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A Brief Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis in Relation to Gender Studies in English Language Textbooks

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Abstract—This study was an attempt to provide a brief synopsis of the literature of CDA; the sketch of which are seven parts: *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theoretical Definitions; Major Approaches to CDA; Ideology; Language, Gender and Education; Textbooks; Sexism* as well as *Experimental Research on Gender in ELT Textbooks*. Hence, a general definition and background knowledge of CDA was represented along with the major approaches as well as on the related issues closely related to this study, i.e. ideology, sexism and textbooks as well as *Experimental Research on Gender in ELT Textbooks*.

Index Terms—critical discourse analysis, gender, sexism, ideology, Member Resources (MR), textbooks

I. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an academic research paradigm aiming to investigate “the power relations, ideological manipulations, and hegemony” (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007, p.1). CDA indicates what has been formerly known as critical linguistics (CL) (Wodak, 2002) which emerged in the late 1970s (Fowler and Kress, 1979). Critical theory provides a critical perspective or attitude towards society (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). Fairclough (1995a) defines critical theory as “any theory concerned with critique of ideology and the effects of domination” (p.20).

CDA embarks on deciphering and demystifying both “opaque and transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control” (Wodak, 2007, pp.208-209). Wodak (2001) points out that “CDA sees language as ‘social practice’ (p. 1), and considers the context of language use to be crucial (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). She assumes three concepts of critique, power, history and ideology as indispensable elements in all CDA.

Widdowson (2007) argues that CDA is “particularly concerned (and concerned about) the use (abuse) of language for exercise of socio-political power” (p.70). In other words, critical discourse analysis (CDA) investigates socio-political values and norms. It means that this school scrutinizes not only ideational assumptions but also ideological aspects (Widdowson, 2007). Hence, he assumes CDA as an analytical research method discovering traces of ideological bias in written or spoken texts and campaigning against the ideology as well as beliefs of the ruling system that tries to legitimize their control, power and domination. Accordingly, CDA critically scrutinizes the ideas and assumptions taken for granted trying to keep the status quo. To state the matter differently, CDA investigates the ideas, assumptions or ideologies trying to sustain the inequality and bias between the elites and non-elites and campaigns against these ideas and assumptions (Widdowson, 2007).

Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics that views language as a social phenomenon is central in practicing any CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2001a; Fairclough, 1995a; Fairclough, 1995b; Hodge & Kress, 1993). Accordingly, viewing language as a social event is the first assumption of CDA. The second main assumption of CDA is related to the speaker’s selections of vocabulary as well as grammar that based on Fowler and Kress (1979) is “principled and systematic” (p.188). Fowler and Kress (1979) state that “relation between form and content is not arbitrary or conventional, but... form signifies content” (p.88). It means that the kinds of selections—whether grammatical or lexical—are ideologically-based. In other words, language is a social phenomenon that is laden by ideologies.

Wodak (2001) elaborates that the main purpose of CDA is revealing “the opacities in discourse which contribute to the exercise, maintenance, or reproduction of unequal relations of power” (p.258). It means that the ambiguous utterances are elucidated in order to uncover the unequal power structures governing the society. Based on Bell and Garret (1998), CDA is not only a school but includes a range of approaches. Moreover, Van Dijk (1998) emphasizes that CDA is not “a unitary theoretical framework or a specific direction” (p.353).

Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk comprise the main scholars in the domain of CDA. Fairclough presents a systemic functional linguistic perspective; Van Dijk a text linguistic and cognitive linguistic; and Wodak interactional studies (Blommaert, 2005).

II. MAJOR APPROACHES TO CDA

Different approaches have been introduced in conducting CDA research. Among different approaches, the ones that belong to Norman Fairclough, Teun Van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak have got the most popularity. Whereas, Fairclough's approach is based on "Halliday's multifunctional linguistic theory and Foucault's order of discourse" (Meyer, 2001, p. 15); Wodak's along with Van Dijk's approaches have resorted to a "socio-cognitive" theory. What is crucial in all CDA approaches is the mediation between language and society (Meyer, 2001, p. 15).

A. Norman Fairclough: *Discourse as Social Practice*

Norman Fairclough is one of the most influential researchers in the domain of CDA taking a specific middle range theory based on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics theory which denotes a "pragmatic, problem-oriented approach" (Meyer, 2001, p. 28). Based on Meyer (2001), Fairclough emphasizes on "social conflict in the Marxist tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourse in particular elements of dominance, difference and resistance" (p.22). Fairclough assumes a semiotic element for every social practice that is composed of dialectically related elements of "productive activity, the means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis" (Fairclough, 2001b, p.122).

In Fairclough's view, CDA is the "analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices" (Fairclough, 2001b, p.123). Genres and styles are the constituted elements composed of "these semiotic aspects of social practice" (Meyer, 2001, p. 22).

