



Do ELT coursebooks still suffer from gender inequalities? A case study from Turkey

Yusuf Demir^{a*}, Mustafa Yavuz^b

^{a,b}*Necmettin Erbakan University, Konya, Turkey*

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Abstract

Gender discrimination is still a hot debate running in the periphery of education. One way it is imposed on students is through printed materials and coursebooks, particularly those used for foreign language teaching given their rich linguistic content and content-based nature. This paper reports on a study which investigated gender representations in an ELT coursebook series *Yes You Can*, published by the Turkish Ministry of Education for public high schools in Turkey. The study draws on nine different categories in order to reveal the gender-biased components in the coursebook from multiple perspectives, if any. Analyses were conducted on both verbal and pictorial contents on a page-by-page basis. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the numerical data and chi-square tests were conducted to test significance between the observed and expected values. It was found that, for the most part, there were not indications of gender inequality throughout the coursebook series. The findings are promising in terms of reflecting a fair representation of males and females, offering a glimmer of hope for the new-generation ELT coursebooks. Suggestions are made for coursebook writers and further research.

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Keywords: ELT coursebooks; gender equality; gender discrimination; gender representation; gender stereotypes

1. Introduction

Feminist theory is a collaborative and interdisciplinary inquiry which investigates how the representational systems of gender, race, ethnicity, ability, sexuality, and class mutually construct, transform, and contradict each other (Garland-Thomson, 2002). In the field of academic research, it is concerned with the link between gender and science, and highlights the transformative power of the latter. As an individualistic form of feminist theory, in liberal feminism, differentiation within the society should not be predicated on the concept of gender, and the elimination of gender inequalities should be an achievable goal not only for women but also for the whole society (Çak, 2010). To make it more specific for the scope of the present study, an egalitarian representation of genders in schooling mitigates the gender role stereotyping in young children, and expands their aspirations and the range of role options they deem appropriate to their gender (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). In their social cognitive theory of gender role development and functioning, Bussey and Bandura view gender conceptions and role behavior as the products of social influences operating both familially and in

*Corresponding author. Tel.: +0-332-323-8220
E-mail address: demir.yzf@hotmail.com

societal systems including schools. In his early work, Bandura (1971) emphasized the importance of modeling influences as a way of observational learning and defined its function as transmitting information on how to organize components into new behavioural patterns. These transmitted repertoires of behaviour, i.e. modeling influences, he states, can lead to unfavourable behaviour as well as generative and innovative attitudes in children. Components of these modeling influences can be conveyed through physical demonstrations, pictorial representations or verbal descriptions (Bandura, 1971). No doubt, as widely-used instructional materials, coursebooks include lots of modeling components with the informational content, visuals and texts available in their bodies. They have the potential to change students' opinions and beliefs on many socio-cultural matters from gender and popular culture to religion and social class if one considers the frequent resort to them in formal teaching (Arıkan, 2005).

Coursebooks are assigned a crucial role in English language teaching (ELT) field since it is generally through them that students become familiar with the target language culture and values (Bahman & Rahimi, 2010). Alongside their function to present cultural elements and value transmission, ELT coursebooks are especially important in terms of presenting the rich content through the language which is the primary means through which people make sense of the world (Cameron, 1985; Reid, Soler, & Wearmouth, 2014) and shape their ideas (Mills, 1995). Inevitably, however, language harbors several ideologies (Fairclough, 1989), and it may be the unsolicited medium of the spread of linguistic sexism, which is “much more deeply rooted and far more subtle than other forms of sexism” (Porreca, 1984, p.705). Despite the given importance of coursebooks and the language presented with them, their role in shaping learners' identity and gender development has been underestimated thus far. Since Hartman and Judd's (1978) seminal article *Sexism and TESOL Materials*, possibly the first study in relation to sexist language use in ELT coursebooks, a plethora of analytical studies from different contexts have demonstrated the presence of gender-exclusive language, male dominance and stereotyped gender roles in both western and locally produced printed ELT materials (Carroll & Kowitz, 1994; Poulou, 1997; Otlowski, 2003; Ansary and Babaii, 2003; Xiaoping, 2004; Holmqvist & Gjørup, 2006; Tutar, 2008; Ghorbani, 2009; Hamdan, 2010; Bahman & Rahimi, 2010; Mose, 2013). Lack of equality concerns in gender representations has been an epidemical problem of these published coursebooks (Graci, 1989). While in coursebooks females were portrayed with a significantly narrower range of roles than men, characterized by nurturing professions (Gupta & Lee, 1990) and subordinate jobs (Sakita, 1995), males were overrepresented (Mineshima, 2008) with more visibility in texts and illustrations (Mukundan & Nimehchisalem, 2008). So, it is no surprise that gender-biased coursebook contents have detrimental effects on learners. Such discriminatory content may lead female students to restrict their social, behavioral, and linguistic roles (Amini & Birjandi, 2012), and to experience “feelings of exclusion, devaluation, alienation and lowered-expectations” (Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012, p.42), which do not suggest personal empowerment. The researchers of the present study believe that there is a strong need for the arousal of more public and scholarly interest in the issue of gender equality in the content and language of coursebooks. If there are signs of upturn in gender representations in the recently produced ELT coursebooks, these should also be presented through fresh research studies alongside many others that documented the presence of gender discrimination. With the large number of previously mentioned discriminatory exemplars and their negative consequences in mind, this study sets out to investigate gender representations in the upper-secondary level ELT Coursebook series *Yes You Can* used in public schools of Turkey. To this end, the following research questions were developed:

