain, but they lack the necessary tools and terminology to properly describe this phenomenon and to describe why their reactions towards this phenomenon are of a negative, uncertain, and disapproving nature.

4 Discussion

In recording 4 when item 4 is discussed, interviewee 3 suggests that the text from the excerpt "she dressed, talked, and acted like a man", could be changed from "she dressed like a man" to "she dressed like this". This suggestion is offered as a better solution and improvement to what is written in the textbook. Before this gender neutral alternative was provided in the interview, the interviewees displayed disapproval and confusion towards the original alternative, and these reactions were expressed through the following comments: "unnecessary", "what kind of difference does it make if she walks… and acts like a man?", and "I don't get it". They are asking questions that would be useful for authors of textbooks to ask themselves: What is the purpose of these gender associations and connotations? Would it not be possible or an improvement to switch out some, if not all of them, with a neutral version? These questions can be worth exploring, as it is young and continuously developing minds that are the main consumers of the textbooks in which these gendered connotations are found. As Burr puts it:

> If we are going to take seriously the view that language is a crucial site of identity negotiation and of power relations, then we can no longer afford to view as trivial the arguments over whether words such as 'blackleg' or 'mankind' should be outlawed.
>
> (Burr 2003: 148)

Burr believes that the context of everyday conversations is where identities are formed and power relations are played out. It is likely that the gendered connotations and the accompanying negative or positive connotations exist outside of school books, and it is likely that they exist on a much greater scale than what can be found in the textbooks. Authors of textbooks generally try, as closely as possible, to replicate authentic texts and situations from outside of school. The analysis of instances that highlight gender or center on gender issues shows that gender-related themes are treated in a positive manner when these instances are explicit, but this work is undermined by the identified items that are biased. Perhaps the biased content that is found in textbooks is a reflection of the lived experience or perspective of the textbook authors. It is possible that the authors are unaware of the gendered items and connotations of their textbook texts, or they *are* aware but do not believe that the items would pose any problems. Another possibility is that the authors believe that the gendered items are problematic,

but they find it necessary to include because it depicts an authentic picture of the society of the student outside of the textbooks. This brings us back to Sunderland's analytical framework for teacher treatment of gendered textbook texts. Behind the idea of Sunderland's analytical framework lies the question of whether or not textbooks should represent a more progressive situation than the one existing outside of the textbook, because "while the same books continue to be used, things move on" (Sunderland 2000: 152).

According to Sunderland, the social life of individuals is gendered, but this aspect is hard to identify because it has become the norm:

> Some years ago I wrote: 'The effects of gender roles, relations and identities are everywhere. Ironically, because of this, in much writing and thinking on English language teaching, gender appears nowhere' (Sunderland, 1994: 211). The claim was that, paradoxically, because gender tendencies may seem normal and natural, it often appears not to exist at all. At the start of the new millennium we are perhaps less blind to the fact that much social life, including our educational life, is gendered in some way, but the claim still holds.
> (Sunderland 2000: 150)

Assuming then that Sunderland's claims are true, that gender roles, gender relations and gender identities exist everywhere, that individuals are affected by these aspects in their daily lives, and that because of this, gender is "invisible", the overarching question of this thesis then becomes: Should we make gender more visible than it is? Or perhaps more specifically, should we make it more visible in the context of textbooks used to educate young individuals? The gendered instances found in the textbooks analyzed for this thesis are, arguably, more detrimental than they are educational to the shaping of a student's identity and perspective of other individuals. If these gendered connotations exist in the *ProFiles* textbooks as a realistic reflection of the reality outside of the textbook, textbook authors should consider the fact that their choice of uncritically including certain gendered connotations can be perceived as an act of reinforcing and perpetuating the gendered connotations.

Critical treatment of gendered connotations in textbooks would, for example, be possible by including prompts and topic suggestions in the actual textbook, in a separate accompanying textbook guide for the teacher, or stricter requirements in a school's official curriculum.