Fairclough (2001b) suggests the following steps in conducting CDA:

- ▶ Focus upon a specific social problem which has semiotic aspect; go outside the text and describe the problem and identify its semiotic aspect.
 - ▶ Identify the dominant styles, genres, discourses constituting this semiotic aspect.
 - ▶ Consider the range of difference and diversity in styles, genres, discourses within this aspect.
 - ▶ Identify the resistance against the colonization processes executed by the dominant styles, genres and discourses.
- (p. 125)

Fairclough (2001a) called his particular method *critical language study (CLS)* and depicted it as "a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitive social relations, through focusing upon language" (p.4). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) consider CDA as an analytical approach that "brings social science and linguistics...together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them" (p.6). Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is the base for most CDA approaches including Fairclough's CLS (Fairclough, 2001a). Moreover, Foucault's concept of *orders of discourse*, Gramsci's concept of *hegemony* and Habermas' concept of *colonization of discourse* are the theories that comprise the foundations of CLS (Fairclough, 2001a).

Based on Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), CDA is an approach that may theorize transformations and create "awareness of what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of what people may be able to make and remake their lives" (p. 113). They argued that

CDA of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on what is going socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically. Put differently, CDA systematically charts relations of transformation between the symbolic and non-symbolic, between discourse and the non-discursive (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.113).

In analyzing any communicative event, CLS considers three simultaneous focuses: text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough's method is similar to Van Dijk's model which is composed of three components of *discourse*, *sociocognition* and *social analysis* (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The difference between Fairclough's and Van Dijk's models lies in the second part; in other words, Van Dijk assumes "social cognition and mental models as mediating between discourse and the society" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 59), but Fairclough (2001a) considers discourse practice as the part which mediates between the other two parts.

Fairclough (1995a, pp.132-3) presents CDA in this way:

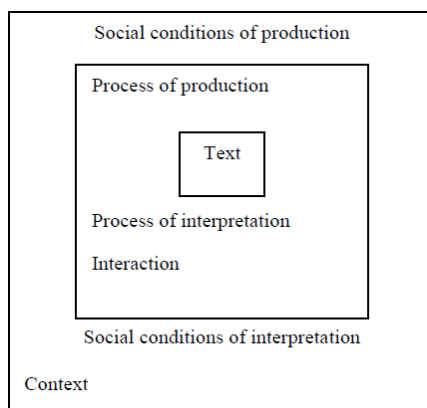
By 'critical' discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between a) discursive practices, events and texts, and b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations by power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Fairclough (1989, pp.14-15) assumes power, ideology, and language as a unitary system. He states:

The gist of my position is that language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being a site of, and a stake in, struggles of power.

In a nutshell, Fairclough's framework consists of three sections of "whatness", "howness", and "whyness". Whatness refers to the description, howness to the interpretation and whyness to the explanation. Fairclough's (2001a) analytical model is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) that is composed of some "critical social theorists, such as Foucault (i.e. concept of orders of discourse), Gramsci (i.e. concept of hegemony), and Habermas (i.e. concept of colonization of discourse)", etc. Fairclough's model presented in following has three dimensions of "text",

“*interpretation*”, and “*context*”. His approach assumes a dialectical relationship between language and other social elements. It means that there is an oscillation between text, interpretation, and context. A “text” is just a part of discourse. It means that “text”—whether spoken or written—is the product of process, and the process has two dimensions of production and interpretation. In other words, “text” is the “product” of the “process of production”, and the “resource” of the “process of interpretation” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.21). Discourse analysis regards the “formal properties of a text” as “traces in the productive process” and as “cues in the process of interpretation” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.21). Fairclough emphasizes on the interaction of text and “members resources (MR)”. MR are composed of three subcategories of “social situation or immediate social environment”, “social institution”, and “the society”.



Fairclough (2001a, p.21)

Fairclough’s (2001a) approach, that is known as *critical language study (CLS)*, emphasizes on the concealed relation, i.e. the links between language, power and ideology. CLS aims to emancipate hidden social relationships in such a way that clarifies how linguistic components control or decide the way their disguised elements will develop by or result in the system of the social relationships (Fairclough, 2001a). CLS has taken language as a social practice for granted based on Sociolinguistics findings (Fairclough, 2001a).

CLS stresses that focusing on comprehension leads to the fact that in interpreting any utterance everyone not only needs to decode the utterance but also to match the properties of any utterance with what is stored in the long-term memory (Fairclough, 2001a). What is stored in the long-term memory represents prototypes that are known as *member resources (MR)*. MR refers to a set of things as: “the shape of words, the grammatical forms of sentences, the typical structure of a narrative, the properties of types of objects and person, the expected sequence of events in a particular situation type, etc.” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.9). For Fairclough, comprehension is the result of interaction between MR and utterances since MR “are socially determined and ideologically shaped” (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 9) and it is influential in maintaining power relations (Fairclough, 2001a, p.9). Moreover, the processes of communication, both production and comprehension should be taken into account since these processes comprise a crucial base in comprehending the relations exist between language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 2001a).