Is there a fair distribution of

- (1) males and females in terms of visibility in the illustrations?
- (2) occupations assigned to males and females in terms of number and non/traditionality?

- (3) domestic roles and household and out-of-home responsibilities to males and females?
- (4) sports and activities assigned to males and females?
- (5) males and females in terms of participation in the conversations and text writings?
- (6) males and females in terms of primeness in conversation initiation and text mentions?
- (7) males and females in terms of being the focus of writings, in *Yes You Can* coursebook series?

1.1. Context of the study

According to Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds (Constitution of Turkey, 1982; Article 10), with the added paragraph (on May 7, 2004; Act No. 5170) saying that the State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice. In the practice of gender-neutral coursebook preparation in Turkey, however, the history of research on coursebooks has experienced ups and downs in terms of reflecting a fair representation of men and women. Helvacıoğlu (1996) carried out a seminal study with a large collection of 1000 coursebooks that had been used in different subjects between 1928-1995. She reached the conclusion that in the very early years of the Republic of Turkey, women were portrayed as educated, standing on their own feet as active participants of labor force. On the other hand, “from the 1940s onwards women representations seemed to have changed strikingly. Women began to be portrayed as submissive and passive creatures, who were busy with housework all the time, imprisoned in the house” (Diktaş, 2011, p.1745). They were associated with a figure whose uniform was a *kitchen apron* (Helvacıoğlu, 1996). Furthermore, UNICEF (2003) conducted a study in Turkey about gender issues in education. The results demonstrated that “coursebooks still contain elements that attribute an active role to men and a passive role to women so, while men are encouraged to take part in the public sphere, women are being limited by their husbands and children and responsibility for domestic work” (Diktaş, 2011, p. 1745). More recently, a comprehensive project was carried out by İstanbul Bilgi University’s Sociology and Education Studies Unit (SEÇBİR, 2012) with an aim to examine the coursebooks for life sciences, social studies, citizenship and democracy education courses in Turkey in terms of gender ideology. It was reported that (1) there was a considerable improvement in the handling of gender when compared to previous project results, (2) democratic family environments were suggested by visuals illustrating equal role division among family members, (3) examples limiting women to the household activities were lessened immensely, (4) the use of sexist language steadily diminished, (5) successful female figures and role models were frequently included in the coursebooks. Along with the improvements reported, however, the project also revealed the instances that documented the use of discriminatory language, limiting women to certain jobs and making emphasis on patriarchal family structure in some of the coursebooks examined.

In addition to the brief historical perspective of gender reflections on general coursebooks in Turkey, for the scope of the present study, it is also important what the previous research reported regarding the inclusion of sexism in ELT coursebooks used in the Turkish context. The related literature suggests a handful of studies with a specific focus on gender representations in the country-wide ELT coursebooks. To begin with, in his research on age, gender and social class in two different western ELT coursebooks used in Turkey, Arıkan (2005) found that women were underrepresented in visuals and that there was an imbalance in the appearances of celebrities in terms of gender. In her Master’s thesis, Sivaslıgil (2006) elaborated on gender ideology in 6th, 7th and 8th grade ELT coursebooks published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education. On the one hand, discourse analysis of the verbal behaviors of the characters made clear that there was a balanced representation of genders. The characters employed equal amount of depowering and empowering strategies in conversations. On the

