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Filozofska fakulteta

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Representation of Gender through Visual Imagery in Primary School English Textbooks from Slovene and English Publishers

Master's Thesis

Maribor, March 2022



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Prikaz spolov skozi vizualne podobe v
osnovnošolskih učbenikih slovenskih in tujih
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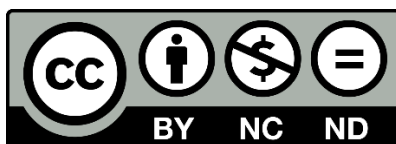
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Prikaz spolov skozi vizualne podobe v osnovnošolskih učbenikih slovenskih in tujih založnikov

Ključne besede: učbeniki, spol, stereotipi, seksizem, ilustracije

UDK:

Povzetek

Kljub vse večjemu porastu interaktivnih spletnih gradiv veliko učiteljev za svoje delo še vedno uporablja gradiva v fizični obliki, najpogosteje učbenike. Ti so dobro strukturirani, premišljeno organizirani in običajno sledijo učnemu načrtu, zato jih lahko uporabimo brez posebnih dodatnih priprav. Kljub ogromno prednostim pa imajo učbeniki tudi določene slabosti. Učbeniki so med drugim posreden in tudi neposreden odraz družbe, njenih pogledov in vrednot, vključno s pogledom na spol, ki mu bomo v nalogi namenili posebno pozornost. Mnogi avtorji so izpostavili pomen šole in materialov, ki se tam uporabljajo, za razvoj otrok, njihovo dojetje samih sebe, oblikovanje spolne identitete in to, kako razumejo spolne vloge in v skladu s tem oblikujejo svoje vedenje in odzive.

V magistrski nalogi smo pozornost posvetili temu, kako izbrani osnovnošolski učbeniki slovenskih in tujih založnikov skozi vizualne podobe prikazujejo spol. Posebej smo se osredotočili na morebitne spolne stereotipe in oblike seksizma, ki so razvidne iz vizualnih prikazov ženskih in/ali moških likov. Raziskovanje smo razdelili na dva dela – teoretičnega in empiričnega.

V teoretičnem delu smo najprej opredelili, kaj učbenik je in kakšna je njegova vloga v učnem procesu. Kayapinar (69) trdi, da so učbeniki tako popularni prav zaradi dobro strukturiranega gradiva, ki je pripravljeno v skladu z učnim načrtom in mu učitelji in učenci brez težav sledijo. Van Brummelen (135) izpostavi tudi dejstvo, da imajo učbeniki pomembno vlogo pri prenašanju družbenih in gospodarskih konceptov, pa tudi vrednot in norm določene družbe. Pričakovali bi lahko, da se v šoli in posledično v učbenikih odraža družba, h kakršni stremimo, in del katere je tudi prizadevanje za odpravo neenakosti med spoloma.

Teoretični del naloge smo nadaljevali z natančno opredelitvijo pojmov biološki spol (sex) in družbeno določeni spol (gender) ter opisom teoretičnih pristopov, ki definirajo razlike med spoloma in pojasnjujejo njihov izvor. Ta je, kot navajata Meyers-Levy in Loken (131-133), lahko posledica različnih fizičnih lastnosti moških in žensk, izzivov okolja ali hormonov, ki doprinesejo k drugačnemu razvoju možganov.

Izpostavili smo tudi spolno tipiziranje, ki se odraža tako, da se otrok začne vesti v skladu z družbeno sprejetim modelom, primernim njegovemu ali njenemu biološkemu spolu. Lipsitz Bem (598) navaja, da se to lahko zgodi že v zgodnji mladosti, saj otroci do petega leta že kažejo večje zanimanje za aktivnosti, ki so družbeno definirane kot primernejše za njihov biološki spol. Raje se družijo z vrstniki istega spola in že razvijajo tipično ženske ali moške značilnosti. Nekateri teorije trdijo, da je spolno tipiziranje samodejen proces, druge temeljijo na tem, da je naučeno, spet tretje pa združijo značilnosti ostalih. Ena izmed pomembnejših in bolj znanih teorij je teorija spolnih shem, po kateri na otroke močno vpliva okolje, ki narekuje, katere spolne vloge so zanje ustrezne.

Ko se otrok zave svojega biološkega spola, v skladu z njim sprejme družbeno določene spolne vloge, nato pa temu prilagodi še svoje vedenje. Lipsitz Bem (605) navaja, da se proces sprejemanja spolnih vlog imenuje spolno tipiziranje – v njem otroci spoznajo, katere lastnosti pripisati posameznemu spolu, pa tudi, katere lastnosti na podlagi spola pripisati sebi. Pri tem ne izbirajo med vsemi lastnostmi, ampak le med tistimi, ki so združljive z njihovim biološkim spolom oziroma so zanj primerne. Tako se že oblikujejo določene omejitve, saj te lastnosti narekuje družba in tako niso svobodna odločitev posameznika. Pomembno je, da otrokom dopustimo, da si sami ustvarijo predstavo o tem, kaj definira moškega in kaj žensko.

Podpoglavje teoretičnega dela naloge smo namenili tudi nebinarni spolni identiteti. West in Zimmerman (318-319) spol označita kot to, kar delamo, in ne kot nekaj, kar imamo. Naštejeta tudi različne vrste spolov, ki jih ne moremo razvrstiti v binarno delitev ženska-moški. Mangin (17) trdi, da lahko spol izkušamo na različne načine, ki ne ustrezajo vedno binarnim kategorijam.

Nadaljevali smo s spolnimi vlogami. Blackstone (337) te definira in loči tradicionalne spolne vloge – te podpirajo tradicionalno delitev opravil in ženske dojemajo kot odgovorne za gospodinjstvo in otroke, moški pa so po tej delitvi odgovorni za finančno vzdrževanje in imajo hkrati tudi vlogo glave družine; in enakopravnejše spolne vloge, ki spodbujajo enakost in doprinos obeh spolov k služenju denarja in domačim opravilom. Slednja delitev daje posamezniku več svobode in pravice, da se odloča in deluje v skladu z lastnimi interesi. Blackstone (337) pove, da spolne vloge včasih temeljijo na seksizmu in stereotipih.

Narahara (3) opozori na dejstvo, da lahko seksizem in stereotipi vplivajo na razvoj otrokove spolne identitete, omejuje njegov potencial in vplivajo na njegovo vedenje. Izpostavi tudi to, da imajo jezik in vizualne podobe močan vpliv na otrokovo oblikovanje predstave o spolnih vlogah. Narahara (7) pove tudi, da so za vpliv naštetega še posebej dovzetni otroci, ki še nimajo popolnoma razvite identitete, prav tako pa nimajo dovolj izkušenj, da bi presodili o ustreznosti podob, s katerimi so v stiku. Sovič in Hus (37) navajata, da so spolne stereotipe v otroški literaturi zaznali že v 60. in 70. letih prejšnjega stoletja, nas pa zanima, če so ti v učbenikih prisotni še danes, in v kolikšni meri.

Nekaj pozornosti smo namenili tudi ilustracijam samim. Sovič in Hus (5) poudarita, da začnejo otroci informacije najprej obdelovati z vidom, zato ilustracije mnogo doprinesejo njihovem razvoju. Še posebej pomembne so, ker otrokom sporočajo vsebino, še preden znajo brati. Tako so ilustracije eden prvih kanalov, skozi katere otroci dobijo informacije o svetu.

V empiričnem delu naloge smo primerjali štiri učbenike britanskega založnika (*Messages 1, 2, 3 in 4*) s štirimi učbeniki slovenskih založb (*Touchstone 6, 7, 8 in 9*). Skušali smo uporabiti učbenike, ki prikazujejo kar najbolj realno in aktualno sliko, zato smo izbrali najnovejše izdaje učbenikov, ki so bile dostopne. Uporabljeni učbeniki *Messages* so izšli med letoma 2015 in 2017, učbeniki *Touchstone* pa med letoma 2005 in 2015. Analizirani učbeniki se uporabljajo

pri pouku angleščine med šestim in devetim razredom. Pozorni smo bili na ilustracije, še posebej na to, kako so upodobljeni predstavniki obeh spolov.

Analizo smo opravili na podlagi deset kriterijev, in sicer so to: število ženskih in moških likov, stereotipne upodobitve ženskih likov, stereotipne upodobitve moških likov, ženski poklici, moški poklici, aktivnosti, gospodinjska opravila in skrb za otroke, čustva pri ženskah, čustva pri moških in druge stereotipne upodobitve. Pri vsakem učbeniku smo najprej navedli opisno analizo, za lažjo primerjavo pa smo ustvarili tudi točkovni sistem vrednotenja. Za vsako od desetih kategorij, v kateri se je učbenik izkazal za primernega, je lahko osvojil po eno točko. Učbenike britanskih in slovenskih založb smo nato primerjali glede na določene kriterije.

Empirična raziskava temelji na štirih raziskovalnih hipotezah:

- v učbenikih britanskih in slovenskih založb moški liki po številu prevladujejo nad ženskimi;
- ženski in moški liki so v učbenikih britanskih in slovenskih založnikov predstavljeni stereotipno;
- učbeniki britanskega založnika vsebujejo manj stereotipnih upodobitev kot tisti, ki so jih izdale slovenske založbe; in
- slovenski in britanski založniki se trudijo vključevati manj stereotipnih upodobitev in skušajo spola prikazati bolj enakopravno. Kljub temu pa skriti stereotipi ostajajo prisotni v vseh obravnavanih učbenikih.

Ugotovili smo, da je v prav vseh analiziranih učbenikih upodobljenih več moških kot žensk in prvo hipotezo lahko tako potrdimo. Učbeniki britanskega založnika so s tega vidika sicer primernejši, saj so razlike med številom žensk in moških tam manjše.

Ženskih likov je v obravnavanih učbenikih manj, oba spola imata stereotipne fizične značilnosti, ženske sodelujejo v manj aktivnostih, ki so tudi manj zahtevne in vznemirljive, gospodinjska opravila in skrb za otroke so v večini razdeljeni zelo tradicionalno, prav tako so marsikdaj stereotipno prikazana čustva. Na podlagi tega lahko potrdimo tudi drugo hipotezo, saj so stereotipi vsaj na enem področju prisotni prav v vsakem izmed obravnavanih učbenikov.

Čeprav so v učbenikih britanskega založnika stereotipne upodobitve prisotne, je teh manj kot v učbenikih slovenskih založnikov. V prav vseh učbenikih, ne glede na založbo, najdemo ženske s poudarjenimi trepalnicami, našobljenimi ustnicami, dolgimi lasmi in roza oblekami, ampak v učbenikih slovenskih založnikov je teh upodobitev bistveno več. Ti učbeniki ženstvenost likov poudarjajo tudi z izrazitimi prsmi, širokimi boki in ozkimi pasovi. Stereotipnih upodobitev moških je v vseh učbenikih manj, pa vendar jih več srečamo v učbenikih slovenskih založnikov. Iz tega sledi, da lahko potrdimo tudi tretjo hipotezo.

Našo zadnjo hipotezo pa potrjuje dejstvo, da se ženske, čeprav so upodobljene v manj poklicih, pojavljajo na pomembnih, spoštovanih in tipično moških položajih. Prav tako na položajih, ki so značilnejši za ženske predstavnice, najdemo moške. V veliko učbenikih srečamo tudi moške, ki sodelujejo pri hišnih opravilih in se ukvarjajo z otroki. Učbeniki upodabljajo veliko čustvenih moških, kar spodbuja k mišljenju, da je izražanje čustev primerno in sprejemljivo za oba spola. Čeprav nas od učbenikov brez stereotipov in seksizma loči še veliko truda, dela in ozaveščanja, pa lahko na podlagi analize potrdimo, da se premikamo v pravo smer.

Representation of Gender through Visual Imagery in Primary School English Textbooks from Slovene and English Publishers

Key words: textbooks, sex, gender, stereotypes, sexism, illustrations

UDC:

Abstract

Textbooks are the foundation for teaching. Even though the use of interactive online materials is increasing, most teachers base their lessons on printed materials, most frequently textbooks, since these offer well-structured, organized and ready-made materials. However, textbooks also include cultural beliefs and values that impact children's perception of the world and themselves. This thesis focuses on how textbooks present gender through visual imagery and what message they deliver to developing young individuals that rely on school and textbooks to provide models they can follow. The research is based on a comparison of 8 textbooks – Slovene publisher's textbooks and those published by English publishing houses – concerning their use of stereotypical and sexist illustrations. We provide a theoretical background to the problem and highlight the importance of school and textbooks for forming gender identity. The empirical part of the thesis offers a descriptive analysis supported by feature coding and shows whether the attempts to eliminate gender differences in the classroom have been successful.

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Naslov zaključnega dela: **Representation of Gender through Visual Imagery in Primary School English Textbooks from Slovene and English Publishers**

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Table of contents

1 Introduction.....	1
2 Theoretical section	3
2. 1 Textbooks.....	3
2. 1. 1 What is a textbook?	3
2. 1. 2 The role of textbooks	4
2. 1. 3 The role of textbooks in the learning process	5
2. 2 Sex and gender	6
2. 2. 1 Sex	6
2. 2. 2 Gender.....	7
2. 3 Gender theories	8
2. 4 Sex typing.....	10
2. 4. 1 Theories.....	10
2. 4. 2 Gender schema theory	11
2. 5 Sex typing.....	12
2. 6 Gender identity.....	12
2. 6. 1 (Non)binary gender identity.....	14
2. 7 Gender roles	15
2. 8 Gender stereotypes	16
2. 8. 1 History of gender stereotypes	17
2. 9 Sexism	17
2. 9. 1 Sexism in textbooks	17
2. 10 Illustrations in textbooks	19
2. 10. 1 Children's visual perception	19

3 Empirical part	20
3. 1 Goals and purpose	20
3. 2 Research hypotheses	20
3. 3 Research methods	20
3.4 Textbook analysis.....	21
3. 4. 1 Sample.....	21
3. 4. 2 Analysis.....	21
3. 4. 3 Scoring system	22
3. 5 Textbooks from a British publisher.....	25
3. 5. 1 Messages 1	25
3. 5. 2 Messages 2	31
3. 5. 3 Messages 3	35
3. 5. 4 Messages 4	40
3. 6 Textbooks from Slovene publishers	45
3. 6. 1 Touchstone 6.....	45
3. 6. 2 Touchstone 7.....	51
3. 6. 3 Touchstone 8.....	58
3. 6. 4 Touchstone 9.....	64
3. 1 Comparison.....	71
3. 1. 1 The total number of male and female characters	71
3. 1. 2 Stereotypical depictions of female and male characters	71
3. 1. 3 Female and male occupational roles	73
3. 1. 4 Activities	74
3. 1. 5 Housework and child care	74
3. 1. 6 Emotions	75
3. 1. 7 Other stereotypical depictions.....	76

3. 1. 8 Comparison of scoring system results	77
4 Conclusion	78
5 Works cited.....	80

List of tables

- Table 1: Messages 1, female and male occupations..... 27
- Table 2: Messages 1, female and male activities 28
- Table 3: Messages 1, gender and housework, child care 29
- Table 4: Messages 2, female and male occupations..... 32
- Table 5: Messages 2, female and male activities 33
- Table 6: Messages 2, gender and housework, child care 34
- Table 7: Messages 3, female and male occupations..... 36
- Table 8: Messages 3, female and male activities 37
- Table 9: Messages 3, gender and housework, child care 38
- Table 10: Messages 4, female and male occupations..... 42
- Table 11: Messages 4, female and male activities 43
- Table 12: Messages 4, gender and housework, child care 44
- Table 13: Touchstone 6, female and male occupations..... 47
- Table 14: Touchstone 6, female and male activities..... 48
- Table 15: Touchstone 6, gender and housework, child care 49
- Table 16: Touchstone 7, female and male occupations..... 53
- Table 17: Touchstone 7, female and male activities..... 54
- Table 18: Touchstone 7, gender and housework, child care 56
- Table 19: Touchstone 8, female and male occupations..... 59
- Table 20: Touchstone 8, female and male activities..... 60
- Table 21: Touchstone 8, gender and housework, child care 62
- Table 22: Touchstone 9, female and male occupations..... 66
- Table 23: Touchstone 9, female and male activities..... 67
- Table 24: Touchstone 9, gender and housework, child care 69
- Table 25: Comparison of scoring system results..... 77

List of figures

Figure 1: Illustration with unequally depicted genders (Goodey 2016, 45) 26

Figure 2: Illustration depicting adjectives describing physical appearance (Goodey 2016, 130) 30

Figure 3: Illustration depicting different emotional reactions to the same situation (Goodey 2015, 39)..... 39

Figure 4: Illustration depicting an unsuccessful female politician (Goodey 2015, 105) 42

Figure 5: Illustration depicting stereotypical father figure (Skela 2011, 78) 50

Figure 6: Sexist illustrations (Skela 2014, 67, 27)..... 57

Figure 7: Illustration depicting stereotype as a source of humor (Skela 2007, 109) 63

Figure 8: Illustration of a woman with big mouth (Skela 2007, 43)..... 64

Figure 9: Illustration depicting difficulties of parenting (Skela 2015, 149)..... 69

1 Introduction

Textbooks implicitly and explicitly reflect societal attitudes, including the image of gender. Many authors emphasize the importance of school and the materials used in the classroom for children's development, self-perception, the formation of gender identity and developing self-worth, all of which are often closely tied to the issue of gender, especially if the child does not perfectly fit into the binary gender construct.