CLS views language as a kind of social practice in which the features of discourse are specified by social conditions (Fairclough, 2001a). In other words, CLS treats discourse as “a form of social practice” that is glossed by Fairclough (2001a). Fairclough’s statement implies that language constitutes a part of the society; it also denotes that language “is a social process” as well as “a socially conditioned process” which is formed by the non-linguistic part of the society (Fairclough, 2001a, pp.18-19).

Fairclough argues that the relationships existing between language and society are internal and dialectical; thus, language is woven in the society and is a part of it. It means that the way people speak, listen, read, or write is dictated by social issues, even in the situations in which people claim they keep their individualities (Fairclough, 2001a). It is worth mentioning that language is not only reflected and expressed by the social issues, but it also reflects and expresses social processes and practices (Fairclough, 2001a). It should be noted that language and society do not compose equal facets of a single whole but society comprises the single whole that language is a part of it (Fairclough, 2001a).

In order to understand CDA in Fairclough's view, it is crucial to have a vivid picture of the concept of discourse in Fairclough's three-dimensional model. Discourse refers to the whole process of communication (Fairclough, 2001a). This process pertains to “*process of production*” as well as “*process of interpretation*” (Fairclough, 2001a). Text comprises the product and resource of these two processes respectively (Fairclough, 2001a). Accordingly, discourse analysis is something more than text analysis. In other words, the formal features of the text are viewed as the *traces* and *cues* of these two processes respectively (Fairclough, 2001a). Furthermore, an interaction between text and *member resources* is the chief characteristic of the “*process of production*” as well as “*process of interpretation*” (Fairclough, 2001a).

In addition to these processes, an account of the way in which these processes are socially determined should be provided (Fairclough, 2001a). Hence, MR has two facets; on the one hand, it has a cognitive origin in the sense that it is

shaped in the head of the speakers; on the other hand, they are shaped by social issues (Fairclough, 2001a). People incorporate socially produced practices, i.e. MR and make use of them to take part in discourse as a social practice (Fairclough, 2001a).

Likewise, discourse entangles social conditions that pertain to “*social conditions of production*” and “*social conditions of interpretation*” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.20). These conditions have a connection with “three levels of social organization, [i.e.] the immediate social environment, the social institution, and society” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.20). Accordingly, social conditions determine the MR people resort to, in production or interpretation, and these MR dictate “the way in which texts are produced and interpreted” (Fairclough, 2001a, p.21). Thus, CLS emphasizes that since language is a social phenomenon, analysis of the text, processes of production and interpretation, as well as the relationship between texts, processes and their social conditions should be considered (Fairclough, 2001a).

B. Teun Van Dijk: A Socio-cognitive Model

Van Dijk (1988a) is well-known for his analyses of news discourse in the way that his analyses involve both textual and structural analyses of media discourse, and analysis as well as explanations “at the production and reception or comprehension level” (Boyd Barrett, 1994). Accordingly, Van Dijk is well known as a media discourse analyst.

Teun Van Dijk sees CDA from a socio-psychological perspective. The theory of his approach is a framework of systematizing “phenomena of social reality” (Meyer, 2001, p. 21). He has presented a triad relationship between discourse, cognition, and society. His definition of discourse denotes “a communicative event, including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images, and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension of signification” (Van Dijk, 2001). Van Dijk (2001) sets out a socio-cognitive theory in which linguistics understood “in broad structural-functional sense” (p. 97).

The cognitive-psychology has been introduced by Van Dijk is as “a form of specific kind of mental model, as stored in episodic memory—the part of long term memory in which people store their personal experiences” (Van Dijk, 2001, p. p. 112).

The concept of context models—“mental representations of the structures of the communicative situation discursively relevant for a participant” (Meyer, 2001, p.21)—is introduced by Van Dijk. These mental models serve to “control the pragmatic part of discourse” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 112). Three kinds of social representations have been recognized in understanding discourse in Van Dijk’s framework: (personal, group and cultural) knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies (Van Dijk, 2001).

Hence, Van Dijk’s (2001) approach at analyzing ideologies is conducted in three levels of social, cognitive and discourse analysis. Cognitive part of Van Dijk’s approach distinguishes his approach from other approaches in CDA (Van Dijk, 2001). In this approach, socio-cognition is the mediation between society and discourse. Socio-cognition includes social cognition as well as personal cognition (Van Dijk, 2001).