other hand, content analyses of her thesis indicated that there was an imbalance in the depiction of gender roles in almost all of the categories. Female characters were underrepresented in terms of frequency of appearance, amount of talk, representations in family roles and other social and occupational roles, distribution of household responsibilities and spare time and leisure activities in most cases. Another thesis, by Skliar (2007), compared the ELT coursebook series produced by Turkey's and Iran's ministries of education, showing imbalances in representations of women and men, and gender stereotypes in both of the series. Similarly, in his thesis on ethnicity, gender, and disability issues in randomly selected 10 ELT coursebooks used in Turkey ($n^{\text{western}}=8$, $n^{\text{locally produced}}=2$), Bulut (2008) revealed that they are mostly male focused, depicting males in active roles, and women in subordinate roles. Diktaş (2011) also made similar inferences from the coursebook *My English 6* designed by Turkish Ministry of Education. Women were underrepresented in the illustrations and texts, in addition to the presence of gender discrimination in the categories of occupation, family activities, amount of talk, spare time activities and the semiotic analysis of the illustrations. A recent thesis by Yılmaz (2012) investigated whether there was a change in the way genders were represented between the first and latest editions of six elementary-level ELT coursebooks produced by foreign publishers and used in Turkey. She inferred that in the first publications of the coursebooks, the small amount of imbalanced representation of gender was in favor of males whereas the latest editions of the same coursebooks showed a more balanced and near-equal representation of genders. In conclusion, the studies by Sivaslıgil (2006), Skliar (2007), Bulut (2008) and Diktaş (2011), though limited in number, drew on locally published ELT coursebooks in Turkey, and provided evidence for the presence of gender-biased content. Arising from the curiosity to figure out whether sexism is still dominant in the most recently locally-produced, currently-used ELT coursebooks in Turkey, this study set its sights on examining *Yes You Can* coursebook series from the perspective of gender equality.

2. Method

2.1. Research design and Data analysis

This study adopts a mixed methods research design in the sense that it “involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study with some attempts to integrate the two approaches at one or more stages of the research process” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 163). The purpose of this kind of study is to ensure a fuller understanding of the phenomena and verify one set of findings against the other (Sandelowski, 2003). The data in this study were reached through document analysis, a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents which can also be utilized in mixed methods studies (Bowen, 2009). The document in question, *Yes You Can* ELT coursebook series, published by the Turkish Ministry of National Education in 2013 and in use since then, was prepared in the following common reference levels suggested by the Council of Europe (2001): A1.1, A1.2, A2.1, A2.2, A2.3. The coursebook series has been taught at upper-secondary education level (ISCED 3-International Standard Classification of Education developed by UNESCO). By taking into consideration students' proficiency levels, at the beginning of each academic year, teachers and school administrators decide on the appropriate coursebook level to be used throughout the year.

Yes You Can was analyzed through descriptive analysis, a type of qualitative data analysis which involves the summarization and interpretation of the data in accordance with predetermined themes and categories (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2003). Verbal and pictorial contents in the coursebook series were coded and analyzed by the researchers based on the nine predetermined categories with the purpose of revealing the gender-biased components and gender stereotypes, if any, and the ways genders are represented both qualitatively and quantitatively. Some of the categories were borrowed from Hartman

and Judd (1978), Porreca (1984), Helvacıoğlu (1996), and Ghorbani (2009). Moreover, new categories were also added by the researchers so that they together help portray the present situation of the coursebook series more transparently. The categories are given below, with the research questions each addresses:

- 1- Visibility in the illustrations (RQ 1)
- 2- Occupational groupings (RQ 2)
- 3- Domestic roles (RQ 3)
- 4- Household and out-of-home responsibilities (RQ 3)
- 5- Associated activities and sports (RQ 4)
- 6- Amount of talk (RQ 5)
- 7- The dispersion of interlocutors and text/paragraph writers according to gender (RQ 5)
- 8- Firstness (RQ 6)
- 9- Gender actually focused on in writings (RQ 7)

The emerging quantitative data were made subject to descriptive statistics to determine the frequency, percentage and distribution of categorical elements. In addition, chi-square tests were conducted to test significance between the observed and expected values of males and females with regard to different categories. “Chi-square (X^2) is a nonparametric, goodness-of-fit test that may be used when ...the data consists of frequency counts, and no expected frequencies are less than five” (Boster, 2005, p.49).