According to Victoria Purcell-Gates (124), schools make a significant contribution to the formation of gender identity, and Harro Van Brummelen (135) establishes that textbooks are of significant importance for conveying social and economic conceptions, values and norms, while nevertheless, influencing children's view of society. Allen J. Williams (155) explains that the fact school and the materials used there have such a strong impact on these processes is based on children's lack of personal experience. Therefore, they seek models for creating perceptions and ideologies – and textbooks do serve as models. They should be reliable, free of gender bias, sexism and stereotypes, and they should provide a safe space for the children to develop identity, including gender identity.

Textbooks may impact children on various levels, but in this thesis, we will focus on the representation of gender through visual imagery, and highlight sexism and stereotypes, because it is inarguable that developing individuals are strongly affected by the social construct of gender. May M. Narahara (3) establishes that sexism and stereotypes affect children's development, attitudes, behavior and limit their potential.

The main purpose of the thesis is to highlight these issues, because being aware of stereotypes is the first step toward developing less stereotypical attitudes. We seek to prove that, even though Van Brummelen (136) claims textbooks have eliminated overt sexism, they still contain many explicit and implicit stereotypical and sexist issues and should be improved to be more appropriate for young learners.

We seek to spotlight the worrying fact that in the 21st century, long after society realized gender equality is vital for the general realization of human rights, and long after equal rights, obligations and opportunities should be unquestionable, some commonly used textbooks still

present females as bad drivers and fathers as incompetent and absent figures; they depict abuse as a source of humor and imply females are the weaker and less competent sex. In some textbooks, equal job opportunities, males doing chores and participating in child care seem like utopian ideas, and we should not ignore this fact. As teachers, (future) parents and individuals striving for a brighter future, we should be aware of the issue, because only then can we prevent it from impacting children's identity and make a step towards gender equality.

2 Theoretical section

2.1 Textbooks

2.1.1 What is a textbook?

Some theoreticians define textbooks as teaching accessories, while others see them as teaching aids used by students as they work by themselves. However, experts agree that textbooks are both learning assets for teachers and sources of knowledge for students. They are textual learning mediums that improve classroom and individual learning (Miha Kovač et al. 19-20).

According to Kovač et al., a textbook forms part of a student's individual learning activity, and the teacher can use it at every step of the learning process (20).

These authors claim that a textbook differs significantly from other textual media because it offers well-structured, simplified content that is a result of didactic transformation. If the content were not didactically modified, the students would have difficulty processing it, since they usually do not have enough prior knowledge (Kovač et al. 23). The authors also note the importance of finding the balance between including the whole corpus of scientific knowledge on the one hand and severely restricting information on the other. Both could lead to the textbook being non-functional (25).

Another aspect Kovač et al. emphasize is the textbook being written according to the syllabus and learning goals. To become part of the school curriculum, a textbook should be approved by the textbook approval and research council. The council evaluates it according to whether it follows the latest discoveries in the field of study, its didactic-methodological conception and developmental and psychological appropriateness. The last criterion is mandatory only for learning materials for the first educational cycle (26).

2. 1. 2 The role of textbooks

Textbooks have been a basis for teaching for a long time. They offer approved, standardized materials that have been reviewed by experts (Edward R. Fagan 28). Textbooks provide previously set aims and objectives according to the student's needs, even though they do not determine these aims (Alan Cunningsworth 7). Cunningsworth defines the role of a textbook as being "at the service of teachers and learners but not to be their master" (7).

As a major part of the learning process, textbooks often play a vital role in conveying a message about the social and economic conceptions, values and norms of a society. Therefore, they influence children and their view of society (Van Brummelen 135).

Teachers have the opportunity to choose among a variety of textbooks, and the process of selecting the most appropriate one that suits both teachers' and students' needs is often difficult. According to Klaus J. Bartel (326), a teacher cannot track all of the available materials, because he or she usually uses textbooks of one particular publisher and does not focus on the production of other materials. There is also a lack of sources evaluating and classifying language teaching materials, and existing reviews are often brief and not objective.

Neville Grant (8) divides teachers into three groups: teachers who do not use textbooks at all, those who strictly follow the textbook page by page, and those who perceive textbooks as useful and do not hesitate to use them, but also like to work independently. The author provides various reasons for and benefits of the textbook: it provides a resource of necessary, well-organized materials in the order they should be taught; it provides teachers with an indication of what methods to use; their use is less time-consuming than the preparation of your own materials; and it can be helpful for students, because it provides them with a revision of what has been done and what will follow.

2. 1. 3 The role of textbooks in the learning process

Even though we live in the era of digitalization, and the use of interactive online materials is increasing, teachers still mostly base their lessons on printed materials. Printed textbooks remain the most important and also most frequently used materials for language teaching and learning. Ulas Kayapinar (69) claims textbooks are gaining popularity because they provide a ready-made syllabus for teachers and students to use as a framework, because they provide well-structured materials that can be easily followed. Jack Richards and Theodore Rogers (24-25) suggest the role of textbooks is to cover the goals, specify the subject matter and define coverage for items listed in the syllabus. Textbooks are supposed to support teachers, students and the syllabus.

In her 1991 book, Penny Ur (184) lists the advantages of using textbooks:

- framework: textbook provides a framework for teachers and students. It enables them to know what exactly they are dealing with and what follows;
- syllabus: textbook often serves as a syllabus, because it provides systematic, well-planned content that will be followed;
- ready-made materials: textbooks provide selected materials that should be appropriate for most students and therefore save teachers' time, because they do not have to prepare their own materials;
- economy: using a book provides the cheapest materials for teachers and students;
- convenience: they are convenient because they gather all the components and can be easily carried around because of their light weight and appropriate size. Moreover, they do not depend on a supply of electricity;
- guidance: textbooks are a suitable support and guide for less experienced teachers or those unsure about their knowledge;
- autonomy: using textbooks provides students with autonomy, since they can use them for learning new materials, while reviewing and monitoring their progress without depending on the teacher.

Ur (185) continues by listing the disadvantages of using textbooks:

- inadequacy: one textbook is not likely to satisfy the individual needs of each learner;
- irrelevance: the topics addressed in the textbook may not address current events and issues and may not be relevant to or compelling for the students;
- limitation: using a textbook may limit teacher creativity;
- homogeneity: textbooks usually adhere to one teaching and learning approach. They do not address different types of learners and their individual learning strategies;
- excessive ease of use: it may be tempting for teachers to follow the textbook unconditionally and not be critical about the presented materials;
- Jack Richards and Willy Renandya (81) add another disadvantage, revealing that textbooks fail to present gender equally.

2. 2 Sex and gender

These two terms are often confused, even though they introduce different concepts. “Sex” is based on biological factors, especially primary sex characteristics, while “gender” is based on beliefs, characteristics and values ascribed to individuals based on their biological sex. Sex is a biological phenomenon, while gender, on the other hand, is how a society values masculinity and femininity, and is thus a social phenomenon, part of a social construction (Amy M. Blackstone 335).

2. 2. 1 Sex

In the *Cambridge Dictionary*, sex is defined as “the state of being either male or female”. Similarly, Oxford English Dictionary defines sex as “either of the two main categories (male and female) into which humans and many other living things are divided on the basis of their reproductive functions.”

Arthur S. Reber interprets sex as a term differentiating females and males based on their biological distinctions, for example hormones, reproductive functions, anatomical differences and specific organs (714).

The European Institute for Gender Equality defines sex as comprising the biological and psychological attributes that define one as a male or female. These characteristics are not exclusive and can be present in both sexes, but they tend to differentiate males from females (EIGE).

2. 2. 2 Gender

The *Cambridge Dictionary* defines gender as “the physical and/or social condition of being male or female.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, on the other hand, defines gender as “the state of being male or female as expressed by social or cultural distinctions and differences, rather than biological one”; and “the collective attributes or traits associated with a particular sex, or determined as a result of one's sex”.

Similarly, Reber defines gender as a term used for discussing differences between males and females, their identity and roles in society (307). *Gender* was first used as a grammatical term, but since it has a neutral connotation, it is now commonly used as a synonym for *sex* (714).

The European Institute for Gender Equality claims gender is a part of sociocultural context. It refers to the social characteristics and opportunities based on being male or female, which are a social construct and therefore learnt in the process of socialization. They can be changed, because they are associated with certain time and context. Gender defines the characteristics expected, allowed and valued for each gender, and in most societies, these are different and often unequal (EIGE).

2.3 Gender theories

Many theories claim biological factors impact the development of human gender. The biological theory is based on sexual reproduction of species and the two reproductive strategies: a parental investment that is connected with sexual and asexual reproduction contributes to the growth or survival of offspring and is usually enacted by females, and mating effort that is of importance for sexual reproduction and is often associated with males (Matthew H. McIntyre and Carolyn Pope Edwards 84). The authors continue (84) by explaining that in the majority of mammals, females engage in parental investment and males do mating effort, and this results in more notable gender differences. They suggest that women have become psychologically adapted for child care by developing empathy, while men strive for interpersonal dominance and have adapted for coalitional aggression by developing less empathic behavior.

Joan Meyers-Levy and Barbara Loken (131-133) describe three theoretical approaches explaining gender differences and their origins:

- socio-cultural theory: this theory is based on physical differences as a basis for adopting typically female and male roles and socio-cultural influence. The most important physical differences are female child-bearing ability and the ability to take care of children and male strength, size and speed that have supposedly led to the division of labor. Child-bearing and nursing resulted in an increase in women's ability to perform home-related activities like cooking and cleaning and a decrease in their abilities regarding activities outside their homes. Men's physical traits enabled them to obtain food, work outside the home and fight in battles and wars. This division of labor, based on the physical characteristics of genders, results in forming cultural beliefs and categorization of gender. These characteristics also guide the behavior of men and women, since society expects them to act a certain way and rewards or punishes their (non) conformity with these roles. People often internalize their assigned gender roles and identities, since society pressures them to do so. Men and women often regulate their behavior according to their gender roles. This theory also proposes that gender roles may change over time, and they are changing, particularly for women. Women are expected to focus on their careers and are often associated

with the quality of assertiveness. They are also taking part in male-dominated activities.

- evolutionary: this theory is connected to the environmental challenges once faced by our ancestors. Natural selection contributed to our ancestors dealing with problems by adapting their behavior and some other human mechanisms. Hunters and gatherers confronted problems mostly connected to finding mates, producing offspring and protecting them. Wanting access to more sex and a greater chance for reproduction, men adapted by becoming more aggressive and willing to take risks. These behaviors promote their physical skills as well as their social status. The latter is also the core of men's self-esteem. Having an important role in child care, women adapted by developing their emotion-recognition skills and by delaying gratification by putting the needs of others before their own.
- hormone and brain theory: this theory suggests that brain development in both genders differs because of differences in hormone exposure. Higher testosterone levels in men promote male-typical development while, while women's higher estrogen levels, on the other hand, do not feminize behavior. Some analyses connected testosterone levels with some gender-related characteristics. Meyers-Levy and Loken highlight men's better "cognitive abilities, such as mental rotations, spatial perception, math problem solving and math word problems" (133), and women's greater "verbal fluency, vocabulary, math calculations, and perceptual or processing speed" (133). However, it is not proven that these characteristics are directly linked to testosterone levels.

Meyers-Levy and Loken analyze some gender-specific areas (134-137). We will explain some that are relevant for our textbook analysis:

- ethics and morality: moral sensitivity is a construct based on how one is affected by the actions of others. Men are willing to lie for their own benefit even if others are negatively affected by their actions, while women are more likely to lie for personal gain when lies don't harm anyone. Women are also more charitable and focused on helping others, while men tend to respond to charitable appeals when they are focused on helping themselves and the people in their group. Females are more empathic and judge immoral behavior more than males;

- anxiety, worry, fear, sadness: females are more likely to express these emotions. Women tend to perceive certain situations as more stressful, and they are exposed to more stressors. This could be the consequence of parents punishing boys but rewarding girls when they express fear and sadness, and also the result of different information processing which is more detailed in women;
- parental styles: parents' attitudes may influence children's sex-typing. How parents perceive gender often influences their child's perception of sex-related work, themselves and others. Mothers tend to use more supporting and negative speech, while fathers influence children with the use of directive and informative speech.

2. 4 Sex typing

2. 4. 1 Theories

Children adopt feminine or masculine behaviors very early in their childhood. Sandra Lipsitz Bem (598) claims that by the age of five, children already prefer activities that are culturally defined as suitable for their sex; they prefer socializing with same-sex peers and develop feminine or masculine attitudes, behaviors and self-concepts. Psychology refers to this process as sex typing.

There are several theories dealing with the process of how a child starts to match a culturally defined template that is appropriate for his or her sex. Lipsitz Bem lists and describes 4 theories:

- psychoanalytic theory claims that a child identifies with the same-sex parent as he discovers genital sex differences. This is supposed to be crucial for their sex typing (598-599);
- social learning theory is based on rewarding and punishing children for their sex-appropriate and inappropriate behaviors, and on indirect learning from observation and modeling of sex-differentiated practices. Developing male and female behaviors is similar to learning other socialized behaviors. According to this theory, children are

believed to be passive recipients of social constructs and to become sex typed because sex is the basis for differentiation in their culture (599-600);

- cognitive-developmental theory, on the contrary, claims children are the ones to realize what gender they are and adopt appropriate behaviors. A child self-categorizes as male or female, and this is the motivation for choosing gender appropriate activities and attributes, and also motivates them to spend time with same-sex peers. Based on their gender, the child develops values and a self-concept without pressure from others. According to this theory, children perceive the social world based on sex (600-602);
- gender schema theory combines ideas of both cognitive-developmental and social learning theory. It claims children organize information about themselves and others based on cultural definitions of a male and a female; this is a part of their cognitive process. Therefore, sex-typing is learned and could be avoided (602-603.)

2. 4. 2 Gender schema theory

This theory is of great importance for our research, because it stresses children are strongly impacted by the social construct of gender, and we will try to establish the dominant beliefs impacting them through textbooks.