Moreover, Van Dijk presents ideology as “the overall, abstract, mental systems that organize... socially-shared attitudes” (Van Dijk, 1995, p.18). Furthermore, Van Dijk’s model is based on making transparent ideological dichotomy of Us-Them. In achieving this purpose, he emphasizes on these categories:

- ▶ Examining historical, political or social context of the discourse as well as examining the main participants;
- ▶ Investigating the relations of power as well as conflicts existing in groups;
- ▶ Recognizing positive as well as negative attitudes towards Us and Them;
- ▶ Stating clearly and precisely presupposition as well as Implicatures
- ▶ Scrutinizing lexical selections as well as grammar to underscore or de-emphasize the opinions of “polarized groups” (Van Dijk, 2008, p.61).

C. Ruth Wodak: Sociological and Historical Model

Ruth Wodak has introduced “the most linguistically-oriented” models in CDA (Meyer, 2001, p.21). Ruth Wodak along with Reisigl (2001) presents a particular theory regarding CDA (Meyer, 2001). Their model assumes discourse “as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as “texts”, that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres” (Wodak, 2001, p.66).

Effectively, Wodak has presented a discourse historical model in which “the connections between fields of action (Grinth, 1996), genres, discourses and texts are described and modeled” (Meyer, 2001, p. 22). The focus of discourse historical approach is on politics. It seems that Wodak’s approach presents a kind of pragmatic perspective.

Wodak calls her model as *discourse sociolinguistics* which is rooted in “Sociolinguistics in the Bernsteinian tradition as well as the ideas of Frankfurt school, especially those of Jürgen Habermas” (Wodak, 2001, p. 7). Courts, schools and hospitals, as well as sexism, racism and anti-sexism are the institutional settings and social issues that attracted Wodak. Accordingly, Wodak developed her specific approach called “*discourse historical method*” (Wodak, 2001). Wodak’s model differentiation lies in the term of historical.

Wodak (2001) considers language as social processes and interaction which involve three points that can be summarized as power and ideologies, historical, and interpretation; these points comprise the main features of Wodak’s (2001) approach. Term *historical* in Wodak’s model is similar to Fairclough’s intertextuality (Wodak, 2001). Wodak and Ludwig (1999) insist on the fact that “the right interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary”

(Wodak, 2001). It means that the interpretation that readers or listeners may make of a communicative event is different that, based on Fairclough (2001a), depends on their MR that are “socially determined and ideologically shaped” (p. 9).

III. IDEOLOGY IN CDA

The coherent set of social and power-related norms and values dominated in a society comprises ideology. It is proposed that this is the dominant group that has the right to determine assumptions and beliefs regarding social roles in a society (Ho, 2009). Ideologies undertake the process of “naturalization” to realize into the fundamental facts of the society (Ho, 2009). These two concepts, i.e. “ideology” and “naturalization” are some issues related to CDA (Ho, 2009). In addition, naturalization conceals the fact that ideologies present a choice of the presentation of things. It does not mean that these naturalized facts are the only way of representing things and there are other alternatives, too (Cameron, 2001). Hence, in dealing with ideologies, CDA is an analytical research method that critically analyzes these natural and innate beliefs (Ho, 2009).

It is worth emphasizing that CDA framework is not a new paradigm in which the relation between language and ideology is emphasized. In fact, Sapir and Whorf’s (1956) theory of “linguistic determinism” was the beginning of the hypothesis that states the relationships between ideology and language (Sapir, 1929). Edward Sapire and Benjamin Whorf firstly introduced the theory of *linguistic determinism*—a theory that states that the social reality that people achieve is directed by the language they are communicating (Weatherall, 2002). In other words, it is argued that the theory of the impact of sexist language on thought and behavior is driven from Sapire and Whorf’s hypothesis. Accordingly, language expresses, perpetuates, and establishes gender and even causes sexism as a social reality in the society (Weatherall, 2002).

The emergence of the concept of “*ideology*” begins with the work of Karl Marx. In *The German Ideology*, Marx along with Engels presents ideology as “the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness”, all things that “men say, imagine, conceive” thus “politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc.” comprise these things (Marx & Engels, 1962, p.47). In terms of Rahimi and Sahragard (2007), Marx regards five indispensable components in discussion of ideology as: “naturalization”, “historicization”, “externalization”, “particularization”, and “enthymemes” (p.13).

Apparently, Volosinov (1973) had presented the first linguistic theory of ideology as “class struggle the dialectic of signs and” (p.17). Thompson (1990) depicts ideology as “social forms and processes within which and by means of which, symbolic forms circulate in the social world” (p. vii). In other words, Thompson considers different ideologies as various ways in which varieties of symbolic forms construct and convey different meanings. CDA defines ideology as a significant way for providing and maintaining “unequal power relations” (Wodak, 2007); especially, it concerns with “the ways in which language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions” (Wodak, 2002, p.8 & Wodak, 2007, p.209). Contrary to the fact that different scholars have presented diverse definitions for ideology, CDA aims to “create awareness in agents of how they are deceived about their own needs and interests (Wodak, 2007). Therefore, one of the main objectives of CDA is to elucidate discourses by recourse to clarifying the ideologies behind different discourses in particular contexts (Wodak, 2007).