3. Findings

The findings are reported below for each research question separately, displaying qualitative and quantitative data depending on the categories.

Research Question 1: Is there a fair distribution of males and females in terms of visibility in the illustrations in *Yes You Can* ?

Visibility in the illustrations

According to Porreca (1985), omission (i.e. low visibility) is one of the most examined manifestations of sexist attitudes. When females do not appear as frequently as males in the illustrations and texts, he asserts, the implicit message is that women’s accomplishments, or they themselves as human beings, are not important enough to be included. It is understood from Table 1 that there is a perfect balance in the visibility of women and men in the illustrations, which means that both genders are equally considered important from the perspective of visibility ($n=305$ for men; $n=307$ for women). Below is an example from the coursebook series for the visibility category which depicts men and women together (*Yes You Can* A2.1, p. 65).

- C. Listen and find the topic of the conversation.**
 - a. Designing a robot with a group
 - b. Fixing a robot
 - c. Designing a toy robot
- D. What do you think?**
Are the young people going to be successful?



Table 1. Visibility of males and females in the visuals

Illustrations			
Male	Female	Together	Total
305	307	285	897
34%	34.22%	31.78%	100%

*When all the characters in a visual were males/females, that visual was considered as only one male/female in the classification. In the cases of males and females being shown together in the pictures, the classification category was set as ‘together’, though in the illustrations females outnumbered males or vice versa. Ambiguous and masked pictures such as clowns were disregarded.

Research Question 2: Is there a fair distribution of occupations assigned to males and females in terms of number and non/traditionality?

Occupational groupings

As Table 2 shows, the number of occupations assigned only to men more than double the occupations assigned only to women, comprising at the same time almost one half of all the occupations (47%, $n=32$ only to men; 22%, $n=15$ only to women). The number of occupations associated with both men and women is close to one third of all the occupations (31%, $n=21$). In terms of quantity of the occupations assigned, it was observed that men were obviously overrepresented. In order to make out if this case statistically makes sense, a chi-square test was calculated. Chi-square results point to a significant difference between males and females in terms of the number of occupations assigned, in favor of men ($p < .05$).

Table 2. The number and percentages of occupations assigned according to gender, and chi-square test results*

Gender	Observed freq.	Expected freq.	O-E	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ² E
Male	32(47.06%)	23.5	8.5	72.25	3.075
Female	15(22.06%)	23.5	-8.5	72.25	3.075
M&F**	21(30.88%)				6.150
Total	68(100%)				

* $df=1, \chi^2 = 6.150, p = .013 (< .05)$

**The occupations engaged by both males and females were not considered in the analysis.

In the grouping of careers being traditional or non-traditional, classifications by Helvacioğlu (1996) and Arslan (2000), formerly put into use by Sivaslıgil (2006) were considered as primary reference sources. However, in cases when these listings did not specify an occupation, Boster (2005), along

with the list provided by the United States Department of Labour (USDL) Women's Bureau (2010) were consulted. When controversies arose in the grouping of any career, listings by Helvacioğlu (1996) and Arslan (2000) were opted over those of Boster (2005) and USDL (2010) due to contextual correspondence. USDL defines traditional careers as occupations for which individuals from one gender comprise more than 75% of the individuals employed in each such occupation. "By default, these would be all jobs that are non-traditional for the opposite gender" (Boster, 2005, p.11). Boster's listing is a compilation of The North Carolina State Occupational Information Coordination Committee (2003), Project E.N.T.E.R. (Educating for Non-Traditional Employment Roles) in Columbia, Missouri (2003) and ISEEK (Internet System for Education and Employment Knowledge, 2003), an educational and employment informational system from the state of Minnesota.

As can be seen in Table 3, women are portrayed as astronauts, businesspeople, columnists, scientists etc. which often used to be associated only with men in formerly investigated coursebooks. Also, as shown in Table 4, traditional careers assigned to men more than treble those assigned to women. On the other hand, non-traditional careers assigned to women overwhelmingly outnumber those assigned to men. These findings mean that women are strongly encouraged toward non-traditional careers. Chi-square test results in Table 4 also indicate that there are statistically significant differences in the dispersion of traditional and non-traditional careers to men and women, substantiating the inference made above ($p < .001$, and $p < .01$, respectively). In addition, given the wide variety of careers in the coursebook series, there does not seem to be a tendency toward dividing the occupations into male-specific and female-specific jobs. However, it is worth noting that careers such as *soldier*, *manager*, *president*, *driver* are still associated only with men (See Table 3). The picture below is an example of a non-traditional job for women (*Yes You Can A2.1*, p. 32).