A child learns to define maleness and femaleness according to social and cultural definitions. They learn some specific information such as anatomy, reproduction, personality traits, and they evaluate and assimilate new associations to the developing gender schema. This schema then impacts a child's perception (Lipsitz Bem 603).

Sorting information into categories based on one specific dimension is known as schematic processing, and we will focus on doing this on the basis of gender. When one spontaneously sorts characteristics and behaviors as masculine, feminine or neutral, one is performing gender-schematic processing (Lipsitz Bem 603).

2. 5 Sex typing

When a child applies sex-defining characteristics to the existing schema, they also learn what attributes apply to themselves. However, they do not choose among all possible attributes, but only among those that they learned are applicable to their sex; this is how they become sex-typed. They see the schema as a prescription and often evaluate themselves according to how well their behavior, attitude and personality fit into the schema (Lipsitz Bem 605).

Lipsitz Bem (610-614) emphasizes that children could be less likely to be subjected to sex typing if society placed less emphasis on gender dichotomy and associated fewer things with gender. Gender aschematic children have their own values and beliefs rather than accepting socially dominant ones. Parents should reduce the impact of the social construct of gender before it undermines the ideology of their children. They should not ignore the social construct but let the children create their own before they learn that of society. Therefore, parents should provide different patterns, while censoring books and TV programmes that provide children with stereotypical beliefs about gender. Reproductive functions and anatomy should be the attributes defining gender, not social predispositions and constructs.

2. 6 Gender identity

Gender identity “is experienced with regard to one's individuality as a male or female. It is generally treated as the internal experience of the overt expression of gender role” (Reber 307). Feeney et al., similarly, define gender identity as one's self-identifying with their gender. Understanding one's own gender identity can begin at the age of two (85).

According to identity theory, a person is a set of identities expressed through social interaction (qtd. in Burke 161). Self-concept emerges through personal interactions and is defined by society. Society establishes rules and expectations based on an individual's role and position within this society. When one internalizes these social expectations and the meaning of the self, this becomes the basis of identity (Burke 161).

The Identity of one class exists in relation to the identities of other classes, because they have some things in common and differ in others, and this is what conveys the meaning of an identity. For example, being masculine means not being feminine (Burke 161).

After children are assigned their gender based on physical characteristics, they develop a gender identity that comes from their internal feeling about who they are and is based on biological characteristics, development and environment. Children develop their gender identity in three stages: around age two they are aware of how boys and girls differ physically; before they are three years old, they can tell whether they are boys or girls; and by age four, the sense of gender identity is stable in most children (Jason Rafferty). The author continues by stating that during this time, children learn gender appropriate behavior.

Stephanie Feeney et al. emphasize boys are often interested in glitter, glittery clothes and playing feminine roles. This is gender nonconforming behavior, and it often appears in early childhood. However, when boys show interest in things that are usually associated with girls, this triggers a lot of attention. Girls, on the other hand, are often encouraged to explore and participate in activities that are more typical of boys. This shows the society has a demeaning attitude towards feminine behavior and activities. However, we should not deny children opportunities for expressing themselves, and they should not be forced to accept adults' perception of gender identity and gender appropriate behavior, because this impacts their sense of self (88-89).

Children should be allowed to explore and decide on the gender with which they can better associate. Parents, educators and schools should provide a safe, reflexive space for them to develop interests and identities, including their gender identity. We should support various gender expressions in the classroom by not dividing children by gender, incorporating materials that avoid gender stereotypes, allowing children to perceive gender roles non-traditionally by assigning them non-typical roles and embracing a less restrictive perception of gender (Feeney 89-90).

2. 6. 1 (Non)binary gender identity

We have already defined the difference between sex and gender as sex being a biological concept, while gender is a social construct. Sex is usually binary and assigned at birth, based on one's genitalia. However, we should mention that some people do not fall into either of the two categories, meaning they identify neither as female nor male. Therefore, we should mention and explain non-binary gender identity, which is typically not mentioned in textbooks but is present and should not be ignored.

Traditionally, we have a gender-binary idea of gender, meaning we recognize two sexes and two genders – male and female. Gender can be tied to sex, but this is not always true. Intersexuality and other variations of biological characteristics may complicate the biological distinction between sexes, while many other factors can affect the traditional social construct of two genders. This is the reason for the development of non-binary gender theories that recognize multiple gender categories (Ghisleni et al. 771).

West and Zimmerman (qtd. in Darwin 318-319) define gender as something we do rather than something we have. They also propose challenging binary distinctions based on biological sex and redoing the gender to make it less restrictive. Darwin (319) also establishes that girls and boys who do not act as they are supposed to based on their gender often get punished.

Gender is, therefore, an internal identity. If their identity matches the sex they were assigned at birth, one identifies as cisgender. If not, they identify as transgender, which can be further divided into trans non-binary, cross-dressing, transmasculine or transfeminine people (Mangin 17). Agender people identify as individuals that do not have a gender. Gender fluid identity varies over time, and gender fluid individuals can identify as men or women (qtd. Ada S. in Cheung et al. 2673).

Mangin (17) further states that gender identity and sexual orientation are not connected. Transgender people or people that identify as gender-expansive may have any sexual orientation: they can be straight, gay, asexual, bisexual, pansexual etc. Mangin (18) highlights the importance of acknowledging that “gender can be experienced in many ways and does not always conform to the restrictive binary categories of masculine and feminine.”

2. 7 Gender roles

A gender role is “the overt expression of behaviors and attitudes that indicates to others the degree of one's affiliation to maleness or femaleness” (Reber 308).

This term also refers to the attributes expected from one with a specific status in a particular context. Thus gender roles are expected behaviors toward others, interests, attitudes and clothes (Myriam Halimi et al. 2).

Similarly, Amy Blackstone explains this as a societal phenomenon as it is based on values and beliefs certain society has about gender. This causes different expectations they have of people based solely on their sex (335).

Gender roles are the roles ascribed to individuals based on their biological sex (Blackstone 337). Division of gender roles can be traditional or egalitarian. The traditional view is based on the assumption that sexes have a natural affinity towards a particular behavior. It supports the traditional division of home labor in which women are more nurturing and are therefore supposed to take care of the household and children, and men are breadwinners and leaders, heads of the household. On the other hand, the egalitarian view believes that behaviors are not determined solely by sex. This view supports equality, both genders participating in paid labor and domestic chores, and the power of an individual's decision about what role they want to occupy and to which extent (Halimi 2). However, gender roles do not apply only to the family and the household. In the workplace, for example, women are more likely to be offered parental leave benefit; they are traditionally believed to be more focused on their relationships with others and expected to be secretaries, while men are presumably more task-oriented and ambitious; thus they are more likely to be managers and executives (Blackstone 337).

There are several perspectives on gender roles:

- ecological perspective: suggests gender roles are a consequence of the interaction between people, communities and environments,
- biological perspective: suggests that women have a natural liking for the feminine, and men for the masculine gender role,

– sociological perspective: emphasizes the link between gender roles and levels of power men and women hold in society (Blackstone 337).

Gender roles are sometimes based on gender stereotypes, oversimplified assumptions and understandings of genders and differences between them that often include exaggerations connected to their nature. Women are supposed to be overly emotional, even irrational, and men are believed not to be emotional (Blackstone 337).

2. 8 Gender stereotypes

The *Cambridge Dictionary* defines stereotype as “to have a set idea about what a particular type of person is like, especially an idea that is wrong”, and according to Gamble and Gamble, a stereotype is “a generalization about people, places, or events that is held by many members of society” (qtd. in Narahara 5).

Narahara (5) states that stereotypes define gender by prescribing gender-appropriate behavior, values and attributes. Children quickly learn their gender identity as they determine whether they are male or female. They also learn that certain types of behavior and attitudes define gender.

Sexism and gender stereotypes affect the development of young children’s gender identity, limit their potential and development, and affect their attitudes, behavior and self-concept. We should be critical when evaluating books, because language and images have a strong impact on young children’s formation of gender roles (Narahara 3).

Books help children learn cultural, ethical, geographical and historical literacy and provide models. Illustrations also play an important role, since they, too, provide a model through which gender roles can be identified (Narahara 3).

Gender stereotypes often affect children’s perceptions of themselves, especially young children who have not fully developed their identity yet. Being aware of stereotypes may affect and change or develop less stereotypical attitudes; books, including textbooks, form cultural and social norms and illustrations play a significant role in conveying the message (Narahara 7).

2. 8. 1 History of gender stereotypes

Anja Sovič and Vlasta Hus (37) establish that gender stereotypes in children's literature were noticed only in the 1960s and 1970s, even though literature has always reflected traditional views and therefore served as a model for presenting gender-appropriate behaviors. These researchers confirmed that In 1972, males were presented in active roles, while women were mostly passive participants. Males were presented as independent leaders with a higher social status, and women as independent characters without careers or career goals.

2. 9 Sexism

Narahara (5) defines sexism as treating one sex as inferior, usually females. They are often ignored and supposed to be passive and involved in passive activities. Porecca, on the other hand, claims sexism is usually connected to economic status, unequal work possibilities and unequal salaries (705).

2. 9. 1 Sexism in textbooks

Purcell-Gates sees school as a place that makes a significant contribution to the formation of gender identity. She claims that even though there have been many attempts to eliminate gender differences in the classroom, they are still present. She also points out gender issues in the classroom are connected to experience outside the classroom as well as culture (124).

J. Williams et al. also emphasize the importance of materials used in school and the classroom, since these serve as a model for children's self-perception and may undermine their own ideologies (155).

Meanwhile, language learning is described by Pat Hartman and Eliot Judd as a "necessarily a culture-learning process" (383) and as "the expansion of individual's cultural horizons, the development of tolerance for cultural diversity, and the acquisition of more data for deciding where one fits in the world" (383).

Karen L. Porecca, on the other hand, emphasizes that the role of language in conveying values is often overlooked, as it is usually subtler and less visible than other forms of sexism (705). Van Brummelen (136) also highlights this issue, claiming obvious sexism has been eliminated from textbooks but that they still tend to avoid dealing with moral dilemmas. Porecca continues that language itself should be neutral and used to deliver various values and attitudes, and emphasizes that illustrations are used to reinforce the text (705-706).

According to Hartman and Judd, textbooks reflect implicit and explicit attitudes of their writers and society. One of the many attitudes they reflect is the image of gender in society (384).

Porecca analyzes specific sexist attitudes in textbooks. We will point out two that can be used for our analysis of illustrations in textbooks:

- omission: examines whether females in textbooks appear as often as males, because omission of females is a sexist attitude that suggests they are less important (706);
- occupational roles: analyzes the occupations in which textbooks portray males and females, and whether males are portrayed in wider variety of jobs, better-paying occupations compared to females, who are often occupied taking care of children, household and their husbands. Females are usually engaged in less demanding, outstanding and rewarding activities (706-707).

Porecca (723) continues that sex bias and stereotypical depiction of women and men affects how they perceive their future job possibilities. Young and therefore developing children have limited experience and rarely question what they see or read, especially in textbooks. Textbooks should be a source they can fully trust. If they are exposed to gender bias, sexism and stereotypes, they can easily integrate this into their own value system.

2. 10 Illustrations in textbooks

2. 10. 1 Children's visual perception

Children first start processing information through sight. Illustrations contribute to children's visual perception development; consequently, they help children with gaining knowledge and developing concepts and meaning. Illustrations hold their attention and help them understand visual elements of their environment (qtd. in Sovič and Hus 5).

Children recognize visual imagery even before they can read. Visual comprehension, therefore, develops earlier than verbal does (qtd. in Sovič and Hus 6).

Sovič and Hus (31-32) list some criteria for evaluating illustrations. We will list some that are of relevance for the following analysis:

- horizontal lines are associated with peace;
- vertical lines are associated with action;
- diagonal lines are associated with dynamism;
- we pay more attention to objects depicted on the left side, and perceive them as more important;
- objects near the lower margin appear closer, and those near the upper margin seem more distant.

3 Empirical part

3.1 Goals and purpose

The main purpose of this thesis is to highlight an important issue in gender equality. We seek to present how stereotypes and sexism influence children's perceptions of themselves and the world. Schools and textbooks, as among the most commonly used resources in the classroom, may define children's behavior and affect the development of their (gender) identity, because they serve as models. Even though society is moving towards gender equality, and textbooks are omitting sexism, we aim to prove that textbooks still contain implicit as well as explicit sexism and stereotypes and should be improved to be more appropriate for young learners.

3.2 Research hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Females in both British and Slovene publishers' textbooks are outnumbered by males.

Hypothesis 2: Males and females in both British and Slovene publishers' textbooks are presented stereotypically

Hypothesis 3: Textbooks from a British publisher contain fewer stereotypical depictions compared to those from Slovene publishers.

Hypothesis 4: Publishers, both Slovene and British, strive for fewer stereotypical depictions and are trying to portray the genders more equally. However, hidden stereotyping is still present in every textbook in the analysis.

3.3 Research methods

We use theoretical research to establish the theoretical background of the issue and relevant definitions, the descriptive and comparative method for describing the textbooks, comparing the findings, and critical review.

3.4 Textbook analysis

3.4.1 Sample

We selected 8 textbooks intended for children from 6th to 9th grade. Four of the textbooks, *Messages 1, 2, 3* and *4* were originally published by the British academic and educational publisher Cambridge University Press. Meanwhile, the remaining four, *Touchstone 6, 7, 8* and *9* were published by Slovene publishers Založba Obzorja and Tangram. Originally, *Messages* was published in 2005 and *Touchstone* around 1996. However, we selected the latest available editions – the *Messages* textbooks that we analyse were published between 2015 and 2017, while the newest *Touchstone* editions were published between 2005 and 2015.

3.4.2 Analysis

In analyzing the textbooks, we have been paying attention to illustrations, especially in terms of gender. The analysis is based on 10 criteria that will be explained as follows:

- number of female and male characters;
- stereotypical depiction of female characters;
- stereotypical depiction of male characters;
- female occupational roles;
- male occupational roles;
- activities;
- housework and child care;
- female characters expressing emotion;
- male characters expressing emotion; and
- other stereotypical depictions.

First, we provide a descriptive analysis of individual textbooks, considering these criteria. For easier comparison among textbooks, we have developed a scoring system, and coding system results are used in the second part of each textbook analysis. The analysis is followed by a comparison of textbooks from Slovene and British publishers.

3. 4. 3 Scoring system

Each of the 10 features is worth 1 point. The more points a textbook collects, the more appropriate the gender image it reflects. Textbooks with more points include little or no sex bias or stereotyping, while textbooks with fewer points follow stereotypical beliefs and might negatively influence children's beliefs and their perception of gender.

1. number of female characters (including anthropomorphic objects) vs. the number of male characters

At the beginning of the analysis, we categorized the characters as male (M) and female (F). Anthropomorphic objects expressing gender were also taken into account and included in the analysis. These were categorized as male objects (OM) and female objects (OF). Illustrations showing a group of people (more than 5) where neither gender prevailed counted as one male and female. If the prevalence of male characters was noticeable, the illustration counted as one male and similarly for female characters. We could not assume the gender of some characters based on their appearance; therefore, we have categorized these as unknown gender (GU).

We excluded mirror and other reflections from the analysis, meaning a character and its reflection count as one, and so does the movement of a single character presented in consecutive pictures. Similarly, when one character is depicted more than once, this counts as a single male or a female.

If either of the two genders we have included in the analysis is not underrepresented, meaning there is less than a 15% difference between the number of female and male characters portrayed, the textbook is assigned 1 point.