5 Conclusion

One of the aims of this thesis was to examine whether or not there are instances of gendered words and gender bias in EFL textbooks used in Finnish upper secondary schools. The textbook analyses and the conducted group interview with upper secondary students reveal that gendered language with bias can be found in the latest edition of the textbook series *ProFiles*. In order to improve the work that has been done for this thesis, another interview with a more varied sample would be useful. Multiple interviews could be conducted and the opinions from each interview could be compared. For example, interviews with only male students, interviews with both female and male students, and interviews with students who are non-binary. The thoughts and opinions of students are necessary for a complete study on the matter of gendered language in an educational setting.

The theories and theoretical frameworks presented in this thesis offer an explanation for the role of gendered language in the everyday life of individuals; how their identities and perspectives are structured and maintained. Constructivist theories inspired by Piaget's ideas present the concept of adaptable mental models that individuals create, maintain and refer to when navigating their social life, their lived experiences, and expectations. Building further on this insight, theorists within the field of education, pedagogy, sociology and gender studies try to explain the construction of gender as a social performance rather than something tied to one's biological sex. The topic of gender and language is relevant for educators because of the presupposition that bias accompanies gendered language. Positive gender bias and negative gender bias perpetuate stereotypes that favor one group of individuals and puts another group at a disadvantage, which is why it is important for teachers to approach their teaching material with a critical eye. If there are instances of gender bias in the teaching material, the teacher has an obligation to use the appropriate measures to deal with it, for example by creating the opportunity for open discussion. In Finland where it is stated in curriculums that schools must strive for equality and gender consciousness, the obligation of teachers to encourage critical thought in response to gendered language and gender bias should be indisputable.

Bias emerges from social binaries, when one category is deemed the opposite of another category and one of these categories is deemed the norm from which the other one deviates. One common example of this is the binary of *male* and *female*. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet explain that the category that establishes itself as the norm places itself in a superior position over the deviation, thus gaining social dominance:

> Dominance is sustained by privileging in community practice a particular perspective on language, obscuring its status as one among many perspectives, and naturalizing it as neutral or "unmarked". The privileged can assume their own positions to be norms toward which everyone else orients; they can judge other positions while supposing their own to be invulnerable to less privileged assessment.
>
> (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 483)

Based on the instances of gender bias found in the analyses conducted for this thesis, of the textbooks and the group interview, gender bias does more harm than good. In several of the cases found in the analyzed textbooks, the biases are based on outdated and current stereotypes that are sexist and socially constructed rather than based on reliable, scientific facts. The instances of gender bias in the textbooks do not have follow-up discussion topics or exercises that encourage students to question and challenge the gender bias; it is up to the teacher who uses the textbooks to do so.

In order to help current and future teachers, more research needs to be done, by using frameworks such as Sunderland's framework for teacher treatment of gendered textbook texts. By observing and studying how teachers teach gendered material, and by observing the outcomes of the different types of critical and non-critical teaching in response to gendered material, more information needed to guide teachers would become available. Furthermore, if more teachers become aware of the cognitive and social factors behind how and why people create mental models to navigate through their daily lives, and how this includes socially constructed gender norms, teachers might become better equipped to help students understand this, as well. Teachers would be able to help students identify gender bias and how to deal with it; students need to know what they are looking for before they can try to challenge it.

If they are continuously taught that gendered norms are fixed, either actively or through inaction, there is a risk that they will internalize the norms even if the norm causes harm to a specific social group. Finally, the importance of challenging gender bias can be summarized as follows:

> And perhaps the most important implication is that we cannot abandon social and political responsibility for how our work is understood and used, especially given what we know about sexism and racism and elitism and heterosexism in so many of the communities where our research might be disseminated.
>
> (Eckert and McConnel-Ginet 1992a: 3)

A number of sources used for this thesis were conducted and written over twenty years ago, but it is apparent that the issues raised in past studies are still relevant today. As has been proposed by Finnish scholars Heikkilä and Holm, the question of gender needs to become more prominent in teacher training programmes and at every school level.