Table 3. Careers assigned to males and females

Male & Female	Only Male	Only Female
Teacher*,***	President*	Vet****
Student*,***	Chef*	Florist*****
Singer *,****	Dog walker*****	Baby sitter***
Journalist*,****	Artist*	Nurse***
Actor/actress*,****	Electrician*	Engineer****
Waiter/waitress*,****	Farmer*	Model***
Archaeologist*,****	Bodyguard*	Astronaut****
Musician*,****	Taxi driver*	Fisherwoman****
Businessman/businesswoman*,****	Architect*	Animal rescuer*****
Doctor/ Physician*,****	Lawyer*	Researcher*****
Professor*****	Pilot*	Volleyball player***
Scientist*,****	Soldier*	Hostess***
Poet*****	Football/Basketball player*	Clerk***
Writer/Columnist*,****	Miner*	Talk show producer*****
Cameraman/camerawoman*****	Diver*	Opera singer***
Salesman/saleswoman*,****	Builder*	
Dentist*,****	Alligator Wrestler*****	
Sports coach*****	Fireman*	
Reporter*****	Clown*****	
Presenter/Newsreader*,****	Manager*	
Housekeeper/ Cleaning man**,***	Worker*	
	Costermonger*	
	Tourist guide*	
	Pet therapist*****	
	Stock broker*****	
	Designer*****	
	CEO*****	
	Sculptor*****	
	Psychiatrist*****	
	Life coach*****	
	Bellboy*	
	Receptionist**	

* Careers defined as 'traditional' for males
 ** Careers defined as 'non-traditional' for males
 *** Careers defined as 'traditional' for females
 **** Careers defined as 'non-traditional' for females
 ***** Careers that were not able to be defined for not being included in any of the classification tools. The reason for some of the occupations not to be able to be classified is that when base (total employed, both sexes) is less than 50k, data pertaining to occupations are not shown by the USDL.

Table 4. The number and percentages of traditional* and non-traditional** careers according to genders, and chi-square tests for the categories of (1)*gender and traditional careers, and (2)**gender and non-traditional careers

Gender	Observed freq.	Expected freq.	O-E	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ² E
Male	36(78.26%)*/2(10.53%)**	23*/9.5**	13*/-7.5**	169*/56.25**	7.35*/5.92**
Female	10(21.74%)*/17(89.47%)**	23*/9.5**	13*/7.5**	169*/56.25**	7.35*/5.92**
Total	46(100%)*/19(100%)**				14.7*/11.84**

* df=1, $\chi^2 = 14.70$, $p = .000$ (< .001)
 **df=1, $\chi^2 = 11.84$, $p = .001$ (< .01)

To sum up the findings of the second research question, throughout the coursebook series in question, there is not a fair distribution of occupations assigned to men and women in terms of number

and non/traditionality. Men were assigned significantly more occupations than women. In addition, women were assigned significantly more non-traditional and fewer traditional careers than men. The second finding can be interpreted positively in terms of encouraging women for new careers, standing in sharp contrast to the findings of a great deal of previous research.

Research Question 3: Is there a fair distribution of domestic roles and household and out-of-home responsibilities to males and females?

Domestic roles

“Gender stereotyping is the tendency of a given culture to assign particular traits, characteristics and roles distinctly to women or men. The assumption behind stereotyping is that the associated attributes of men apply to all men and those of women apply to all women” (Mkuchu, 2004, p.17). Insofar as gender stereotypes occupy somewhere in our sociolinguistic life, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) claim, they need to be examined not simply as possible facts about language use, but as components of gender ideology. According to Helvacioğlu (1996), representation of women mainly in the role of family members and men in the roles outside the house is regarded as one of the basic indicators of sexist attitude. As is evident in Table 5, females appeared in the role of family members (domestic roles) pretty much the same as males ($n=40$ for men; $n=41$ for women). Stereotyped gender roles are not imposed throughout the *Yes You Can* coursebook series. To researchers’ surprise, the word *housewife* occurred only once. And in that, it was not accompanied by a woman image doing some kind of household but by a character in an American TV series. The following pictorial is an example of a domestic role for men (*Yes You Can* A2.1, p. 97).