2. stereotypical depiction of female characters
3. stereotypical depiction of male characters

The next issue we included in the analysis was how males and females were portrayed. We checked whether the genders were portrayed stereotypically and excluded those who we think are portrayed neutrally. We observed their physical characteristics: build (strong, tall, muscular males as opposed to short, weak females), clothing (females wearing pink skirts, dresses and high heels), and other physical characteristics (males having beards, females wearing make-up, having painted nails etc.). If the majority of female representatives were not portrayed stereotypically, we assigned 1 point to the textbook. Similarly, we assigned 1 point if the majority of male characters were portrayed neutrally.

4. female occupational roles
5. male occupational roles

We observed what occupations males and females engaged in and compared the number of occupational roles in which they were presented. If men were presented having a broader variety of jobs and occupying higher positions, and women were portrayed in stereotypical occupations (teacher, secretary, homemaker etc.), the textbook was not assigned a point. On the other hand, if both genders were portrayed engaging in a similar range of jobs, the textbook could be assigned up to 2 points (one for representation of female and one for male characters).

6. activities

We analyzed what activities illustrated characters were engaged in. Housework and child care were excluded, as we analyzed this separately. We were interested in finding out whether both genders were portrayed engaging in a wide variety of activities, and whether these activities were not stereotypical. If confirmed, the textbook earned a point.

7. housework and child care

We were interested in finding out if male characters contributed to housework and child care. We also analyzed the setting, observing where male and female characters were portrayed (inside or outside). If the genders contributed equally and there was no major prevalence in a certain setting, the textbook was assigned a point.

8. female characters expressing emotion

9. male characters expressing emotion

First, we divided all characters into those showing no or very little emotion and those expressing strong emotion. Only the latter were included in the analysis. Moreover, we included only characters expressing the basic emotions: sadness, fear and anger, while we excluded happiness, as it is not perceived as a typically feminine or masculine emotion. We observed which gender expressed which emotion, and when we detected the prevalence of “feminine emotions” (fear, sadness) expressed by female characters, and male characters showing emotions that are considered masculine (anger), we did not assign any points in this category. However, if the characters of both genders expressed at least two of the three emotions equally, this could bring up to two points.

10. other stereotypical depictions

We included any other stereotypical depictions of both males and females that stood out. If there were outstanding gender bias examples in a textbook, we considered it stereotypical, and therefore, the textbook earned no points.

3. 5 Textbooks from a British publisher

3. 5. 1 Messages 1

3. 5. 1. 1 Descriptive analysis

Messages 1 is a textbook used in the 6th grade of primary school. Cambridge University Press originally published it in 2005, but the edition we used for the analysis was published in 2016.

Even though we are often told not to judge a book by its cover, I will do exactly the opposite. The cover page depicts a young male. This could be the first sign of the prevalence of male characters. However, further analysis shows the ratio of males to females speaks on behalf of gender equality. The total number of characters is 209. There are no anthropomorphic characters expressing gender. However, we could not assume the gender of 5 characters (2%), 2 of which were ghosts, 2 did not show their face or any other gender markers, and one was wearing a space suit. We detected 110 male characters, representing 53% of all characters, and 94 females or 45% of all characters. Therefore, there is an 8% variance between the number of males and females in the visual imagery, which is an acceptable ratio and not considered discriminatory.

This textbook uses varying types of visual imagery. There is a prevalence of photographs followed by graphic illustrations. There is a major difference between how these styles portray gender; in photographs, both males and females are mostly portrayed neutrally, while graphic line drawings of characters, especially females, possess exaggerated gender markers, including long eyelashes and long curly hair; they wear jewelry and clothes of colors that are considered feminine (pink, purple or red). There are a few men wearing sports clothes, but the majority of adult males are wearing suits, shirts or ties while most adult females, with the exception of one female teacher in a shirt, are wearing dresses. We see many muscular men, in contrast to only one muscular female athlete. A salient detail is that none of the females, neither photographed nor drawn, has short hair. There are a few males with long hair, including a group of Jamaicans at a music festival, which is also notable because they are wearing pink, and a fairytale character – an old man with long white hair and beard. Furthermore, a graphic illustration of a baby includes only one gender indicator; we can tell

the baby's gender only by the color of the blanket in which he is wrapped and the color of his hat: both are blue. This image shows how strongly colors are linked to our perception of gender. As soon as they are born, boys are offered blue clothes and objects in contrast to girls that get pink clothing, toys and other objects. They are not expected to like colors assigned to the opposite sex, and *Messages 1* reinforces these color-related gender stereotypes. We also encounter an illustration of a group of friends at the beach (Figure 1). At first glance, the drawing seems neutral, as it depicts 2 males and 2 females, one male and one female are active, while the other two are passive. However, upon further inspection, it turns out this illustration can be considered sexist, since both males are shirtless and the females are covered up. The sitting female is wearing a t-shirt, while the male is wearing only swimming shorts. Similarly, the female getting ready to surf is wearing a surf wetsuit, and the male is shirtless, wearing swimming shorts. This illustration is an example of how the female body is treated differently from the male body and of how depictions of females wearing bikinis are considered sexualized while shirtless men are acceptable. *Messages 1* conforms to these double standards and gender norms, as it depicts male and female characters stereotypically.

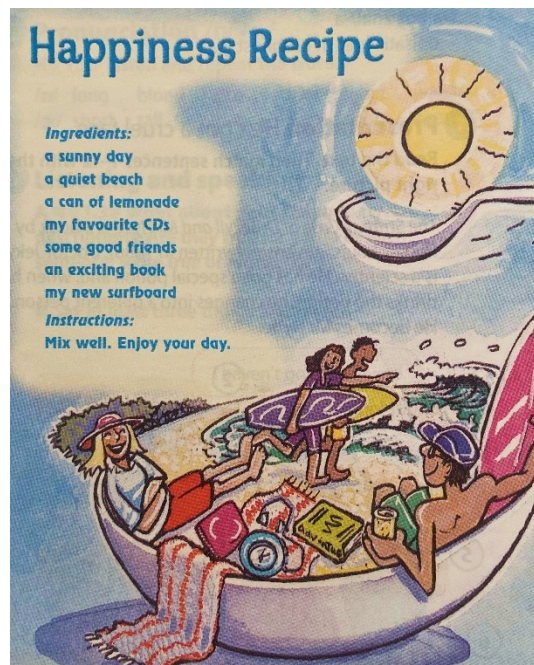


Figure 1: Illustration with unequally depicted genders (Goodey 2016, 45)

Table 1 (Table 1: *Messages 1*, female and male occupations) shows the occupations in which males and females engage. Females are portrayed in 5 professions, while males appear in 8. Furthermore, 4 of the 5 females are portrayed in occupations that are stereotypically considered to be female occupations: teacher, nurse, homemaker and cook. The latter is not a chef, as she prepares simple food on the street. We also see two male teachers, but males are represented in a broader variety of occupations, most of which are considered respectful and better paying than those assigned to the female characters. One depiction that particularly stands out is a picture of a family having breakfast, with the father wearing a suit, while the mother is wearing a bathrobe and has her hair wrapped in a towel. Based on their outfits, we can assume that the father is a breadwinner and the mother a homemaker. Another such instance is a picture of a doctor and nurse standing by a patient. Not surprisingly, the better-paid and more valued job of a doctor is assigned to a male. These depictions confirm Porecca’s claim (707) that females are usually engaged in less demanding, outstanding and rewarding occupations, and *Messages 1* follows this stereotype while depicting female characters.

Table 1: Messages 1, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– athlete	– teacher
– teacher	– tennis player
– cook	– football player
– nurse	– cricket player
– homemaker	– actor
	– scientist
	–photographer
	– doctor

Table 2 (Table 2: *Messages 1*, female and male activities) shows activities engaged by characters, by their gender. It is clear that males participate in more activities (22) than females (14). Furthermore, we see males doing 14 sports and females participating in only 6. These females mostly prefer passive activities that are culturally defined as appropriate for their sex (shopping, buying groceries, drawing and studying), while males perform more outstanding and interesting activities. Based on this criterion, *Messages 1* follows stereotypical gender norms.

Table 2: Messages 1, female and male activities

Female	Male
– shopping	– surfing
– grocery shopping	– riding a horse
– singing	– skateboarding
– drawing	– sky surfing
– surfing	– swimming
– dancing	– playing basketball
– skating	– playing football
– skiing	– playing cricket
– running	– playing tennis
– riding a horse	– cycling
– going for a walk	– running
– watching TV	– flying
– studying	– doing a headstand
– playing cards	– diving
	– reading magazines
	– watching TV
	– playing an instrument
	– singing
	– painting
	– driving a car
	– using a computer
	– playing cards

Table 3 (*Messages 1, gender and housework, child care*) lists males' and females' activities connected to housework and child care. As we can see, females engage in more activities connected to household and child care (7). However, men do not seriously fall behind, as they are involved in 5 activities. The textbook depicts 4 families, 1 of which shows both parents. In one instance, we detect the absence of a father and in two the absence of a mother. This defies the belief that a father is likely to be a more absent or incompetent parent figure. In contrast to stereotypical views, the textbook also depicts male characters engaging in household chores (cooking, dining and washing dishes). We noticed that males in the textbook rarely engage in these activities individually, but are accompanied by a female. Meanwhile, females do most of their chores alone.

Table 3: Messages 1, gender and housework, child care

Females	Males
– having breakfast with the daughter	– carrying the baby
– buying clothes for the son	– dining with the daughter
– cooking	– cooking
– vacuuming	– dusting
– making the bed	– washing dishes
– tidying the room	
– watching the son's match and cheering	

On the issue of emotions, the textbook presents equality. Fear and sadness are considered 'feminine' emotions that males are not encouraged to express. On the other hand, it is completely acceptable for them to express anger. However, in *Messages 1*, we encounter 2 male and 2 female characters expressing fear and the same number of characters of each gender expressing anger. No character expresses sadness. In this aspect, the textbook defies gender norms.

We did not detect many other stereotypical depictions. The only one that stands out is the group of illustrations depicting adjectives for describing physical appearance (Figure 2). Adjectives describing weight (fat, medium build, slim and thin) are portrayed through female characters, and an adjective describing height (medium height) is shown by an illustration of three males. Similarly, the illustration for the word 'tall' shows a male. This reinforces a serious problem in today's society, which judges females based on their weight and males based on their height. However, we detected only one such stereotypical instance, therefore, we can consider the textbook appropriate based on this criterion.

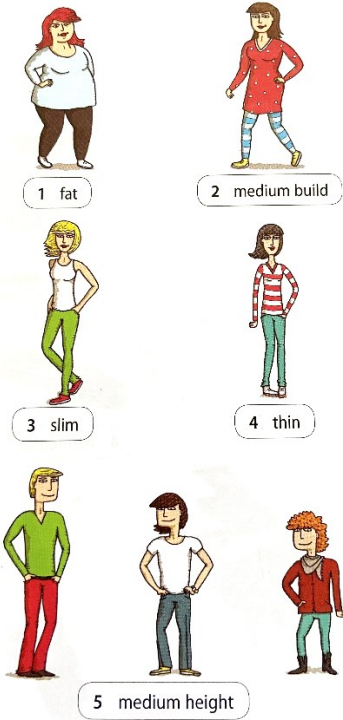


Figure 2: Illustration depicting adjectives describing physical appearance (Goodey 2016, 130)

3. 5. 1. 2. Scoring system results

The *Messages 1* textbook scored 5 points out of 10. It is appropriate considering the ratio of males to females, since the latter are only slightly outnumbered (1 point). The characters of each gender also equally display emotion, particularly fear and anger (2 points). The textbook does not conform to stereotypes considering housework and child care (1 point), and it does not contain many stereotypical depictions from fields not covered by our criteria (1 point).

However, it does contain stereotypical depictions of both male and female characters based on their physical characteristics, and it fails to equally present occupational possibilities and activities for males and females.

3. 5. 2 Messages 2

3. 5. 2. 1 Descriptive analysis

Messages 2 is a textbook used in the 7th grade of primary school. Originally, it was published in 2005 by Cambridge University Press, but we analyzed the edition published in 2015.

In total, the textbook depicts 293 characters, 176 (60%) of which were males and 117 (40%) were females. We encountered one baby with no clear indicators of its gender; thus we defined it as unknown gender. However, females in the textbook were underrepresented, and a 20% deviation between the number of male and female characters should not be acceptable, especially in an era that endeavors to establish gender equality.

Despite the prevalence of males, the characters of each gender were portrayed somewhat equally. Even though a few adult women were depicted wearing skirts or dresses, 'feminine' colored clothes, make-up and painted nails, the majority of women were wearing trousers and clothes of gender-neutral colors. The lack of exaggerated curves, emphasized eyelashes and pouty lips made them not fit the 'stereotypical female mould'. We even encountered a teacher with short hair, which is a rare depiction, because long hair is often used to amplify characters' femininity. However, this could be intentional, as this teacher does not appear kind and friendly: her face is frowning and her facial features appear masculine. These features could be used intentionally to highlight she is a villain. Villains are usually male, because their bad deeds require bravery and lack of sensitivity, and these characteristics are generally associated with males. Making the teacher appear somewhat masculine makes it more believable she is capable of mischief.

Table 4 (Table 4: *Messages 2*, female and male occupations) shows that female characters engage in fewer occupations (18) compared to males (26). Nevertheless, we encounter females depicted participating in some typically male jobs (police officer, scientist and athlete), while men engage in some occupations that are believed to be feminine (teacher, waiter and hairdresser). Some occupations appear in pairs (police officer – policeman, waitress – waiter and female hairdresser – male hairdresser). A detail that caught my attention was that a female head teacher had a higher position than her male counterpart, who was her subordinate. This is the first such instance where in an illustration including both genders, the female is depicted occupying a dominant position. It is also clear that the editors of the textbook have striven to depict equal job opportunities for males and females, even though they could have depicted the genders in more non-typical roles (female mechanic or a builder, male secretary or a fortune teller) and shattered the stereotype of male and female occupations completely. However, they did make a step forward.

Table 4: Messages 2, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– teacher	– letter carrier
– musician	– musician
– waitress	– truck driver
– actress	– pilot
– scientist	– waiter
– secretary	– actor
– zookeeper	– shop assistant
– athlete	– farmer
– head teacher	– builder
– fortune teller	– mechanic
– chef	– taxi driver
– dentist	– astronaut
– doctor	– teacher
– nurse	– guard
– police officer	– police officer
– vet	– trainer

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – hairdresser – baker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – singer – accountant – bus driver – electrician – engineer – firefighter – hairdresser – plumber – window cleaner – butcher
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Table 5 (Table 5: *Messages 2*, female and male activities) shows each gender performs in approximately the same number of activities. Active and passive activities have an equal number of male and female participants and this is another indicator that the textbook strives for equality and defies many stereotypes.

Table 5: Messages 2, female and male activities

Female	Male
– washing hair	– practicing karate
– brushing hair	– chatting on the phone
– working out	– combing hair
– taking photos	– checking email
– taking a dog for a walk	– taking a dog for a walk
– walking	– playing football
– chatting on the phone	– playing with a kite
– climbing	– running
– swimming	– walking
– camping	– climbing
– failing exam	– protesting
– jogging	– riding a horse
– using a computer	– camping

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – taking notes – singing – gardening – having a shower – cleaning teeth – getting dressed – getting ready for school – catching the bus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – tobogganing – playing ice-hockey – grilling – playing basketball – taking exam – passing exam – listening to music – getting dressed – napping – hiking
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Table 6 (Table 6: *Messages 2, gender and housework, child care*) shows the division of housework and child care-related activities between males and females. The textbook shows each gender participating in the same number of these activities and presents males and females as equally active parents and members of the household, and it does not conform to traditional gender roles.