Svensk sammanfattning

Könsdiskriminering I EFS: En analys av engelska textböcker, *ProFiles* och *New ProFiles*, som används av finlandssvenska gymnasieelever

Introduktion

Tidigare analyser av genus och språk i textböcker som används i undervisningen för engelska som främmande språk har visat att könsdiskriminering riktas mot kvinnliga karaktärer medan manliga karaktärer beskrivs mera positivt. Könsdiskrimineringen hittas i beskrivningarna av karaktärerna (Sunderland 2000). Den första delen av den empiriska undersökningen av denna avhandling består av en innehållsanalys av textböcker från serierna *ProFiles* och *New ProFiles*, som används i finlandssvenska gymnasium. Innehållsanalysen genomfördes för att hitta förekomster av ord och fraser som kan vara könsdiskriminerande. Varje förekomst som hittades analyserades individuellt för att först faställa ifall ordet eller frasen har en feminin eller maskulin konnotation och därefter för att fastställa ifall ordet eller frasen har en positiv eller negativ konnotation. Om det finns en negativ konnotation kan det påstås finnas en förekomst av könsdiskriminering i texten. Den andra delen av den empiriska undersökningen var en gruppintervju med finlandssvenska gymnasieelever som har använt de analyserade textböckerna. I intervjun fick deltagarna diskutera sina tankar och åsikter om könsdiskriminering i språk.

Den teoretiska grunden för denna avhandling utgörs av flera olika teoretiska perspektiv, som socialkonstruktivism vars idéer baseras på Piagets utvecklingsteori. Socialkonstruktivism förklarar hur individer lär sig ny information, hur individer behåller informationen, samt hur informationen konstrueras och omkonstrueras (Powell och Kalina 2009). Den processen är relaterad till hur individer förstår och uppfattar deras upplevda erfarenheter, vilket kan leda till diskriminering. Ett perspektiv inom psykologin hittas i Biglers studie av hur könsstereotypier och könskategorisering uppstår (Bigler 1996). Teorier om relationen mellan kön och språk hittas verk skrivna av Sunderland, Eckert och McConnell-Ginet. Sunderland har skapat en analytisk ram för förekomsten av kön i textböcker (Sunderland 2009) och Eckert med McConnall-Ginet diskuterar hur länken mellan språk och kön kan hittas i praxisgemenskaper (Eckert och McConnell-Ginet 1992a, 1992b, 1999).

I denna avhandling är en av målen att undersöka ifall könsdiskriminering kan hittas i texterna som finns i de textböcker som används i undervisningen i engelska i finlandssvenska gymnasier. Ett annat mål är att undersöka relationen mellan språk och kön.

Teoretisk bakgrund: **generaliserande påståenden om kön**

Enligt Eckert och McConnell-Ginet finns det praxisgemenskaper där könsrelationer baseras på antaganden om att det finns skillnader mellan det kvinnliga könet och det manliga könet. Generaliserande påståenden om kön bör behandlas försiktigt; annars kan det leda till att de som inte passar in i kategorierna som beskrivs av de generaliserande påståendena blir utnämnda som avvikande faktorer i en normativ könsmodell. Exempel på generaliserande påståenden är: "kvinnor betonar samband i deras språk medan män strävar efter status och makt" (Eckert och McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 470). Eckert och McConell-Ginet motsätter sig en dikotomi som antyder att det finns en bestämd länk mellan könsidentitet och biologiskt kön:

> There is no guarantee that "women" (or "men") in a particular community will in fact constitute themselves as a coherent social group with distinctive common interests. Even practices closely tied to reproductive biology (e.g. those revolving around menstruation and the "disease" of PMS) are connected in complex ways to other social practices [...] thus making it problematic to speak of "women's" position or interest without reference to other factors.
>
> (Eckert och McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 463)

Konceptet av en normativ könsmodell är i sig problematiskt och ohållbart eftersom eftersom det finns en variation av beteendemönster inom kategorierna "kvinnor" och "män". Istället för att försöka hitta medfödda eller bestämda skillnader mellan könskategorier är det enligt Ecker och McConnell-Ginet viktigare att undersöka relationen mellan språk samt kön och andra komponenter av individers sociala identitet (1992b: 471).