Table 5. The number and percentages of family roles

Domestic roles					
Male	Husband	5(12.5%)	Female	Wife	6(14.63%)
	Father	16(40%)		Mother	18(43.90%)
	Son	6(15%)		Daughter	4(9.76%)
	Grandfather	6(15%)		Grandmother	5(12.20%)
	Brother	7(17.5%)		Sister	8(19.51%)
	Total	40(100%)		Total	41(100%)

Household and out-of-home responsibilities

Out of nine responsibilities identified in the coursebook series (Table 6), both men and women are assigned the same number of activities ($n=4$ for both genders). Men and women collaborate in four

other responsibilities. Mkuchu (2004) states that the stereotyped household responsibilities of female characters involve tasks related to cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children while male characters perform activities outside the house such as mending and gardening. With regard to quality of the responsibilities in the coursebook series, it is a male that does the housework (while his wife is fishing), which is a stance against stereotyped gender responsibilities. Also, other stereotyped household responsibilities such as cooking and taking care of children are fulfilled together by men and women. Equally importantly, females' helping family members with homework and their being active in making a complaint to a company as an out-of-home responsibility are positive indicators of reflecting women as intellectually capable as males. The below conversation exemplifies a household responsibility carried out by both genders together (*Yes You Can* A1.2, p. 34).

- Grandpa** : Honey, let's prepare a shopping list for the barbecue party. What have we got in the fridge?
Grandma : Well, there is some **1**and fish but there isn't any beef.
Grandpa : Ok, some chicken is the number one in the list. Have we got any **2**?
Grandma : Yes, there are some oranges but there aren't any **3**or apples.
Grandpa : Good. How many oranges have we got?
Grandma : Twelve.

Table 6. The list of household and out-of-home responsibilities of males and females

Kind of responsibility	Male	Female
Shopping		Together
Cooking		Together
Preparing a shopping list		Together
Doing the housework	✓	-
Picking family members up	✓	✓
Teaching family members / Helping family members with homework	✓	✓
Taking care of children	✓	✓
Preparing breakfast	-	✓
Making a complaint to a company		Together

*The content of audio CDs was not considered in the arrangement of the list of responsibilities

Research Question 4: Is there a fair distribution of sports and activities assigned to males and females?

Associated activities and sports

As shown in table 7, there is a near-equal distribution of sports and activities to males and females ($n^{\text{activities}}=21$ for men, and 22 for women; $n^{\text{sports}}=22$ for men, and 23 for women). Therefore, it can be argued that with regard to the number of sports and activities, no discrimination is made between males and females in the coursebook series. From content and quality perspectives, women are portrayed as being active even in playing football, fishing, painting, gardening (as a hobby, not as a responsibility) and many other kinds of sports and activities. In this coursebook series, women are also associated with horse riding, playing tennis and taking photos although such activities are traditionally male-specific (Çubukçu and Sivaslıgil, 2007). Below is an example (*Yes You Can* A1.2, p. 44):