Table 6: Messages 2, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
– doing the washing up	– doing the drying up
– carrying the baby	– taking a child for a walk
– holding the baby	– taking care of a disabled daughter

Characters of each gender display emotion equally. We encounter 7 male characters expressing emotions, 4 of which are expressing sadness, 2 are scared and one is angry. Interestingly, the majority of male characters express sadness, which is considered a feminine emotion. On the other hand, we see the depictions of 8 emotional females; the majority (5) are expressing sadness, 2 are scared and one is angry. The textbook therefore delivers the message that it is acceptable for both genders to feel and also express emotion.

We did not detect any stereotypical instances our criteria do not cover.

3. 5. 2. 2 Scoring system results

The *Messages 2* textbook scored 9 points. It portrays the majority of the representatives of each gender neutrally (2 points), defies stereotypes concerning occupational roles (2 points), activities (1 point) and embraces feeling and expressing emotion in both genders (2 points). It also depicts males and females contributing to the household and taking care of children (1 point), emphasizing both parents should be involved in raising children and both genders should participate in housework. The textbook does not include any stereotypical depictions from the fields not covered by our criteria.

The only lost point is the consequence of the fact that males in illustrations highly outnumber females.

3. 5. 3 Messages 3

3. 5. 3. 1 Descriptive analysis

Messages 3 is a textbook used in the 8th grade of primary school. Originally, it was published in 2005 by Cambridge University Press, but we analyzed the edition published in 2015.

The total number of characters depicted in the textbook is 191. With 106 depictions (55%), male characters outnumbered females with 85 representatives (45). However, the prevalence is not significant and according to our criteria, these numbers are still acceptable for the appropriateness of the textbook. The textbook does not depict any anthropomorphic objects with female or male gender markers and no characters whose gender we could not identify.

Depiction of the characters of each gender also fits our criteria for a gender-appropriate textbook, since characters of each gender are presented rather neutrally and non-stereotypically. Females are depicted with long hair and more “feminine” hairstyles with hair accessories, adult females wear make-up, one female is depicted in an apron, while some of them are wearing high heels, dresses and pink clothing. However, the majority are depicted neutrally, wearing jeans and colors that are believed to be gender-neutral. The illustrations in the textbook do not emphasize female bodies; they are not depicted with accentuated curves. Similarly, the majority of males are presented neutrally; they are not very muscular, and some

male individuals have longer hair; we encounter males wearing clothes of various colors, and they are depicted in suits and casual clothing. The same applies to females. Once again, I noticed that females are depicted as more feminine when engaging in activities more commonly associated with this gender (walking baby in a stroller, cooking, occupying the job of fashion designer), and this is also true for males: they are depicted more stereotypically (muscular, tall, beards, suits or uniforms) when engaging in more masculine activities or occupations (athlete, soldier, business executive, cutting trees).

Table 7 (Table 7: *Messages 3, female and male occupations*) shows the occupations in which females and males engage. Females are depicted occupying 6 positions, including respected, better paying and demanding ones. Males are presented in a wider variety of occupations (11), almost all of which are stereotypically expected to be occupied by males. The textbook shows some attempt to present equal opportunities for each gender, but there is a long way to go.

Table 7: Messages 3, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– teacher	– scientist
– head teacher	– explorer
– pilot	– inventor
– shop assistant	– professional basketball player
– fashion designer	– coach
– pharmacist	– ski-jumper
	– astronaut
	– musician
	– guard
	– king
	– soldier

Table 8 (Table 8: *Messages 3*, female and male activities) shows in which activities female and male characters engage. Females participate in 16 activities, half of which are passive. Females engage in 7 sports. Males participate in 22 activities, 11 of which are sports. In comparison to females, we detected a slight prevalence of activities in which males engage, also in the number of sports in which they participate.

Table 8: Messages 3, female and male activities

Female	Male
– crying	– writing
– talking on the phone	– talking on the phone
– walking the dog	– jumping
– playing basketball	– boxing
– carrying shopping bags	– sailing
– driving in a car as a passenger	– carrying a plant
– watching TV	– playing basketball
– playing frisbee	– surfing
– playing football	– watching TV
– sunbathing	– driving a car
– rowing a boat	– having a bath
– shopping	– riding a horse
– riding a bike	– playing frisbee
– cleaning up rubbish	– playing football
– climbing	– playing cards
– canoeing	– cleaning up rubbish
	– hang-gliding
	– canoeing
	– playing guitar
	– cutting trees
	– fighting in a war
	– driving a plane

Table 9 (Table 9: *Messages 3, gender and housework, child care*) provides information about household and child care activities in which each gender engages. As these activities are stereotypically more likely to be performed by females, it is not a surprise that they engage in 11 activities of this kind, and males in only 5. Females engage in typical and some less typical activities (painting the room, painting the door, washing a car), and this shows the textbook does try to avoid gender bias in illustrations. Another example of them trying to avoid stereotypes is the illustration of one male who offers to cook dinner after the female says she is very tired. This might seem like a friendly and gallant gesture, but when we think about it again, we realize it implies that making dinner is a females' task, but when they are not able to do it, males can help and save them (as they supposedly always do). Only one male character is depicted spending time with children when all the family members are dining, while females are several times depicted next to their children. Similarly, males engage in significantly fewer indoor household activities than females.

Table 9: Messages 3, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
– cooking	– painting shelves
– walking baby in a stroller	– mending the bike
– painting the room	– offering to cook dinner
– washing a car	– washing up
– doing the drying up	– dining with the family
– cleaning the table	
– doing the washing up	
– painting the door	
– making pizza	
– worrying about her son	
– dining with the family	

Characters of each gender express emotion rather equally. The only notable difference was detected in expressing sadness, which is stereotypically more likely to be expressed by females. We encounter 4 sad females, one of them crying, and no sad male representative. Anger and fear are displayed equally, as 2 females and 3 males express fear, and 2 representatives of each gender are angry. Figure 3 shows a stereotypical reaction of each gender to the same situation. A family is having a picnic, but they have insufficient food. The emotional reactions of the father and mother are different: she is sad, and he is angry. This could be connected to the fact that young boys are often discouraged from expressing sadness (while girls are not), and they learn to react to unpleasant situations using other emotions, often anger. However, the illustration could also imply that the female prepared the food, because food-related activities are usually female responsibilities, and the male is angry, realizing she has not accomplished her task successfully. Another interesting illustration depicts a husband and wife in a situation opposite from our stereotypical expectations. The female is painting the door, and the male touches the fresh paint. Her reaction is anger, while he seems petrified. This illustration somehow defies stereotypical beliefs connected to feminine and masculine emotions.



Figure 3: Illustration depicting different emotional reactions to the same situation (Goodey 2015, 39)

We did not detect any other stereotypical instances not covered by our criteria.

3. 5. 3. 2 Scoring system results

The Messages 3 textbook scored 7 points out of 10. It portrays approximately the same number of males and females (1 point), and they are mostly depicted non-stereotypically (2 points). Females occupy positions that are stereotypically believed to be more appropriate for males (1 point). They also engage in a comparable number of activities, including sports (1 point). Characters of each gender display emotion rather equally (1 point), except for sadness. There were no stereotypical depictions not covered by our criteria (1 point)

However, females occupy significantly fewer positions than males; they also engage in more housework and child-related activities. None of the male characters expresses sadness, and this follows stereotypical beliefs.

3. 5. 4 Messages 4

3. 5. 4. 1 Descriptive analysis

Messages 4 is a textbook used in the 9th grade of primary school. Cambridge University Press originally published it in 2005, but the edition we used for the analysis was published in 2016.

Even though the cover page depicts a female, further analysis shows that male characters slightly prevail. The total number of characters is 292, including 4 characters (1%) whose gender we could not detect because they were wearing masks. The textbook did not depict any anthropomorphic female or male characters. We detected 153 male characters, amounting to 53% of all characters. They are closely followed by 135 female characters, representing 46% of all characters. The variance between the numbers of male and female characters is 7%, which is acceptable for the textbook to be gender appropriate considering our criterion.

The femininity of young females is highlighted by their clothing (pink clothes, dresses) and hair accessories, while the femininity of adolescent and adult females is emphasized with makeup and jewelry, with them wearing high heels and holding purses. Almost all females, regardless of their age, have long hair. Young males, on the other hand, have no visible gender markers,

except for predominantly blue or green clothes. The masculinity of adult males is expressed by beards, hats, wearing suits and ties. Some adult males, especially those depicted doing sports, have very muscular bodies, while we do not encounter any muscular females. However, there are no highly stereotypical depictions of males and females, since most of the representatives of each gender are depicted neutrally, but it is obvious that the illustrations follow a certain pattern when depicting each gender.

Table 10 (Table 10: *Messages 4*, female and male occupations) shows the distribution of occupations. Females are depicted engaging in 10 occupations, while males are depicted in 14. The difference in numbers of both genders' occupations is not drastic; however, the choice of occupations follows a stereotypical pattern. Females are illustrated engaging in some 'typically female' occupations (shop assistant, secretary and teacher), and so are males (caretaker, bartender, bus driver). The textbook does not bother to use the gender-neutral expression 'bar tender', but uses the word *barman*. The fact both genders are depicted as politicians might seem encouraging, but the way they are portrayed shows inequality. On one hand, we have a photograph of the respected spokesperson and social rights activist Martin Luther King, and on the other (Figure 4), we have a graphic line drawing of a female politician, who is not successful. Her appearance supports this claim, because her attire, hair and exaggerated physical features make it hard to believe she is a competent candidate. The audience listening to her speech is angry, emphasizing the fact she is neither respected nor popular. Another salient detail is a male standing next to the female politician who seems affected by the crowd's reaction. They are wearing clothes of the same color and the same ribbon; therefore, we can assume they are members of the same political party. The fact he is standing behind her but in the illustration, he is depicted in front of her might imply he is guiding her and is therefore responsible for her ideas and unpopularity. This supports the stereotypical belief that females in high positions are incapable of making big decisions and that they need a male to guide them.



Figure 4: Illustration depicting an unsuccessful female politician (Goodey 2015, 105)

Table 10: Messages 4, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– shop assistant	– bartender
– chef	– musician
– teacher	– cashier
– secretary	– bus driver
– politician	– chef
– professional tennis player	– caretaker
– private investigator	– travel agent
– actress	– farmer
– check-in officer	– athlete
– cashier	– archeologist
	– politician
	– actor
	– police officer
	– slave trader

Table 11 (Table 11: *Messages 4*, female and male activities) shows in which activities females and males participate. Interestingly, females are depicted engaging in more activities (21) than males (19). Female characters participate in 4 sports and males in 3. Therefore, the textbook does not follow the stereotypical belief females are more passive than males.

Table 11: Messages 4, female and male activities

Female	Male
– reading a book	– talking on the phone
– talking on the phone	– playing guitar
– shopping	– cheering
– comforting a friend	– playing violin
– searching for keys	– running
– locking the door	– listening to the radio
– dancing	– shopping
– reading the newspaper	– playing with a friend
– drinking coffee	– riding a bike
– sewing a dress	– climbing
– doing her makeup	– reading the newspaper
– playing tennis	– writing an email
– playing guitar	– taking pictures
– giving a speech	– carrying the boxes
– drawing	– fencing
– playing tennis	– playing football
– playing hockey	– going to the night club
– packing	– singing
– flying	– protesting
– singing	
– protesting	

Table 12 (Table 12: *Messages 4*, gender and housework, child care) shows housework and child care are equally displayed between the genders. The illustration depicting a husband taking care of his wife, because she has broken her leg, is accompanied by her asking the children who will help their father with the housework, since she cannot help him. The mother does not state this is her responsibility but implies that the whole family (her, the father and their children) must participate. Hopefully, this is not only because of her injury.

Table 12: Messages 4, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
– dining with family	– dining with family
– gardening	– cooking
– decorating the house	– washing the dishes
– ordering son to take the dog for a walk	– taking care of his wife
– telling son to wear a helmet	– telling daughter to go to bed
– grocery shopping	

Emotions in the *Messages 4* textbooks are not displayed stereotypically. We encounter 9 females expressing emotional reactions and 10 males. The prevalent emotion in females is anger (4), which is stereotypically not believed to be a feminine emotion, and it is followed by sadness (3) and fear (2). The emotion that predominates among male characters is fear (5), which is also not believed to be an emotion males typically express, and it is followed by anger (3) and sadness (2).

We did not detect any other stereotypical depictions.

3. 5. 4. 1 Scoring system results

The Messages 4 textbook scored 8 of 10 points. The ratio of male to female characters is appropriate, since there are 7% more male than female characters (1 point). Characters of each gender are not depicted stereotypically (2 points). They are engaging in a comparable number of activities, including sports (1 point), and they also contribute equally to housework and child care (1 point). The characters also equally display emotion, including those not

typical for their gender (2 points). The textbook does not contain any stereotypical depictions from fields not covered by our criteria (1 point).

However, the textbook is less appropriate considering the depiction of job opportunities.

3. 6 Textbooks from Slovene publishers

3. 6. 1 Touchstone 6

3. 6. 1. 1 Descriptive analysis

Touchstone 6 is a textbook used in the 6th grade of primary school. We analyzed the third edition of the book that was published in 2011 by Založba Obzorja.

The cover of the textbook announces gender equality. It portrays 2 males and 2 females who are all wearing clothes of gender-neutral colors and participating in gender-neutral activities. However, further inspection shows the overall prevalence of male characters and some other gender-related issues. Out of 485 characters expressing gender, there are 260 males (54%), 1 of which is an elephant, and 225 females (46%), two of which are an elephant and a goose. There are also some male and female ghosts, vampires, witches and wizards. We could not assume the gender of some characters, because there were no features expressing femininity or masculinity. Some of them are too distant, and some do not show their faces; there are also two clowns, one thief and an "Eskimo". There is an 8% variance between the male and female characters, which is acceptable.

Touchstone 6 uses varying types of imagery; graphic illustrations are highly predominant but there are also some photographs. Even though the cover and opening pages of the textbook appear gender-neutral, we can quickly tell that gender stereotypes have not completely disappeared. On page 7, we encounter 5 female and 5 male babies depicting the most popular English boys' and girls' names. The first eye-catching detail is the color of their clothing. All the female babies are wearing pink, while male babies are wearing blue; one of them has a blue hat. On top of that, the femininity of the baby girls is highlighted by hair bows; two of them also have accentuated eyelashes, and one is holding a bouquet, and flowers are typically

associated with females. Throughout the textbook, most females are stereotypically expressing femininity with pink clothing, dresses or skirts, hair ribbons and hair in braids or pigtails, while men are portrayed in clothes of gender-neutral colors with no gender markers. We can even predict the animals' gender based on the (lack of) gender markers. The yellow elephant with no gender markers appears to be male, which turns out to be true, because later in the textbook, it is depicted riding a green bike. Its gender becomes obvious as we encounter a pink female elephant with prominent eyelashes and cheeks. Moreover, the pink elephant is painting her nails pink, her femininity is also stressed by the bowtie on her tail. Similarly, we can tell the goose's gender by the color of her scarf, which is, of course, pink. An example of a male character with stereotypical features is Tarzan – a tall, muscular man proving his masculinity by showing off his muscles and wearing no shirt. In contrast, Jane is depicted in a white dress, as a stereotypical female, with prominent lips and emphasized breasts. She is slim and considerably shorter than Tarzan. Moreover, she appears dense, as she does not reply to Tarzan when he is talking to his echo. Another stereotypical instance is the depiction of fairytale creatures: vampires, ghosts, witches and wizards. Their female representatives possess feminine features, while males are portrayed neutrally; therefore, we can assume their gender based on the lack of gender markers and their names. We also detect some illustrations emphasizing the femininity of female characters by emphasizing their breasts and buttocks, drawing attention to their bodies as the primary source of their beauty.