Hodge and Kress (1993) identify two kinds of ideology: “political ideology” and “global or neural ideology”. Hodge and Kress (1993) are among the ones who have introduced a model in investigating ideology. Their model presents a “syntagmatic” one, consisting of some assumptions in regard to the interaction of language, thought, ideology and a classification system. This model has two parts: actionals, i.e. transactive vs. non-transactive and relationals, i.e. equative vs. attributive (Hodge & Kress, 1993).

Hodge and Kress (1993) define ideology as:

A systematically organized presentation of reality. The application of different euphemistic or derogatory terms leads to different presentations of realities and therefore ideologies (p. 15).

Understanding the concepts of critical and ideology is fundamental in conducting any CDA. CDA concerns about power and control as well as intertextuality and contextualization (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). In CDA, power means differences and the consequences of these differences in social structures; and so, language provides a means for challenging power—for example grammatical forms or persons’ control of genre are contributed to some forms of power (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). It means that “discourses are ideological; accordingly the selected signs in any discourse are ideologically laden” (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007). Fairclough (1995a) views “*ideology*” as:

Ideologies are not unalterable, sticky or unitary structures, rather, they are malleable substances prone to different arenas of interest and the social forces involved (p.17).

It seems that Fairclough (1995a) regards consciousness of the role language plays in relation to dominance as a crucial aim of language education. He states that ideological structures are formed by power relations. In fact, ideologies are particular molds of thinking and actions that form people’s understanding of the world around them (Fairclough, 1995a). He states that the unequal power relationships existing between social classes, women and men, as well as between ethnic or cultural majorities and minorities are the result of discursive practices. He assumes power as fulfilling two functions; on the one hand, it is influential as in advertising, politics, media and culture, on the other hand, it is instrumental as used in law, education, business and management—either overtly or covertly. According to Rahimi and Sahragard (2007):

Ideological structures are those slanting (biased) ruling ideas that become a part of people's common senses, while they serve as the assumptions of a particular class and usually the ruling class (p. 19).

Generally, review of literature stresses that the main assumption of CDA that makes this analytical research different from other text analysis approaches lies in the potential of this approach in demystifying the ideological assumptions hidden in the text.

IV. LANGUAGE, GENDER, AND EDUCATION

Language is a means to reflect as well as challenge social positions of females and males (Weatherall, 2002). Gender, social class, age, ethnicity, education, etc. are among the factors contributed to the social classification that is one of the measures which determines the language people use (Muto-Humphrey, 2005). Ansary and Babaii (2003) argue that language is a means to transmit different attitudes, values and norms, though it is considered as a neutral communicative instrument; accordingly, it is not unpredictable that language plays a crucial role in reinforcing or even forming attitudes and values of a society.

Language is a crucial factor in communicative events, by which our ideas and feelings about the world around us are conceptualized. It is evident that the relationship between language, thought and reality is not so clear and straightforward (Mineshima, 2008). In this regard, Ansary and Babaii (2003) argue that language plays a crucial role in establishing social relationships with other individuals living in the society. They continue that sex differences shed light on the sociolinguistic aspects of life that is reflected in the language of each community. The literature review upholds that although language has a demanding role in the socialization of children, at the same time, language has a significant role in perpetuating and conveying gender bias implicitly or explicitly (Ansary & Babaii, 2003).

One of the fundamental thrusts of *Sociolinguistics* is the relationship between language and gender. Attention to the relationships between language and gender as a domain of study emerged during the 1960s and 1970s with three books: *Male/Female Language* (M.R. Key), *Language and Women's Place* (R. Lakoff), and *Difference and Dominance* (Thorne & Henley).

Gender is a contextual-dependent concept that contributes various linguistic strategies to males and females (Bell, McCarthy & McNamara, 2006). "*Gender*" depicts the roles of women and men established by the society. Each society has a particular point of view towards the roles played by women and men and has specific expectations from them (Bell et al., 2006). These expectations depend on cultural, political, economic, social and religious factors (Bell et al., 2006). Customs, law, class, ethnic background, as well as prejudices of a particular society have a certain disposition towards women and men; and these issues construct particular attitudes and behaviors towards gender. In addition, gender roles define the activities assigned to men and women on the basis of presumed differences (Bell et al., 2006).

It is culturally assumed that females and males constitute two extremes of traits. In fact, females occupy suppressed groups that incarnate negative characteristics as passiveness, weakness, dependence, and emotionality; males comprise the dominant groups with the positive characteristics such as strangeness, activity, independence, and rationality (Ho, 2009). It is apparent that these tags to females and males are not natural and inherent, but are socially and culturally constructed and supported (Ho, 2009).