Ett exempel på varför det kan vara nödvändigt att undersöka andra komponenter av individers sociala identitet hittas i studier som har gjorts om hur kvinnor talar: beskrivningen av kvinnor som undergivna och indirekta talare som enbart fokuserar sig på samband baseras främst på undersökningar av den vita, amerikanska medelklassen. Det finns även undersökningar av samspelet mellan etnicitet och

preferensen för rättframhet som visar att afro-amerikanska kvinnor inte håller med om påståendet att rättframhet motsäger universella normer om kvinnlighet (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 471). I en studie genomförd i Madagaskar visar resultaten att en stor del av kvinnorna visa rättframhet medan en stor del av männen är indirekta, vilket motsäger det generaliserande påståendet att kvinnor är indirekta (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 471). Dessutom:

> Once we raise the question of just who might "see" women's language as deficient, a question that Lakoff ignores by using agentless passives and faceless abstractions like "the culture," it becomes apparent that in few communities will evaluations of women's (or of men's) speech be completely uniform. Not only may people recognize diversity among women and among men in their ways of speaking; one person may celebrate the very same gendered stereotype another deprecates.
>
> (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 471-472)

Att enbart fokusera på det biologiska könet och att söka efter bestämda olikheter leder till att helheten av genusfrågor och sociala identiteter ignoreras. Det kan vara mera lärorikt att undersöka hur genus konstrueras i olika sociala situationer och hur genus interagerar med andra identietskomponenter (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992b: 472).

Könsdiskriminering i språkundervisning

Könsdiskriminering har hittats i innehållsanalyser av EFS-textböcker som har varit i bruk i Tyskland och Italien. Innehållsanalyserna gjordes på 1970-talet och 1980-talet. Könsdiskrimineringen riktades mot kvinnor och förekomsten av diskrimineringen delades in i tre kategorier:

- *exklusion*: manliga karaktärer var överrepresenterade (Hellinger 1980, citerad av Sunderland 2000: 151)
- *undergivenhet och distorsion:* manliga karaktärer hade oftare maktpositioner och större variation på yrken jämfört med kvinnliga karaktärer (Porecca 1984, citerad av Sunderland 2000: 151); både manliga och kvinnliga karaktärer genomförde könsstereotypiska aktiviteter (Cincotta 1978, citerad av Sunderland 2000: 151)

- *nedbrytning*: kvinnliga karaktärer var vanligtvis stereotypiskt känslomässiga och var oftare föremål för åtlöje (Hartman och Judd 1978, citerad av Sunderland 2000: 151) och underförstådda skällsord, jämfört med manliga karaktärer (Talansky 1986, citerad av Sunderland 2000: 151)

Enligt Sunderland är det nödvändigt att fokusera på hur lärare behandlar undervisningsmaterialet eftersom textböcker utan könsdiskriminering inte garanterar undervisning som inte är könsdiskriminerande.

Metoder och material

Textböckerna som analyserades var *New ProFiles 1-3* och *ProFiles 4-7.* I innehållsanalysen undersöktes texter och uppgifter för att hitta ord och fraser som kan påstås ha en maskulin eller feminin konnotation. Orden och fraserna undersöktes vidare för att faställa ifall ett ord eller en fras får en positiv eller negativ konnotation beroende på den könsbaserade konnotationen. En till aspekt av analysen var att texter och uppgifter undersöktes för att ta reda på i vilken utsträckning könsrelaterade ämnen som behandlas explicit i böckerna stämmer eller inte stämmer överens med förekomsten av könsdiskrimineringen som förekommer implicit.

Urvalskriterierna:
- Beskrivningar av utseende som historiskt sett har förknippats med ett specifikt kön
- Beskrivningar av personlighetsdrag som historiskt sett har förknippats med ett specifikt kön
- Beskrivningar som baserar sig på könsroller och normer som förknippar specifika drag och beteenden med ett specifikt kön
- Könsspecifika fraser och idiom

Resultat och diskussion

Resultaten visar att implicit könsdiskriminering förekommer i sammanlagt 15 sammanhang i de analyserade textböckerna. Explicita könsrelaterare ämnen förekommer i sammanlagt 9 sammanhang. De positiva budskapen som framförs i de explicita könsrelaterade ämnena stämmer inte helt överens med de implicita budskapen som förstärker könsdiskriminering.