As shown in Table 13 (Table 13: *Touchstone 6*, female and male occupations), women occupy fewer jobs in comparison to their male counterparts. Moreover, they are typically portrayed engaging in occupations that are stereotypically perceived as feminine. We encounter 4 female teachers and no male teacher. Male characters occupy more typically masculine and/or better-paid jobs with the exception of waiter, which is a stereotypically female occupation. However, there is no significant difference between the numbers of female and male jobs. In each group, we have at least one character occupying a position non-typical for its gender (waiter and a conductor); therefore, we can assume that the textbook encourages equal opportunities, at least to a certain extent.

Table 13: Touchstone 6, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– teacher	– basketball coach
– homemaker	– bus driver
– conductor	– clockmaker
	– doctor
	– waiter

Table 14 (Table 14: *Touchstone 6*, female and male activities) shows male characters participate in more activities (30) than their female counterparts (22). Furthermore, they engage in 15 different sports, while females only in 8. The latter are also presented participating in less demanding and more passive activities (sleeping, female elephant painting her nails, watching TV, chatting, etc.), and males mostly engage in more challenging activities (driving a carriage, scooter and a car and chasing a burglar). They share 9 of the activities, including sports. Nevertheless, there is a significant deviation in the number of activities in which males participate and those of females. We encounter some males driving vehicles (car, bus, scooter, even a carriage), but females are always portrayed as passengers. This conforms to the stereotype that driving is not a female activity and that females are bad drivers. There is also a depiction of a group of people representing various generations. All the male representatives are active (children, adults and a senior), while the majority of female characters are passive, except for one female child who is playing with a ball; adult and senior females are observing or chatting. Another salient detail is the illustration depicting a scared female waking up her partner, saying there is a burglar in their house. She helplessly asks him to go downstairs and confront the burglar. The male bravely confronts the burglar, only to find out it is actually their daughter searching for a midnight snack. This conforms to another stereotype: a weak, helpless woman saved by a brave man. Another such instance is a husband making tea for his sick wife. It is more likely for a female to get sick, as they are stereotypically seen as the weaker sex. Nevertheless, it is well-known that females cope with illness better than males, but the textbook fails to present this.

Table 14: Touchstone 6, female and male activities

Female	Male
– skiing	– playing tennis
– dancing	– walking on hands
– swimming	– diving
– climbing a rope	– standing on his head
– playing table tennis	– playing football
– diving	– playing table tennis
– playing with a ball	– skating
– riding a horse	– snowboarding
– playing piano	– jogging
– playing guitar	– playing with a ball
– painting nails	– riding a bike
– sleeping	– hunting
– reading	– riding a bull
– using a computer	– riding a horse
– watching TV	– swimming
– singing	– carrying a box
– taking a shower	– chasing a burglar
– reading the newspaper	– napping
– sunbathing	– making tea
– shopping	– using a computer
– drawing	– playing with a toy car
– chatting	– taking a shower
	– driving a carriage
	– riding a scooter
	– taking photos
	– driving a car
	– going to the cinema
	– watching TV
	– sunbathing
	– playing piano

Table 15 (Table 15: *Touchstone 6*, gender and housework, child care) shows the difference between females and males participating in housework and child care. Even though males engage in significantly fewer activities, the stereotype about only females belonging in the kitchen is set aside: we encounter a male cooking, baking and making pancakes. This is definitely a small but important step towards gender equality. The majority of illustrations depicting family relations show only one parent (usually the mother) in relation to the child. When the mother is portrayed alone, she takes care of the children and has the authority. Meanwhile, when depicted next to the father (Figure 5) scolding their son because he is late, the mother loses authority and quietly observes the situation, seemingly sad and helpless. Her standing behind the father implies she has a less important role. She is also portrayed on the father's right, and this is another indicator of his being more important. As Sovič and Hus state, we pay more attention to objects depicted on the left, and perceive them as more important (32). This conforms to the stereotype that the father is the head and leader of the family who has the first and the last word, while the mother obeys and supports his decisions.

Table 15: Touchstone 6, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
– grocery shopping	– mowing the lawn
– cooking	– scolding son
– ironing	– baking cookies
– baking	– cooking
– dusting	– making pancakes
– doing laundry	– making the bed
– watering the garden	– taking children for a walk
– holding a baby	
– making the bed	
– making sure son cleans his room	
– asking daughter about school	
– making dinner	
– accompanying son to school	
– nurturing a friend	

Representatives of each gender in the textbook do not display emotion equally but follow some stereotypical beliefs. The majority of characters are happy, but we excluded these, since happiness is a gender-neutral emotion. We encounter 4 males portrayed being angry, and one angry female, who is a teacher. Anger is not perceived as a typically feminine emotion, but it is somewhat expected from female teachers, who are believed to be able to maintain order only with anger and screaming, while the male teachers, who are the minority, are supposedly more stable and rational. Three female characters are depicted expressing sadness, in contrast to no sad male representatives. The only equally displayed emotion is fear, with one representative of each gender. However, it is the female who gets scared first, and she wakes up her husband, who gets scared because of her “overreaction”.



Figure 5: Illustration depicting stereotypical father figure (Skela 2011, 78)

Another instance of a stereotypical depiction is connected to a male and a female elephant. Their stereotypical physical appearance was already discussed, but another salient issue is the fact that the male elephant is portrayed as witty and smart, delivering grammatical explanations and stating facts, while the female elephant is stereotyped, depicted as shallow, emotional, even ignorant and stupid. The first time we encounter her, she is painting her nails, declaring her favorite color to be pink. The next time, she is portrayed with heart shapes

floating around her head while she looks at the male elephant, implying she is in love with him. Her last depiction portrays her as ignorant, because she does not know the difference between a kilt and a skirt. She is portrayed only three times, while the male elephant accompanies us throughout the textbook. However, there were no other outstanding stereotypical depictions we could not categorize.

3. 6. 1. 2 Scoring system results

The *Touchstone 6* textbook scored 6 points out of 10. Its illustrations depict approximately the same number of female and male characters (1 point). The latter are often portrayed neutrally with no gender markers (1 point), with the exception of Tarzan. Males and females occupy a similar number of jobs (1 point), including some that are stereotypically not suitable for their gender (1 point). The textbook also defies the stereotype that males do not belong in the kitchen (1 point) and does not portray many stereotypes not covered by our criteria (1 point).

On the other hand, the physical appearance of female characters is often stereotyped with exaggerated femininity markers. The textbook also objectifies females by emphasizing their curves. The activities in which male and female characters engage fail to present gender equality, as women are participating in fewer sports, more passive activities and are not shown driving any vehicles. Their displaying of emotion also conforms to the stereotypes, as anger is mostly expressed by males and sadness only by female characters.

3. 6. 2 Touchstone 7

3. 6. 2. 1 Descriptive analysis

Touchstone 7 is a textbook used in the 7th grade of primary school. It was originally published in 2003, but the analyzed edition of the book was published in 2014 by Založba Tangram.

The total number of characters in the textbook is 635. Ten characters could not be assigned gender (2%), because of their attire or absence of gender markers. Including anthropomorphic objects of each gender, there are 388 males (61%) and 237 females (37%). Therefore, female characters are heavily outnumbered by males. We detected three anthropomorphic animals, two of which were assigned female gender, because their

femininity was emphasized by long eyelashes, and one elephant was a male. Interestingly, we have once again detected that the lack of gender markers usually means the character is male, while exaggerated femininity accompanies females.

Touchstone 7 represents the majority of characters neutrally. Characters of each gender are mostly dressed in neutral colors; however, we detected some male characters wearing colors that are not typical for their gender (purple, red), while some females were wearing typically masculine colors (blue, green). Some of the characters are still portrayed stereotypically, with typically feminine hairstyles (braids, bowties and long curls), exaggerated makeup and curves. Interestingly, adult women are portrayed stereotypically, especially when engaging in typically feminine roles (pregnant woman, secretary, a woman who has seven husbands, a librarian and a bride-to-be). Feminine features are much less emphasized in the depictions of female children or young females. There are also a few stereotypical depictions of males, all connected to their muscles and strength. In the presentation of new adjectives, men are associated with and depicted next to the adjectives strong, brave, hard-working, while an older female depicts the word weak. When portraying fairytale characters, all the females look oddly similar: with long blond hair, dresses, emphasized breasts, accentuated lips and eyelashes. Since princesses and fairytale characters usually embody beauty, these depictions imply this is the only definition of a beautiful woman. Another eye-catching depiction is that of the future, including future robots and humans. Even though robots typically do not possess features of any gender, we can easily tell the gender of the illustrated robots. Big breasts, tiny waists, skirts, pink attire and a purse express femininity, while males are, again, portrayed quite neutrally, with the exception of short, blue hair. I find this worrying, as even the things and objects that are not expected to express gender are sexualized and have exaggerated physical features, implying that characters of the future will still follow stereotypical norms and standards.

I would like to highlight the illustration of an elephant that accompanies us throughout the textbook. This elephant was first assigned male gender as it had no features expressing femininity. Later in the textbook, we learn his name, and his gender is confirmed by his wearing green pants and being depicted with a football. However, the textbook addresses the issue of non-binary gender identity, since the male elephant is depicted wearing a skirt and high heels. Moreover, when introducing male and female jobs, the elephant is depicted

combining the female (a purse and a pink dress) and male (brown suit and a walking suit), saying English is unisex and implying so is he. This shows the textbook is, intentionally or not, not conforming to the traditional social construct of the two genders.

Table 16 (Table 16: *Touchstone 7*, female and male occupations) shows the occupations in which each gender engages. The total number of occupations in which females engage is 19, including some typically male-dominated jobs (astronaut, athlete, gardener and photographer), and the total number of occupations in which males are portrayed is 29, only two of which are perceived as typically feminine in our society (teacher, waiter). Interestingly, when a female is depicted preparing food, she is referred to as a cook, while a male in the same position is referred to as a chef. This textbook does not present females in less demanding and less valued jobs, but it presents them engaging in considerably fewer occupations.

Table 16: Touchstone 7, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– a teacher	– teacher
– a cook	– chef
– astronaut	– astronaut
– athlete	– athlete
– waitress	– waiter
– doctor	– doctor
– flight attendant	– farmer
– secretary	– magician
– model	– cobbler
– dancer	– zookeeper
– actress	– stunt man
– tailor	– shoemaker
– optician	– robber
– beautician	– poet
– nurse	– clockmaker
– goldsmith	– workman

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – gardener – photographer – librarian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – politician – plumber – locksmith – business executive – firefighter – electrician – director – letter carrier – singer – bricklayer – football player – TV host – architect
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Table 17 (Table 17: *Touchstone 7*, female and male activities) shows activities engaged in by each gender. They participate in approximately the same number of activities. Characters of each gender engage in sports and games, and they all drive cars. The typically male activities in which no female characters engage are drinking in a pub and lifting weights; males are also portrayed participating in some exciting or dangerous activities (riding an elephant, fighting a bull), while female characters participate in some typically feminine activities (milking a cow, trying on dresses, sunbathing). However, the illustrations try to present the genders equally, and both males and females are shown participating in a broad variety of activities, therefore *Touchstone 7* does not follow stereotypical gender norms.

Table 17: Touchstone 7, female and male activities

Female	Male
– playing tag	– playing tag
– playing Rotten Egg	– playing Rotten Egg
– playing hide-and-peek	– playing hide-and-peek
– playing at blind man’s buff	– playing at blind man’s buff
– playing Ludo	– playing Ludo

– playing dodgeball	– playing dodgeball
– driving a car	– driving a car
– diving	– diving
– using a computer	– using a computer
– riding a bike	– riding a bike
– sunbathing	– climbing
– rollerblading	– hiking
– playing with a ball	– fishing
– throwing a frisbee	– washing a car
– skipping rope	– throwing a boomerang
– playing hop-scotch	– playing leap-frog
– playing marbles	– playing jacks
– flying a kite	– playing conkers
– milking a cow	– fencing
– running	– drinking in a pub
– dancing	– lifting weights
– trying on dresses	– riding a horse
– riding a scooter	– surfing
– taking a shower	– fighting a bull
	– playing accordion
	– riding an elephant

Table 18 (Table 18: *Touchstone 7*, gender and housework, child care) lists the activities related to housework and child care. Females engage in significantly more activities. It is interesting that there are almost no illustrations in the textbook showing a family including both a mother and a father. When the father is depicted punishing his daughter, the mother is not present. Similarly, when the mother is scolding the son, there is no father nearby. On the issues of child care and housework, the textbook fails to present genders equally and conforms to the stereotype that the father is less involved in raising children and taking care of them.

Table 18: Touchstone 7, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – scolding the son – baking – grocery shopping – vacuuming – serving a meal – serving tea – serving cake 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – punishing the daughter

Surprisingly, we detected more male characters than female characters displaying emotion. The most often expressed emotion by males is anger (8 characters), closely followed by sadness (5 characters). We also encountered 3 sad male characters. Females were depicted less emotionally, with 3 of them expressing fear, 2 sadness and one anger. This defies the stereotype that females are the emotional sex, and that they are not expected to show anger. Males, on the other hand, also express emotions that are not typical for their gender.

Another issue concerning gender stereotypes is connected to the humorous sections in the textbook, entitled “miles of smiles”. The jokes are often based on sexism and gender stereotypes. There are a few gender-neutral jokes, 5 jokes making fun of females and none making fun of male characters. Two of the jokes were especially conspicuous: the first (Figure 6a) is based on the stereotype that females are bad drivers. The male character implies that the female cannot drive and asks her to let him drive, because he is a male and therefore a better driver, the one who will fix her mistake and find the way. The second illustration (Figure 6b) is especially worrying, because it depicts a young male asking why he should not slap Sleeping Beauty to wake her up. First, it is inappropriate that a young boy considers this an option and implies he is used to seeing females treated violently and finds this acceptable. Secondly, the teacher’s reaction is not acceptable, because she just quietly stands there and does not express much concern about the boy’s words. These kinds of jokes promote abuse and portray stereotypes as normal, even funny.

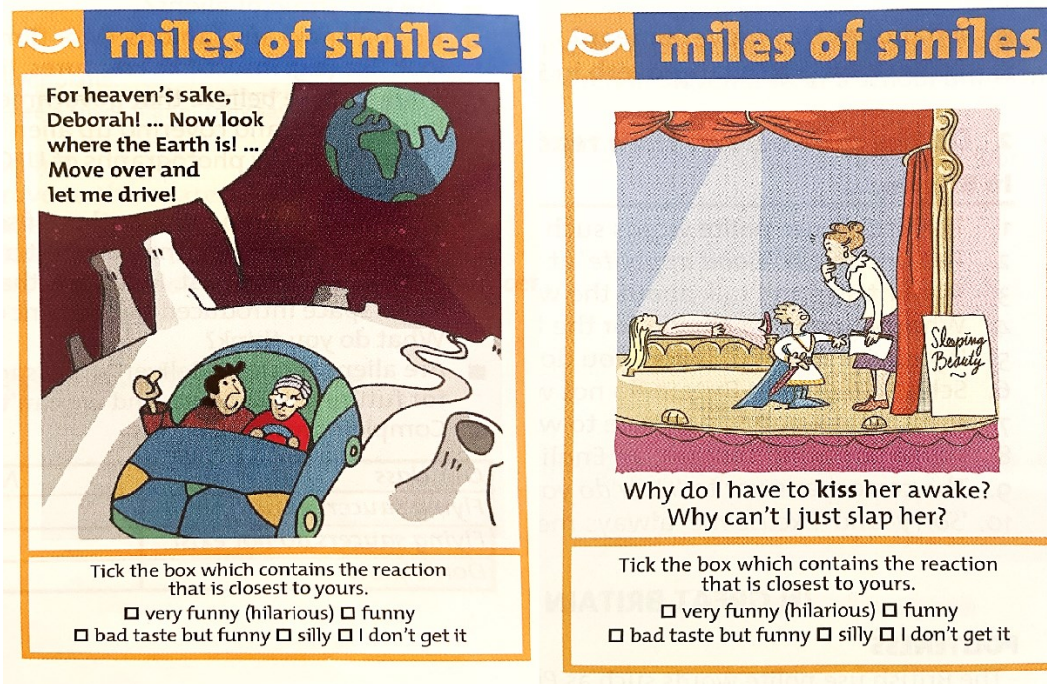


Figure 6: Sexist illustrations (Skela 2014, 67, 27)

Another such instance is the depiction of Greek and Roman gods. Among 8 deities, there is only one goddess.