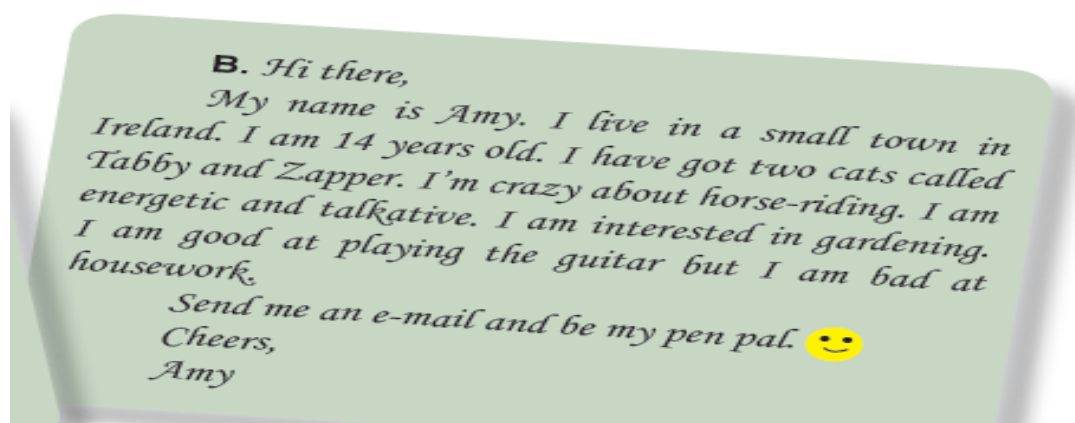


Table 7. Associated activities and sports

<i>Activities</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Sports</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Playing a musical instrument / singing / listening to music	✓/✓/✓	✓/✓/✓	football/basketball/ tennis	✓/✓/-	✓/✓/✓
Meeting friends / Visiting grandparents	✓/✓	✓/✓	Swimming	✓	✓
Watching TV, news, movies etc.	✓	✓	Riding a bike	✓	✓
Playing computer games	✓	✓	Climbing	✓	✓
Reading books, newspapers / Writing books, poems etc.	✓/✓	✓/✓	Horse riding	-	✓
Going to cinema	✓	✓	Canoeing	✓	✓
Having a picnic / Camping	✓/✓	✓/✓	Rollerblading	-	✓
Cooking	✓	✓	Skiing	✓	✓
Dancing	✓	✓	Diving	✓	✓
Traveling	✓	✓	Scuba diving	✓	✓
Taking photos	✓	✓	Skydiving	-	✓
Painting	✓	✓	Bowling	✓	-
Gardening	-	✓	Surfing	✓	✓
Fishing	-	✓	Rafting	✓	✓
Being in the nature	✓	✓	Bungee jumping	✓	✓
Bird watching	✓	-	Badminton	✓	✓
Having a barbecue	✓	-	Golf	✓	✓
Walking	-	✓	Lacrosse	✓	-
Surf the net	✓	✓	Archery	✓	-
			Paragliding	✓	-
			Snowboarding	✓	-
			Ice skating	-	✓

			Sailing	✓	✓
			Jogging	✓	✓
			Trekking	-	✓
			Hiking	✓	✓
Total	21	22	Total	22	23

*In forming the list, sports and activity types presented with structures such as good at / like, love doing / crazy about / can / enjoy / interested in were also included as well as the direct association of sports, hobbies and leisure time activities with genders. Listeners in audio CDs were not considered in the arrangement of the list due to the fact that they are often not included in the instruction as a result of time limitations and heavy schedule at schools.

Research Question 5: Is there a fair distribution of males and females in terms of participation in the conversations and text writings?

Amount of talk

The amount of talk was calculated through the number of turns in the conversations. As can be understood from Table 8, men and women were assigned similar amount of talk, which means there is no dominance of one gender over the other in terms of the amount spoken ($n^{turns}=487$, 49% for men; $n^{turns}=511$, 51% for women). A chi-square test was performed for a statistical verification, comparing the number of turns by males and females. The results do not indicate a significant difference between males’ and females’ frequency of turns ($p > .05$). Below is an exemplary conversation which shows turns from both male and female characters (*Yes You Can A2.1*, p. 47).

Tim : Wait Louisa! I am exhausted. Let's have a rest!
 Louisa : But we still have many things to do.
 For example, whale watch. It is exciting. And then helicopter tour.
 We don't have time to have a drink.
 Tim : Come on Louisa. I have a hard job all week. Why don't we take it easy?
 Louisa : All right! Let's have a drink and then visit the Royal Botanic Garden.
 Tim : Hey, Look! The whales! Oh my God! It is photo time!
 Louisa : Don't run, Tim. Wait!
Tim runs a long way and loses Louisa. He writes an SMS to her.

They meet at Opera House.
 Louisa : I can't believe you, Tim.
 Tim : Very sorry but the whales are cute. Look at the photos. They are beautiful, aren't they?
 Louisa : Yeah. Shall we take a helicopter tour?
 Tim : A helicopter tour? No, Louisa. I want to go back to the farm.
 Louisa : Back to the farm? You can't be serious.
 Tim : Yeah, I am. It is enough for today. Thank you for your help.
 Please visit me on the farm. I would like to show you around.
 Louisa : OK. Tim. Take care.
 Tim : Enjoy the day. Bye.