I gruppintervjun med gymnasieeleverna sade en av deltagarna som respons på förekomsten av en könsdiskriminerande fras i en av textböckerna: "What kind of difference does it make if she walks… and acts like a man?" och "I don't get it". Gymnasieeleverna var negativt inställda till de ord och fraser som kan påstås vara könsdiskriminerande. Det är viktigt att komma ihåg att det är unga individer som kommer i kontakt med innehållet i textböckerna; det är viktigt att tänka på vilka budskap pedagoger och lärare vill framföra för de unga individerna. Det är läraren som har ansvaret att undervisningsmaterialet behandlas kritiskt och att ställa frågor som inte finns i textböckerna.

Avslutning

En av målen med avhandlingen var att undersöka ifall det förekommer könsdiskriminerande ord och fraser i EFS-textböckerna som används i finlandssvenska gymnasier. Innehållsanalysen och gruppintervjun som genomfördes visar att förekomsten av könsdiskriminering kan hittas i textböckernas texter och uppgifter. En liknande undersökning borde genomföras för att få ett mera detaljerat och omfattande resultat. I denna avhandling analyseras en gruppintervju som enbart inkluderade frivilliga elever av det kvinnliga könet. För att få en bättre variation av elevperspektiv borde det t.ex. ordnas intervjuer med enbart manliga elever, med en blandad grupp och en grupp med icke-binära elever. De ämnen som behandlas i denna avhandling kan hjälpa nuvarande lärare, framtida lärare och andra pedagoger att förstå varför det är viktigt att identifiera och kritiskt bemöta könsdiskriminerande påståenden som oftast baserar sig på föråldrade stereotyper som har sexistiska grunder. Påståendena är socialt konstruerade och är inte faktabaserade. Lärare och pedagoger kan hjälpa elever att kritiskt bemöta och utmana generaliserande påståenden istället för att acceptera och internalisera dem

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Appendix I

Interview recordings

Recording 1	Item 1: *young blonde* Item 2: *decoy*	[02.17 minutes]
Recording 2	Item 3: *who really wears the trousers in their relationship*	[01.49 minutes]
Recording 3	Item 5: *decoy*	[01.13 minutes]
Recording 4	Item 4: *she dressed, talked, and acted like a man*	[01.18 minutes]
Recording 5	Discussion: *masculine and feminine words*	[03.00 minutes]

Appendix II

Interview transcript
Recording 1 - item 1: *young blonde* - item 2: *decoy*

[00:02]
Interviewer: Alright, so, number one, uh, la–last spring her father had found a
                young blonde and moved away from home, giving his wife a
                nervous breakdown. Their family was shattered. So, first
                initial reactions and thoughts?

[00:14]
Interviewee 1: The first thing that I started to think about is that *young blonde*…
                maybe that's one, cuz I mean, I don't know if it's a stereotype but
                like, ooh a young blonde, beautiful woman– she could be
                whatever color, whatever– I mean, it's kinda– isn't it kind of
                typical? That it's always a *blonde*? It kinda infuriates me…

[00:36]
Interviewee 2: Mhm. And also that… it kinda like, mocks the wife in a way…
                um, that they had– probably had like, long marriage and that it's like,
                this really typical aah young blonde, like… I just kinda like… mm I
                dunno.

[00:49]
Interviewee 3: Yeah… The fact that it says young blonde girl, uh, because, uh,
                on the picture you for example can see that the father at least
                seems to be a bit older and that it's always this se–stereotype,
                like, that uuh, an old man finds a young woman…

[01:07]
Interviewer: Yep, thank you. Number two, beware of guys you meet who use
                their religion as a reason why you shouldn't be afraid to take up
                their offer of a lift home.

[01:19]
Interviewee 3: That's reaally stupid, uuh, there's like, assholes e–eeeverywhere
                and there's no– no connection to religion whatsoever, like, you
                can be a muslim, you can be a Jew, you can be a Christian you can
                be anything and still be an ass [unintelligible] really no connection
                that's like, uh, valuable one–

[01:40]

Interviewee 2: And honestly how many times have you met a guy… who are like *oh! I'm Christian! I will take you home!*

Interviewee 3: Yeah

Interviewee 2: Like honestly! Hehe

Interviewee 3: Oh God

Interviewee 2: –It's– that's– they– hahaha!