Montgomery (1995) remarks that the differences observed between females and males are affected by different factors particularly linguistic and sociological ones. Whereas, linguistic factors deal with lexical and grammatical choices which differ between females and males, sociological factors shed light on cultural, environmental, ethical, and social alternatives (Montgomery, 1995). In fact, Gender, power, and opportunity as the social systems are interwoven with cultural and historical processes, thus tradition has a determining role on construction of these systems. It is apparent that the way in which tradition develops over time is an essential factor in maintaining or modifying these systems in any society (Gouveia, 2005).

There are two concepts which deal with gender; one is "*gender representation*" and the other "*gender bias*". "*Gender representation*" refers to the way in which gender is portrayed, but "*gender bias*" sheds light on the unfair treatment to one gender by under-representation comparing the opposite gender (Mineshima, 2008; Gouveia, 2005).

In forming gender, identity, educational processes, and relations play a crucial role (Özdoğan, Aksoy, Erdoğan, & Boğaziç, 2002). In fact, sex segregations, sex stereotypes and also discriminations are developed and reinforced through schools (Özdoğan, et al, 2002). It seems that schools play a demanding role in exaggerating the negative aspects of the gender roles in the outside world (Özdoğan, et al, 2002). Accordingly, it is crucial that each curriculum attempts to provide equal chances and opportunities for all learners which demands adjustment in using the textbooks in such a way that the gender bias is minimized as much as possible (Özdoğan, et al, 2002) since educational objectives are not achievable without considering the gender issue into account.

V. TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks are one of the sources of presenting language. Sociolinguistic usage, among other factors, occupies a significant place in presenting both males and females' roles in society as well as cultural arrangements learners are exposed to, in the textbooks (Otlowski, 2003). Accordingly, textbooks play a crucial role in signaling some messages regarding the issue of gender as well as the social roles each gender performs. In this regard, Gershuny (1977) argues

that “textbooks purporting to teach the specifics of academic discipline have concomitantly taught secondary information—gender roles and social values” (p.150).

Firestone (2000) emphasizes that textbooks are in fact political means for shaping the mental models of people through which the way that people think, act or feel regarding different phenomena including gender issues is dictated. In fact, the main purpose of the textbooks including foreign language textbooks is to guide and also to instruct children about the past as well as the idealized presentation of the past (Firestone, 2000). Moreover, textbooks are informative resources for living and behaving in every society (Firestone, 2000). In other words, textbooks provide a history of people, its relationships and even ideologies of that people (Firestone, 2000). Thus, textbooks are something more significant than names, dates, facts, but they inspire realities that are shaped (Firestone, 2000) by “the ruling system in legitimizing and preserving their dominance and preventing production of the alternative discourse” (Keshavarz and Malek, 2009, p.7).

Consequently, textbooks play a crucial role in socializing the children (Keshavarz & Malek, 2009). They have a significant role in conveying specific and distinct information about the world in order to dictate suitable and proper types of behavior. It seems that textbooks producers try to express (an idealized) reality (Keshavarz & Malek, 2009). Apparently, a conscious or unconscious gender message is transmitting through the process of production to instruction, though it is purported that these attempts are conscious. Gender message that is conveyed through textbooks or other means reflects information about the norms and values governing in the society. In addition, these conveyed messages express something about the opportunities and chances available for both females and males (Keshavarz & Malek, 2009).

It appears that understanding definitions and presentation of realities in textbooks are significant because they are reflecting aims and purposes of society and government. Accordingly, textbooks should be designed in such a way that they provide not only the elites but also the peasants as well as indigenous people (Keshavarz & Malek, 2009). Littlejohn and Windeatt’s (1988) investigation of the teaching materials shows that some materials are more or less biased in presenting class, ethnicity etc. Schau and Scott (1984), as well as Sadker, Sadker and Klein (1991) imply that gender-balanced textbooks help students to broaden their attitudes regarding gender and subsequently increase students’ motivation in learning.

Lakoff (1973) argues that all the values, norms, perspectives and attitudes that are held by a society are reflected in the language and also in the textbooks. He was interested in female’s presentation in written as well as spoken English textbooks and also the values and norms unconsciously transmitted because of this presentation. Ansary & Babaii (2003), Beebe (1998), Kanemaru (1998), Pierce (1990) and Wolfson (1989) emphasize that textbooks should present a balanced and fair representation of both genders and also the roles ascribed to them and refuse stereotyping. Textbooks are also one of the resources considered by the practitioners of (critical) discourse analysis framework. Richards and Rodgers (2001) view textbooks as the second significant element, after teacher, influencing learning.