3. 6. 2. 2 Scoring system results

Touchstone 7 portrays each gender quite neutrally (2 points); females are depicted in various occupations, including valued and respected professions (1 point). Each gender participates in a similar number of activities (1 point). Characters in the textbook display emotion non-stereotypically, with males expressing fear and sadness (1 point) and females expressing anger (1 point). Therefore, the textbook scored 6 points.

The female characters in the textbook are underrepresented and portrayed in fewer occupations than males. Males also engage in significantly fewer activities connected to housework and child care, and the textbook includes sexist and stereotypical gender-related jokes.

3. 6. 3 Touchstone 8

3. 6. 3. 1 Descriptive analysis

Touchstone 8 is a textbook used in the 8th grade of primary school. It was published in 2005 by Založba Tangram.

This is one more textbook in which male characters highly outnumbered female characters. In total, there were 423 characters, 247 of which were male (58%) and 169 were female (40%). Because of the lack of gender markers, we could not assign gender to 7 characters (2%). We encountered 4 anthropomorphic male animals (an elephant we have already encountered in previously analyzed *Touchstone* textbooks, a father bear, a little bear and a frog), and 3 anthropomorphic female animals (a mother bear, an elephant and a wolf).

This textbook fails to depict genders equally. Moreover, it seems the editors did not even bother to try. We encounter several depictions of females wearing aprons standing in their kitchens. Many graphic line drawings of adult female characters show exaggerated feminine figures and accentuated breasts. Females mostly wear high heels, dresses or tight-fitting clothes highlighting their thin waists and wide hips and large breasts, while males' figures are never highlighted, except for the depictions of male athletes, that are depicted in tight clothes revealing their muscles and wide shoulders. Older males are usually depicted with beards, emphasizing their wisdom. Another eye-catching detail was an illustration of a female with an extraordinary style: messy hair, clothes of bright colors that do not match, masculine jewelry and high heels. Her personal experience chart reveals she has been very active, travelled a lot, been in prison, made a lot of money, etc. Her extraordinary image implies an ordinary-looking female could not participate in activities that are usually associated with males. Interestingly, one of the anthropomorphic female characters, the elephant mother does not possess any gender markers, which would typically mean she is male, but her offspring calls her 'mum', implying she is a female. This is among the rare positive gender depictions.

Table 19 (Table 19: *Touchstone 8*, female and male occupations) shows male characters are presented in significantly more occupational roles (21) than female characters (7). Neither gender stands out for occupying higher positions, but there are several gender-stereotypical depictions (female as a homemaker, cashier and a shop assistant, and male as a mechanic, boxer, letter carrier, dentist and truck driver). Some of the females occupy positions that are not typical for their gender (police officer), and so do some male characters (waiter, shop assistant). However, characters occupying gender-stereotypical positions prevail.

Table 19: Touchstone 8, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– homemaker	– waiter
– cashier	– shop assistant
– flight attendant	– police officer
– shop assistant	– professional shoplifter
– professional shoplifter	– sculptor
– police officer	– mechanic
– singer	– reporter
	– cameraman
	– guard
	– burglar
	– priest
	– paramedic
	– musician
	– boxer
	– letter carrier
	– farmer
	– TV host
	– stunt performer
	– dentist
	– truck driver
	– piano tuner

Table 20 (Table 20: *Touchstone 8*, female and male activities) shows the activities in which illustrated characters engage. Both genders are portrayed engaging in a wide variety of activities; however, the female characters are depicted performing fewer activities (37) than male characters (53). Females are included in sports and some adrenaline activities as well as in some stereotypical ones (painting nails and clothes shopping). In previous analyses, we have discovered it is not self-evident that females are depicted driving cars let alone planes, but this textbook defies this stereotype. Male characters are depicted participating in more sports and more typically male activities (carrying heavy objects, lifting weights, fighting, repairing a car, drinking beer and shooting). One activity that caught my attention was a princess saving the prince. Fairytales typically represent male characters saving presumably feeble and helpless female characters, but in this textbook, the roles are reversed and do not conform to the stereotype.

Table 20: Touchstone 8, female and male activities

Female	Male
– sunbathing	– playing golf
– playing with a dog	– rowing a boat
– taking notes	– jogging
– painting nails	– playing bowls
– reading	– windsurfing
– going out	– doing clay shooting
– kissing	– clothes shopping
– playing table football	– carrying a box
– washing hair	– eating ice-cream
– biting nails	– dancing
– skiing	– sunbathing
– having a shower	– riding a bike
– doing sightseeing	– playing with a dog
– singing	– reading
– swimming	– going out
– talking on the phone	– kissing
– driving a car	– repairing a car

- writing a letter
- clothes shopping
- building a snowman
- cleaning the pond
- helping a hedgehog
- collecting waste paper
- planting trees
- making birdhouses
- climbing Mt. Everest
- riding a camel
- riding an elephant
- piloting a plane
- playing in a band
- being in prison
- parachute jumping
- playing tennis
- having a picnic
- taking a computer training course
- saving the prince

- playing table football
- holding a rabbit
- fighting
- skiing
- doing sightseeing
- swimming
- taking a computer training course
- playing guitar
- drinking beer
- eating pizza
- looking at magazines
- hiking
- climbing
- taking photos
- rodeo riding
- being in a cage with snakes
- jumping off a building
- fighting a shark
- fighting a tiger
- driving a tractor
- hitch-hiking
- fishing
- cleaning the pond
- building a snowman
- breaking a window
- playing football
- watching TV
- lifting weights
- writing
- driving a car
- crashing a car

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – shaving – scuba diving – picking mushrooms – painting the ceiling – shooting
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Table 21 (Table 21: *Touchstone 8*, gender and housework, child care) shows the distribution of children- and household-related activities between genders. Surprisingly, males seem to be equally engaged in these activities, as we encounter them in the kitchen and they are depicted with their children several times. Even though females engage in more activities, the deviance is not significant. This shows the textbook strives for equality and suppresses stereotypes.

Table 21: Touchstone 8, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
– making a shopping list	– grocery shopping
– making a cake	– changing a bulb
– cleaning	– cooking
– doing the washing up	– carrying a child
– going grocery shopping with a son	– cutting the bread
– dining with a son	– washing dishes
– hanging the clothes	– dining with a son
– watching TV with children	– watching TV with children
– making the bed	
– taking the rubbish out	

Both genders display emotion rather equally. We encounter 8 females expressing emotion: one is afraid, two are angry and five are sad. The number of emotional males is the same: four are afraid, one is angry and three are sad. Both males and females are depicted displaying emotions that society perceives as not typical for their gender. Therefore, the textbook does not follow the stereotype saying males are not emotional and that anger is not a 'feminine emotion'.

We detected some other stereotypical depictions our criteria does not cover. Some stereotypical depictions are parts of humorous sections of short jokes. Several jokes are based on feminine characteristics and gender stereotypes. Some of them are gender-neutral, but none makes fun of men. They are mostly connected to how society thinks females (should) behave: making fun of them for going on ridiculous diets, mocking their shopping habits and assuming they are bad drivers. One of the jokes (Figure 7) depicts a son bringing the newspaper saying his mother has won the title 'housewife of the year', while the surprised father is doing the dishes. The source of humor is a stereotype: the assumption that women have to do all the housework in order to be good homemakers. Although a male is portrayed participating in housework, based on which we could assume the textbook defies some stereotypes, the illustration is, in fact, based on a stereotype. Another worrying illustration (Figure 8) depicts a female in an advertisement with a disproportionately big mouth. The fact they chose a female is probably connected to the stereotypical belief that females talk too much.



Figure 7: Illustration depicting stereotype as a source of humor (Skela 2007, 109)



Figure 8: Illustration of a woman with big mouth (Skela 2007, 43)

3. 6. 3. 2 Scoring system results

The *Touchstone 8* textbook scored 5 points out of 10. It is partly appropriate considering the occupational roles of the characters, as some of them occupy positions that are not typical for their gender, and female characters are not depicted occupying lower or less respected positions (1 point). Characters of each gender are presented participating in a wide range of activities (1 point) and they display emotion equally (2 points). Surprisingly, male characters are equally active in household chores and child care (1 point).

However, the male characters outnumber the female characters significantly, and the textbook does contain stereotypical depictions of males and females. Males are depicted occupying a wider variety of jobs, and the textbook contains other gender-related issues.

3. 6. 4 Touchstone 9

3. 6. 4. 1 Descriptive analysis

Touchstone 9 is a textbook used in the 9th grade of primary school. It was originally published in 2006 by Založba Tangram, but the edition we used for the analysis was published in 2015.

As in every analyzed Touchstone textbook, in *Touchstone 9*, male characters outnumber female characters by 59% (197 males) to 41% (139 females). The total number of characters is 336, including two anthropomorphic male animals (an elephant and a hedgehog) and one anthropomorphic female animal (a hedgehog). We can tell the gender of the female hedgehog by her accentuated eyelashes. Male objects, unsurprisingly, did not possess any gender markers. We could not identify the gender of three characters.

In this textbook, we encounter some gender-stereotypical depictions, especially of adult females. They are often portrayed with long hair, long eyelashes, pouty lips and hourglass figures. We also detected a few females in aprons again, but no male character wearing an apron. This implies women are more likely to be depicted as homemakers. Women participating in farming, fishing and forestry activities are depicted wearing headscarves, and their male counterparts are wearing hats. The femininity of younger females is often emphasized by their hairstyles (braids, pigtails, long fair curls and hair accessories) and clothing of colors that are believed to be more feminine (pink, purple, red). They are also often depicted wearing skirts and dresses. Male representatives are depicted less stereotypically: they are wearing clothes of 'masculine' and 'feminine' colors and have various body types. Nevertheless, the textbook uses less stereotypical depictions in general, because the line drawings of characters are often more abstract, less realistic, and therefore they possess less typically feminine or masculine features. For example, we encounter males with long and females with short hair. These illustrations sometimes make it hard to distinguish between genders, proving we are used to certain – often stereotypical – image of each gender.

Table 22 (Table 22: *Touchstone 9*, female and male occupations) depicts occupational roles in which female and male characters engage. As was foreseeable, female characters occupy fewer roles, but the ratio between female occupations (5) and male occupations (18) is unacceptable. Furthermore, all females are depicted in very stereotypical, less respected and lower-paying jobs. In the 21st century, this should not remain unnoticed. As Porecca (723) states, bias and stereotypical depictions affect how children perceive their future job possibilities.

Table 22: Touchstone 9, female and male occupations

Female	Male
– waitress	– explorer
– homemaker	– police officer
– singer	– cook
– TV reporter	– mechanic
– costermonger	– business executive
	– doctor
	– butcher
	– sales assistant
	– milkman
	– boatman
	– athlete
	– street musician
	– letter carrier
	– travel agent
	– knight
	– king
	– teacher
	– sailor

Table 23 (Table 23: Touchstone 9, female and male activities) presents the activities of each gender. Expectedly, males engage in significantly more activities. In comparison to females, they engage in more demanding and active activities, and they also participate in more sports. The chapter presenting fishing, farming and forestry around the world depicts women performing less physically demanding activities (harvesting grapes, picking roses), while males participate in more laborious and difficult activities (cutting down trees, cutting sugarcane and sisal), which promotes the deeply rooted sexual division of labor where males are hunters and females are gatherers. Another stereotypical illustration depicts a male fixing the aerial while a female gives him instructions and waits for him to do the work. This implies she can not fix

it herself and puts her in a subordinate position and suggests she needs a male to help her and solve the problems she is not capable of solving herself.

Table 23: Touchstone 9, female and male activities

Female	Male
– taking a shower	– riding a motorbike
– picking olives	– fishing
– riding a bike	– picking olives
– rollerblading	– playing handball
– riding a horse	– protesting
– jogging	– studying
– shopping	– tapping rubber trees
– dancing	– cutting down trees
– playing football	– cutting sugarcane
– skating	– shearing sheep
– watching TV	– napping
– reading the newspaper	– having breakfast
– protesting	– studying
– harvesting grapes	– watching TV
– picking roses	– playing football
	– listening to music
	– talking on the telephone
	– playing cards
	– skating
	– reading
	– writing
	– ice skating
	– dancing
	– jogging
	– playing basketball
	– doing athletics
	– training karate

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – canoeing – carrying a box – walking the dog – fixing an aerial – playing accordion – playing drums – weighing himself – playing mini-golf – playing table tennis – bowling – playing snooker – windsurfing – skiing – playing badminton – playing volleyball – playing tennis
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Table 24 (Table 24: *Touchstone 9*, gender and housework, child care) presents another alarming observation. Male characters do not engage in any household activities, and they are rarely depicted associating with their children. This suggests that taking care of children is mostly a mother's job and once again presents the father as an absent, less involved figure. The illustration depicting the difficulties of parenting (Figure 9) shows three parents. One of them is a homemaker and a mother of three children, who is overworked, because she takes care of the household and the children. Another image depicts a working male, who wants to rest when he gets home from work, but whose children are presented as disruptive and annoying. There is no housework mentioned, and he does not seem to bother about his parental role. The last parent is a mother who returns from work with the grocery shopping, but she is worried about the housework and being a good parent. Even though the textbook presents both a working male and a working female, which should be self-evident but sadly is not, it implies males should rest after they come home from work and females, homemakers or working women, should also take care of children and do the housework. It also depicts a

homemaker, but no stay-at-home father. This implies that in the 21st century, we are still not comfortable enough with the image of a man staying home and doing the housework to include it in the textbook.