[01:49]

Interviewee 1: Do you immediately trust a Christian, like *oh! I trust you!*

Interviewee 2: Yeah, yeah no… Yeah, like nah, it's usually these days some other things–

Interviewee 1: *We can take a swing at the Church first– I have candy!*

All: **[**laughter, unintelligible talk**]**

[02:03]

Interviewee 2: Nah, like, they usually use some other words, like I have never in my 18 years– wow, haha I have never heard anyone use their religion as a way of describing them as good people.

Recording 2 - item 3: *who really wears the trousers in their relationship*

[00:00]

Interviewer: Number three– uh– there are some unwelcome guests at Joshua's party. Penny is in tears after Mark dumps her. Molly shows Dean who really wears the trousers in their relationship.

[00:13]

Interviewee 2: There's so many people in this, I'm confusion–

Interviewee 1: Is this a triangle drama or whatever?

All: **[**laughter**]**

Interviewee 1: I dunno… Well–

Interviewee 2: Like–nn, oh, I'm sorry–

[00:21]

Interviewee 2: Uh, the only thing I react on is the last sentence–

Interviewee 1: Mhm

Interviewee 3: Mm.

[00:25]

Interviewee 2: Everything else is kinda like, okay this is fine like Penny is in tears okay, good for her hahaha [unintelligible]for her, but still– hahaha– but like, that last thing with Molly shows Dean who really wears the trousers so it's kinda like, eeeh…

[00:38]

Interviewee 4: Well, there's the stereotype, like–

Interviewee 2: Mhm.

Interviewee 4: –the dude in a relationship wears, like, the, like it's– the manly–

Interviewee 2: Yeah

Interviewee 4: –takes all control, and, like, generally, just, like, has more of a, um, higher, role–

Interviewee 2: Rank, yeah

Interviewee 4: –in the relationship.

[00:57]

Interviewee 2: But I'm also a bit confusion, like, why is it Molly who shows their pants– no like hahaha

All: [laughter]

Interviewee 2: Hahaha– but likeyouknowwhatI'msaying– like, it would make more sense if it would be the other way so are they like, kinda like… tryna… go against…?

[01:09]

Interviewee 4: That's like, maybe like, uh, it's like, it's– it's supposed to be like the man who wears the trousers but then they have to like be like *this! is how it is* like, *wow!* it's like the other way around in this thing maybe, and, yeah…

[01:27]

Interviewee 2: So I feel like they kinda like, try to make it something good, like kinda try to go against that the man is like the man in the relationship, but at the same time… the trous– I don't know! It's… it's confusion–

[01:30]

Interviewee 1: – I mean, the meaning is good but like, they use old kind of stereotypes that only men wear trousers and only women wear skirts or something like that…

Recording 3 - item 5: *decoy*

[00:00]

Interviewer: Number five, for people who come from outside the Western cultural sphere, the Finnish way of life may pose challenges.

[00:08]

Interviewee 3:   Well I don't think it's necessarily a bad thing, it just like uh– it's, uhm-- *den påstår*, *att de kan fin* [*t*ranslation: "it claims, that there can be"]– there might *be* some challenges but there's like, nothing that indicates that they're– something really n–negative about it or, just that, like the differences between cultures *can* sometimes– have some, like, challenges and stuff.

[00:32]

Interviewee 4:   Like, the Finnish way of life is different, but the way they're saying it, is maybe a bit… weird… like, people who come from outside the Western cultural sphere? Is like… I don't know.

[00:50]

Interviewee 2:   Like that, like yeah, outside the Western cultural– uhm, kinda… gets like– they could just say from like outside Finland or something else– but at the same time I… like, it's not the worst one, of all haha of these in a way, like, it's kinda just states the fact that people who come from like, other cultures might have it difficult, but it kinda do– doesn't put down any other culture at the same time– like that's the way I kinda like understand it.

Recording 4 - item 4: *she dressed, talked, and acted like a man*

[00:00]

Interviewer: This one– she dressed, talked, and acted like a man– however, she was remembered as a saint.