Furthermore, Farooq (1999) argues that if a textbook neglects the actions and achievements of females or disapprove females or ascribe stereotyped roles to females and males, this textbook is sexist. Jones, Kitetu, and Sunderland (1997), in the same vein, discuss that a “textbook carries a unique authority which is created and maintained through its texts...these are understood as the legitimate version of a society’s sound knowledge” (p.8). Generally, it has been argued repeatedly by different researchers including Johansson and Malmsjö (2009) that male-dominated textbooks in which males outnumber females denote that males are more important and even are entitled to take part more actively in the classroom activities compared to females.

VI. SEXISM

The term sexism conveys different meanings, among them, the one concerned about the ways in which negative attitudes are signaled toward females are noticed (Farooq, 1999). Trudgill (1974) views sexism as an unconscious cultural bias that is expressed and reinforced by the kind of language people are taught from childhood.

Sex bias refers to the sex stereotyping that conveys significant messages regarding the norms and values specific to females and males (Chung, 2000). Sex bias presents the “reinforcement of sex stereotypes and the more or less overt discriminatory treatment of girls in schools that disadvantage girls” (Chung, 2000, p.4). Accordingly, it is proposed that sex bias impacts both females and males’ achievements in such a way that it prevents both genders in fulfillment their potentials (Chung, 2000).

Hence, sex bias is incorporated in “sex-segregated curricula in textbooks and other instructional materials” (Chung, 2000, p.4). Furthermore, this issue is embodied in the sort of the teachers’ behavior regarding learners—both females and males (Chung, 2000). In effect, Chung defines sex bias as critical sex stereotyping in which “the overt or less overt discriminatory treatment (is attributed to the) girls in schools that disadvantage girls” (p.4).

Otherwise, the studies undertaken in the US and other countries regarding sex bias showed that textbooks as well as schools, materials and even teachers’ treatment with boys or girls are laden with critical amount of sex bias. These research studies claim that sex bias influences both sexes’ performances. Four main types of sex bias were recognized by (AAUW, 1992), i.e. “i) the exclusion, or invisibility, of girls or women from textbooks, ii) sex-stereotyping, iii) the subordination of girls or women to boys and men in text, and iv) the lack of females in history books” (cited in Chung,

2000, p.4); Henley (1987) also proposes three types of sexist language: a) ignoring women, b) narrowly defining women, and c) depreciating women.

VII. EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH ON GENDER IN EFL TEXTBOOKS

Studies in the past four decades show the existence of gender bias in EFL textbooks in terms of gender representation as well as gender roles (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Jones, Kitetu, & Sunderland 1997; Bayyurt & Litosseliti, 2006; Johansson & Malmjö, 2009). Some cases of these studies are presented as follow:

Some authors investigated the content of primary schools during the years 1961 and 1962 by focusing on child-centered stories. This investigation that was called "*Dick and Jane as victims*" published in 1972 considered 14 different publishing companies. This study categorized the key terms into two main groups: "Active Mastery" and "Second Sex". "Active Mastery" composes positive themes such as "ingenuity", "cleverness", "strength", "bravery" and "heroism". "Second Sex" constitutes less positive themes such as "incompetence", "passivity", "goal construction and rehearsal for domesticity". This study concluded that the proportion of girls to boys was 1 to 4 in terms of the first category and 6 to 1 in the second category. Some other results were also found as following:

i) males appear twice as frequently as females; ii) men are featured in a variety of occupations, while most women are housewives; iii) females are represented as passive and dependent, while males are strong, assertive and active; iv) boys do not exhibit emotion; v) household chores are depicted as female chores, and vi) girls are not prized for intelligence as are boys (cited in Chung, 2000, p.5).

Graham (1975) presented a study in which five million words were taken from American children's textbooks which resulted in outnumbering of males. Porreca (1984) made a similar investigation and found that males' designations nearly always exceed from the ones of females. Carroll and Cowlitz (1994) argue that presenting males in greater number pronouns denotes the greater importance on the part of males.

Coles (1977), Nilsen (1977), as well as Peterson and Kroner (1992), in similar studies, examined sex bias in some textbooks and uphold the existence of prejudices against females. It is argued that sexist attitudes and values that are represented through textbooks is a sociolinguistic fact that learners are exposed to and it plays a crucial role in shaping perspectives and attitudes of the learners as the next generation (Stockdale, 2006).

Hartman and Judd (1978) examined 15 TESOL textbooks published during late 1960s and early 1970s and concluded that these textbooks portray females less visible comparing to males. In addition, it was concluded that females are playing the stereotyping roles along with being the subject of titles. In some studies, among them, Hellinger's (1980) "For Men Must Work, Women Must Weep: Sexism in English Textbooks used in German Schools" and Porreca (1984) "Sexism in Current ESL Textbooks" are worth mentioning. These two studies as well as most of the other studies show that males outnumbered and take a more significant and dominant status. Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) also developed a similar investigation in 1993 on Korean primary and secondary schools' textbooks of the fifth curriculum cycle which yielded similar results (cited in Stockdale, 2006).