Table 24: Touchstone 9, gender and housework, child care

Female	Male
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – cleaning her room – grocery shopping – baking – washing the dishes – serving food and drinks – preparing dinner – cleaning – kissing her son – serving dinner – taking daughter to the doctor – taking husband to the doctor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – walking with the daughter – reading to his child

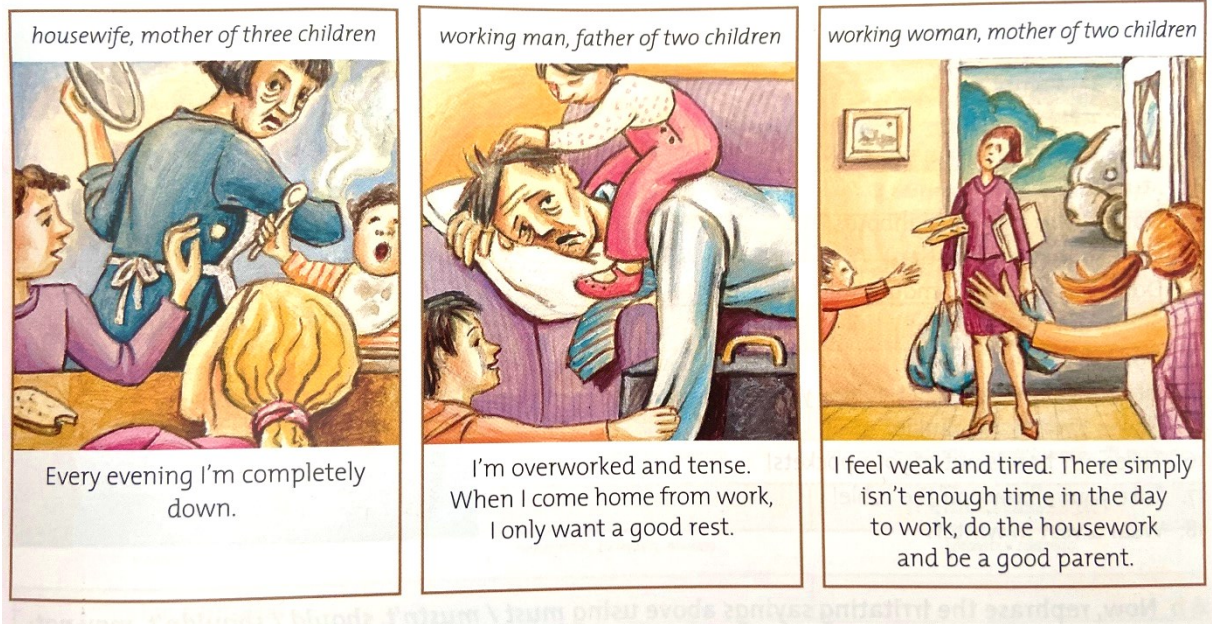


Figure 9: Illustration depicting difficulties of parenting (Skela 2015, 149)

On the issue of emotions, the textbook surprises, as it depicts more males than females expressing emotion. In some illustrations, it was hard to define the emotion, as there is a fine line between being fed up and angry, sad and shocked etc. Therefore, we tried to define the emotion expressed based on the context, when provided. However, the prevalent emotion in males is anger (10 angry characters), while we encounter only 4 female characters expressing anger, followed by three characters expressing sadness and two expressing fear. Male characters, on the other hand, express sadness more frequently (5), also fear (4). A detail that caught my attention was the reaction of a mother and father to their son shaving his head. The mother was sad, and the father expressed anger, showing the textbook still follows some stereotypical beliefs. Nevertheless, the analysis shows a mostly non-stereotypical distribution of emotion, as females do express anger, which is not typical, and males do express sadness and fear, even though they are usually not encouraged to do so.

The textbook does not contain any stereotypes not covered by our criteria.

3. 6. 4. 2 Scoring system results

The *Touchstone 9* textbook scored 4 points out of 10. It is appropriate considering its less stereotypical depictions of male characters (1 point), it expresses equality considering displayed emotions (2 points) and it does not contain any stereotype not covered by our criteria (1).

The textbook is not appropriate considering the ratio of males to females, since the latter are highly outnumbered. It also contains some stereotypical depictions of female characters, fails to present equal occupational opportunities, and presents females engaging in significantly fewer activities than males. They are also participating in less demanding and more passive activities. They do not contribute to the housework and child care equally; since the father is presented as the less involved figure, males do not participate in housework.

3. 1 Comparison

3. 1. 1 The total number of male and female characters

When comparing the total numbers of characters in textbooks from British and Slovene publishers, we excluded the characters with unknown gender, and anthropomorphic characters of each gender were included in the total number of characters of the assigned gender.

The total number of characters in textbooks from the British publisher (*Messages 1, 2, 3 and 4*) was 976. Five hundred and forty-five of these characters were male (56%) and 431 characters were female (44%). Therefore, there was a 12% variance between the number of males and females in the visual imagery of *the Messages* textbooks. Only the *Messages 3* textbook was not assigned a point in this category, because the difference between the number of depictions of both genders exceeded 20%. The remaining three textbooks were considered appropriate.

Textbooks from Slovene publishers (*Touchstone 6, 7, 8 and 9*), on the other hand, depicted 1862 characters. Of these, 1092 characters or 59% were male and 770 (41%) were female. The variance between the number of males and females in *the Touchstone* textbooks was 18%. Only *Touchstone 6* was assigned a point for the appropriate ratio between female and male characters. The other textbooks had a variance of more than 15%.

According to our criterion, textbooks from the British publisher are appropriate considering the ratio between the total number of males and females, and those from Slovene publishers are not. However, it is worrying that in every single textbook of both publishers males outnumber females.

3. 1. 2 Stereotypical depictions of female and male characters

The textbooks from the British publisher were mostly appropriate considering the (non)stereotypical depictions of both genders. With the exception of the *Messages 1* textbook that scored no points, because it reinforced color-related gender stereotypes, conformed to double standards when depicting males and females in swimming suits, and where graphic

line drawings of female characters possessed exaggerated gender markers and no female was depicted with short hair, all of the *Messages* textbooks scored 2 points in this category (for non-stereotypical depictions of female and male characters). The majority of characters were depicted neutrally, women were mostly wearing trousers and clothes of gender-neutral colors, and their bodies were not exaggeratedly feminine. In the *Messages 2* textbook, one of the main characters was depicted with short hair. The male characters were also depicted rather neutrally: they were not very muscular, wore clothes of all colors and some of them had long hair. A general observation considering all of the textbooks from the British publisher was that the femininity of young females (children) was highlighted with the choice of their clothes (pink or red dresses or skirts), hair accessories and haircuts (bowties, ribbons, pigtails, braids), and the femininity of adolescent and adult females was expressed with their makeup, jewelry, purses and high heels.

Textbooks from Slovene publishers were less appropriate considering this criterion, especially when depicting females. Only one textbook (*Touchstone 7*) was assigned two points for non-stereotypical illustrations of females and males, while three textbooks (*Touchstone 6, 7 and 9*) scored a point for neutral depictions of males, but they presented the females stereotypically. In the *Touchstone* textbooks, we encountered some anthropomorphic animals. Interestingly, female animals usually expressed their gender with accentuated eyelashes, pouty lips and pink accessories, while the gender of male animals could be assigned based on the absence of gender markers. Many females throughout the *Touchstone* textbooks expressed their femininity with clothes and accessories, and males were portrayed more neutrally. Adult women were often portrayed stereotypically when engaging in typically feminine activities or roles. The femininity of adult females was emphasized by exaggerated feminine figures (thin waists, wide hips, large breasts). Several females, especially in *Touchstone 8*, were illustrated in aprons, standing in their kitchens. In *Touchstone 7*, we encountered a non-binary gender identity when a male elephant donned a skirt and high heels.

3. 1. 3 Female and male occupational roles

In all textbooks from the British publisher, females engaged in fewer occupations than males, and in half of the textbooks (*Messages 1* and *Messages 4*), they also occupied positions that are stereotypically considered to be more appropriate for females, and less demanding and rewarding ones (teacher, nurse, homemaker, cook, secretary and shop assistant). However, the other half of the textbooks (*Messages 2* and *3*) presented females occupying positions that are stereotypically believed to be more appropriate for males or are depicted in a superior position compared to their male counterparts (head teacher, politician, police officer, scientist, pilot). In the *Messages* textbooks (*1, 2, 3* and *4*), females engaged in 29 occupations, while males engaged in 49. Therefore, the variance between the females' and males' occupations was 26%.

In textbooks from Slovene publishers, females also engaged in fewer occupations than males, but the difference in these textbooks was greater. In *Touchstone 6*, we encountered males and females occupying some non-typical positions (female conductor and male waiter), and in *Touchstone 7*, females were depicted in fewer, but not in less demanding or less valued jobs. In the remaining two textbooks, *Touchstone 8* and *9*, characters occupying stereotypical positions prevailed, and females occupied less respected and lower-paying jobs than males. Characters in the *Touchstone* textbooks engaged in 83 occupations altogether. Females engaged in 28 occupations and males in 55. The variance between the females' and males' occupations in textbooks from Slovene publishers was 32%.

Textbooks from British and Slovene publishers failed to present equal job opportunities and followed stereotypical beliefs about typically male or female occupations, but in the *Touchstone* textbooks, the gap between the number of jobs occupied by males and females was more alarming. However, all publishers at least tried to depict each gender in some non-stereotypical occupations, but the *Messages* textbooks accomplished this task slightly more successfully.

3. 1. 4 Activities

On the issue of genders engaging in activities, the *Messages* textbooks generally strive for equality. Except for *Messages 1*, where females engaged in significantly fewer activities, and these activities were passive, less outstanding and interesting, all of the textbooks depicted each gender participating in a comparable number of activities, and males and females engaged in a similar number of sports. In *Messages 4*, females even performed more activities and engaged in more sports than males.

The textbooks from Slovene publishers also tried to illustrate equality considering the number and variety of males' and females' activities. They were only partly successful, since each analyzed textbook presents females engaging in fewer activities. *Touchstone 6* and *9* also depicted females engaging in significantly fewer sports, more passive and less challenging activities. Females were also engaged in less physically demanding activities. However, *Touchstone 7* presented the genders more equally, as females were engaged in many sports and games. *Touchstone 8* showed a princess saving the prince and did not conform to the stereotype that females are helpless and need to be saved by males. However, considering the division of activities based on gender, the *Touchstone* textbooks have much room for improvement.

3. 1. 5 Housework and child care

In the majority of *the Messages* textbooks, females and males contributed equally to housework and child care. Even though females engaged in more activities of these kinds, males also contributed. In contrast to stereotypical beliefs, males were depicted engaging in household work. Textbooks also defied the belief that a father is likely to be a more absent or incompetent parent figure. Females engaged in some less typical activities (painting the room, painting the door, washing a car), and this proves that textbooks do try to avoid gender bias illustrations. The only textbook that failed to present equality on the issue of housework and especially child care was *Messages 3*, where only one male character was depicted spending time with children, and males engaged in significantly fewer indoor household activities than females.

In half of the *Touchstone* textbooks (*Touchstone 6* and *8*), both genders engaged in housework and child care-related activities. Males engaged in fewer activities, but we encountered them cooking, baking, making pancakes, and this defied the stereotype that only females belong in the kitchen. *Touchstone 6* depicted the father as the leader of the family and as the parent with more authority. In contrast, *Touchstone 7* and *9* conformed to the stereotype that the father is less involved in raising children and taking care of them. Males also engaged in significantly fewer or no household activities; therefore, these textbooks failed to present genders equally.

3. 1. 6 Emotions

Textbooks from the British publisher depicted 29 females expressing emotion and 26 emotional males. The most frequently expressed emotion among females was sadness (41%), followed by anger (31%) and fear (28%). Males expressed mostly fear (46%), which was followed by anger (31%). We encountered the least sad males (23%). The *Messages* textbooks depicted more female characters expressing emotions and are therefore following the stereotype saying females are the more emotional sex. Females in these textbooks most frequently expressed sadness, which is believed to be a female-typical emotion; however, they were also often expressing anger, which is typically more likely to be associated with males. The most common emotion among females was, surprisingly, fear. Stereotypically, males should be brave and therefore not express fear. The least expressed emotion among male characters was sadness, which is expectable.

Textbooks from Slovene publishers do not follow the stereotype of more emotional females, because we encountered 48 males expressing emotions compared to only 28 females. Males most frequently expressed anger (48%), and fewer males were depicted displaying fear (27%) and sadness (25%). This is an expected distribution of emotions among males, as anger is believed to be male-typical emotion and they are often discouraged from expressing sadness. Females' most frequent emotion was the one males express the least, and this is sadness (46%). It was followed by anger (29%) and fear (25%). Interestingly, females were more often portrayed expressing anger than fear.

3. 1. 7 Other stereotypical depictions

In the *Messages* textbooks, we encountered only one problem that was not covered by our criteria. With the choice of illustrations for adjectives describing weight and height, *Messages 1* reinforces a serious problem in today's society, which judges females based on their weight and males based on their height. The rest of the textbooks were free from other stereotypical depictions.

The *Touchstone* textbooks contained significantly more stereotypical depictions that did not fall into any of our categories. In *Touchstone 6*, we encountered a pair of anthropomorphic animals, and the male elephant was portrayed as witty and smart, while the female elephant was stereotyped, depicted as shallow, emotional, even ignorant and stupid, caring only for her looks. *Touchstone 7* served us some sexist jokes. The first one we highlighted was based on the stereotype that women are bad drivers, and the source of humor of the second one was violence and abuse of females. *Touchstone 8* also offered many jokes based on feminine characteristics and gender stereotypes. We highlighted one that is based on the assumption that women have to do all housework in order to be good homemakers. The textbook also contained an illustration based on the stereotypical belief that females talk too much. *Touchstone 9* did not contain any stereotype our criteria do not cover.

3. 1. 8 Comparison of scoring system results

Table 25: Comparison of scoring system results

Textbook	Score
Messages 1	5
Messages 2	9
Messages 3	7
Messages 4	8

Textbook	Score
Touchstone 6	6
Touchstone 7	6
Touchstone 8	5
Touchstone 9	4

Table 25 (Table 25: Comparison of scoring system results) shows the points scored by each textbook from British and Slovene publishers. The textbooks from the British publisher scored more points in every category, except for expressing emotion. On average, they scored 7.25 points. The average of textbooks from the Slovene publishers was significantly lower, 5.25.

4 Conclusion

Analysis of the two sets of textbooks clarified the gender-related issues of visual imagery in textbooks. These issues are based on set hypotheses, as follows:

First, we presumed that females in both English and Slovene publishers' textbooks are outnumbered by males. This hypothesis is based on Porecca's claim (706) that omission and underrepresentation of females are sexist attitudes suggesting they are less important than their male counterparts. Based on the empirical analysis, we can undoubtedly confirm the hypothesis, as male characters in every sample textbook outnumber females. However, in most textbooks from the British publisher, the difference between the number of depictions of both genders did not exceed 15%. The variance in textbooks from Slovene publishers, on the other hand, mostly exceeded the set limit of 15%. Therefore, textbooks from the British publisher are more appropriate considering the ratio between the total number of males and females than those from Slovene publishers.

Our next assumption was that males and females in both British and Slovene publishers' textbooks are presented stereotypically. This hypothesis was confirmed, because there was no textbook (neither from a British nor a Slovene publisher) that did not fail to present genders equally and without any stereotypes or sexism. Outnumbered females; stereotypical physical appearances of both genders; females engaging in less demanding and interesting activities; traditional division of home labor in which males do not participate in housework and are more likely to be absent fathers; males not supposed to express sadness or fear; females discouraged from displaying anger and many other stereotypical depictions – this is the worrying reality of the primary school English textbooks from both English and Slovene publishers.

The third supposition is that textbooks from a British publisher contain fewer stereotypical depictions compared to those from Slovene publishers. Upon a detailed inspection, this hypothesis turned out to be correct. Even though we encountered stereotypical depictions in every textbook that we analyzed, the textbooks from the British publisher portrayed characters of each gender more neutrally than those of Slovene publishers. Many females in textbooks from all the publishers that we analyzed are depicted with accentuated eyelashes, pouty lips, long hair and pink dresses, but the *Touchstone* textbooks take this a step further,

as they highlight these characters' femininity by emphasizing hourglass figures and exaggerated breasts and bottoms. Males, on the other hand, are less stereotyped, but in the *Touchstone* textbooks, we still encounter tall, muscular individuals whose masculinity is highlighted with beards and mustaches.

The last hypothesis says that publishers, both Slovene and British, strive for fewer stereotypical depictions and are trying to portray the genders more equally. However, hidden stereotyping is still present in every textbook in the analysis. Fortunately, this hypothesis was also confirmed. Although females are depicted engaging in fewer jobs than males, they occupy some important, respected and typically male-dominated positions, and we do encounter males engaging in occupations that are stereotypically believed to be more appropriate for females. Males are also depicted participating in housework and child care. Furthermore, we encounter many males expressing emotion, and this implies that feeling and displaying various emotions is acceptable for each gender. Even though there is a long way to go before we achieve equality and textbooks free of gender stereotypes, it is clear that we are moving in the right direction.

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