[00:07]

Interviewee 1:   Uh…hahaha– I don't like the *however* in that part, like okay she dressed, talked and acts like a man– that's not wrong, like, you can do that, however she was remembered as a saint, otherwise what would she, I mean–

[00:19]

Interviewee 3: Yeah, that's like a.. unnecessary part of the sentence– you could just have– like, sh– she was remembered as a saint and you wouldn't even need the first part, because like wha– wha– what kind of difference does it make if she walks and… acts like a man?

[00:33]

Interviewee 1: Yeah– so– if she's a saint, but the only downside of her is that she acts like a man… that's the like… I–I don't get it

[00:41]

Interviewee 4: It could be like, she dressed like *this* instead of… she dressed like a man. Yeah.

Interviewee 1: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: Mm.

[00:50]

Interviewee 2: And also I feel like, when they say *however* she was remembered as a saint, um, it's probably not literal, but more like, she was this good girl kinda type and she was like really nice and stuff, *but–* she dressed- ah or kindalikeyouknowkindalike– puts men down, too, at the same time so– she– acts like a man, how*ever* she was still a saint, so like–

Interviewee 1: – so men can't be saints?

Interviewee 2: – Yeah exactly, that's kinda the question I think about– like thats– I dunno.

Recording 5 - discussion: *masculine and feminine words*

[00:00]

Interviewer: Alright, uh– it was good that you touched upon that thing with uh, it being bad for uh... men as well, cuz it's like oh, she's a woman but bla bla bla and so on, uh– mmm, do you think some descriptors, you know, like words, for example if someone is acting like a man, if a person is *tough* then, uh do you think some words are associated more with being feminine and some words are associated with being more, uh, masculine– do you have any thoughts on that?

[00:30]

Interviewee 2: Like, in general? Or ju– from–

Interviewer: Just in general, you can base it on this if you want but just in general, have you ever thought about that before?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, yeah– like–

[00:37]

Interviewee 1: I mean, usual– I don't– I can't come up with examples but if you describe something as masculine then you use words that a-at least I think of like, a *man,* but I can't come up with any examples now…

[00:48]

Interviewee 3: Yeah, same, like if you're speaking about like, a– for example like in poetry or something you're like *she's beautiful like a flower–*

Interviewee 1: – Oh, yeah–

Interviewee 3: – she's uh– yeah, like those kinda soft words and if there's something about a man it's sort of like *he was uh like–*

Interviewee 2: – tough as a lion–

Interviewee 3: – *very tough* and uh, like…

Interviewee 1: Macho

Interviewee 2: Haha!

Interviewee 3: Yeah

[01:12]

Interviewee 2: So kinda like when you say you c– you can say like, he was tough as a lion, but you can't really say she was tough as a lion, because it– or may- well maybe but still, it's kinda like, okay, lion iskinda like a masculine word, you can't really relate that to … a woman

[01:28]

Interviewer: Uh, would you say then– or have you ever thought about these masculine words then that you brought up, was it tough and then something else, uh, are they usually positive or negative? Does it depend on the context? Same thing with the– feminine words, let's say *beautiful*, *caring,* and so on, are they usually positive or, you know, negative?

[01:46]

Interviewee 2: I feel like–

Interviewee 1: It depends on…

Interviewee 2: – Yeah, um… Feminine words are usually like really positive in a way and like beautiful and describing, but they can also be used as, like a weakness? Kinda like, they're kinda like, seen, like, looked down on– meanwhile men are like– more negative words or they're these really hard words, like– not hard words but like, you know, they kinda describe something really tough and stuff.

[02:11]

Interviewee 1: And, um, something– I don't know how it is today, but at least before if you describe a woman with something masculine it was kind of, like, negative and if a man is feminine it's like, *what– what are you?* Are you a man, like… Men have, like, they have to be masculine. It's just like, a thought.

[02:27]

Interviewee 2: Kinda like, yeah– yeah, like, just one comment about that, like weakness thing. Kinda like, um, saying *she runs like a girl* or like you ru– kinda like telling a guy *you run like a girl–*

Interviewee 1: – Yeah, that's like– an insult–

Interviewee 2: – Yeah, has always been used, yeah– **[unintelligible]** Haha

Interviewee 1: Girls can run pretty fast, too!

All: (Laughter)

End of interview.