Other studies in the past two decades also brought about the same results (e.g. O'Barr & Atkins, 1980; Holmes, 1986; Guy, Horvath, Vonwiller, Paisley, & Rogers, 1986; Cameron & Coates, 1988; Eckert, 1989; Tannen, 1990; Macaulay & Brice, 1994, 1997). All these studies result in similar findings, i.e. inequalities between females and males in such a way that females were treated unfairly and given a derogatory status compared to males.

Farooq (1999) investigated sexism in an EFL textbook, namely, *Oral Communication Ia: 13 Conversations* used by Japanese junior college students. He found that this textbook manifested sexism in both linguistic and non-linguistic parts in which the superiority of men were revealed in this particular textbook.

American Association of University Women (AAUW) made a study on sex bias in schools' textbooks in 1999. This study revealed more balanced and improved situation for both males and females in 1990s comparing with the one in 1970s. It seems, in this decade, women participate in a more diverse roles and activities.

Suno, Lida, and Hardy (2001) are also among the researchers who evaluated gender representation in EFL textbooks. In fact, they investigated male and female representation in five series of Japanese EFL junior high school textbooks which showed that these series are laden with gender-biased implicit messages.

Furthermore, Ansary and Babaii (2003) examined *Right Path to English I & II* in terms of sexism. Their study showed that these textbooks suffer from sexism in favor of males. Dominguez (2003), in his study, investigated sexism in *New Interchange Intro* linguistically and non-linguistically. Likewise, Dominguez' study resulted into similar findings.

In addition, Muto-Humphrey (2005) investigated *Graded Readers* in terms of gender textbooks, i.e. two versions of texts based on the same story, namely, *The Gift of Magi* by O' Hevy that is a beginner level with about 300 headwords and *The Christmas Present*, that is a lower intermediate level with 700 headwords among 55 females and 21 males. This study showed that *graded readers* doesn't consider gender balance effectively. In fact, this investigation concluded that social aspect of gender balance received little attention.

Stockdale (2006) also evaluated an EFL textbook, namely, *Impact Values* in terms of gender representation. He investigated this textbook regarding gender bias-related issues including visibility, firstness, nouns and pronouns as well as discourse roles. He brought about the same results, i.e. significant bias favoring males.

Likewise, Paivandi (2008) evaluated discrimination and intolerance in Iran's textbooks with the perspective against women and minorities. He concluded that all these textbooks are loaded with religious and ideological points of view. It seems that, this perspective implies a kind of reductionism, bias, and exclusion in which a group of people were presented as insiders—who tolerate others—and the other groups were rejected. It means that a kind of gender ideology makes differences between women and men, and the superiority of men was manifested. Furthermore, bias was also observed between minorities and majorities in terms of religious issues.

Moreover, Keshavarz and Malek (2009) investigated *ILI (Iran Language Institute) and True to Life* regarding social relations, subject positions and contents in conversations of these two series. Their study showed that these two groups of textbooks are composed of equal social status between participants in which friends, occupational and commercial positions were dominant themes. Hence, their study indicated that market issue—one representation of western economy and capitalism—is emphasized in the two series.

Johansson and Malmjö (2009), in the same vein, examined four series of *Happy, Time, What's Up?, and Wings Base Book* in terms of representation of females and males. Considering the gender bias observed in the series, they argue that gender bias in dialogues should be consciously instructed to the teachers in order to be aware of the prejudices and make any attempts in providing equal chances and opportunities.

Likewise, Nazeri (2010) made a comparative study on gender representation in conversations of ELT textbooks used in Iranian high schools and private institutes, namely *Iranian High School English Textbooks* and *Interchange series* by applying Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model of CDA. She discovered that the issue of gender is presented as capitalist economy in *Interchange*, whereas this issue is de-gendered or ambiguous in *Iranian High School English Textbooks*. Hence, contrary to *Interchange's* claim based on neutrality in representation on gender, the ideology of capitalist economy was revealed in these textbooks.

Esmaili (2011) also made a comparative study on gender representation between two series of *American Headway* and *Iranian High School English Textbooks* with a critical discourse analysis perspective. She revealed that the both series suffer from sexism or sex bias. In her investigation, she argued that *American Headway Series* follow a sexism attitude merged with ideology of capitalism economy; whereas, *Iranian High School English Textbooks* apparently instill culture as ideology by which females are discriminated or excluded consistently and systematically in such a way in which separation or even segregation between two genders is remained.

All in all the existence of sexism is proved in different investigated EFL textbooks. This phenomenon may boil down to the fact that ELT materials follow such a way in which learners are provided with sexist attitudes, values and norms; and unfortunately, these are women who are the victims of the sexist attitudes, perspectives and norms.

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