Table 8. The number and percentages of turns by males and females, and chi-square test result*

Gender	Observed freq.	Expected freq.	O-E	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ²
					E
Male	487(48.8%)	499	-12	144	0.29
Female	511(51.2%)	499	12	144	0.29
Total	998 (100%)				0.58

*df=1, $\chi^2 = 0.58$, $p = .447 (> .05)$

**In the conversations which were accompanied not by visuals identifying a gender, but by names of the interlocutors only, the names identified genders. When there were no contextual clues in conversations to indicate the gender, unisex names were equally distributed to both genders. Conversations that did not specify a gender (Student A:, Speaker B: etc.) were not considered. Conversations between speakers of the same gender were considered.

Dispersion of interlocutors and text/paragraph writers according to gender

As is evident in Table 9, the number of males and females who made an utterance or had a word in conversations is very close to equal ($n=238$, 49% for men; $n=246$, 51% for women). So is the number of male and female characters who wrote a text, letter, or paragraph ($n=48$, 47% for men; $n=54$, 53%

for women). Therefore, it can be inferred that males and females are fairly distributed in terms of their participation in the conversations and the number of texts they composed. The results of chi-square tests below (Table 9), indicating no significant differences, also confirm that no privilege was bestowed upon males or females in both of the categories ($p > .05$ for both). There is an instance of a paragraph below written by a female character (*Yes You Can* A2.2, p. 73).

D. Anita decided to write a letter of complaint to the camp management. Read her letter and underline the suitable opening and closing remarks.

1. Hello, everybody / Dear / Sir / Madam

I'm writing to complain about your camp in Ottawa. **A. First of all / Also**, your camp brochure is a disaster. Your brochure said that there were countless activities but actually the activities were so limited. Your brochure also claimed that your staff was the best, but unfortunately, they were unhelpful and selfish. **B. Finally / In addition**, there were no advisors around. **C. However / Finally**, my vacation in your camp made me very unhappy. There was no camp spirit. I hope you will change your camp policy as soon as possible. I will not recommend your camp to anybody around me. I'm looking forward to your reply and your compensation.

2. Yours faithfully / Love,

Anita Harrison

Table 9. The number and percentages of interlocutors* and text/paragraph writers** according to gender, and chi-square tests for the categories of (1)*gender and the number of interlocutors, (2)**gender and the number of writers

Gender	Observed freq.	Expected freq.	O-E	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ² E
Male	238(49.17%)* / 48(47.06%)**	242* / 51**	-4* / -3**	16* / 9**	0.066* / 0.176**
Female	246(50.83%)* / 54(52.94%)**	242* / 51**	4* / 3**	16* / 9**	0.066* / 0.176**
Total	484(100%)* / 102(100%)**				0.132* / 0.352**

*df=1, $\chi^2 = 0.132$, $p = .716 (> .05)$

** df=1, $\chi^2 = 0.352$, $p = .552 (> .05)$

***In the conversations which were accompanied not by visuals identifying a gender, but by names of the interlocutors only, the names identified genders. When there were no contextual clues in conversations to indicate the gender, unisex names were equally distributed to both genders. Conversations between speakers of the same gender were also considered. Conversations that did not specify a gender (Student A., Speaker B: etc.) were not considered. Nor were the listenings in Audio CDs.

Research Question 6: Is there a fair distribution of males and females in terms of primeness in conversation initiation and text mentions?

Primeness

Primeness was examined based on two dimensions.

a) Which gender initiated the conversations?

One form of primeness is the identification of gender that initiated the conversation, i.e. took the first turn in dialogues. From this perspective, as Table 10 shows below, there is a close to equal dispersion of males and females as the initiators of conversations ($n=67$, 47.5% for men; $n=74$, 52.5% for women). Chi-square results furthered that no significant difference exists between males and females in terms of the number of conversations they initiated ($p > .05$). A conversation initiated by a woman is provided below (*Yes You Can* A1.1, p. 63):

C. Work in pairs and compare your plans.

e.g.

Linda : I am meeting my friends at the weekend. We are watching the new movie.**Fred** : I am not meeting my friends. I am visiting my grandparents and having dinner with them.**Table 10.** The number and percentages of males and females who initiated conversations and, chi-square test result* for the category of gender and primeness in conversations

Gender	Observed freq.	Expected freq.	O-E	(O-E) ²	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Male	67(47.52%)	70.5	-3.5	12.25	0.174
Female	74(52.48%)	70.5	3.5	12.25	0.174
Total	141(100%)				0.348

*df=1, $\chi^2 = 0.348$, $p = .556 (> .05)$

**Only the conversations that included both males and females were considered. Listeners in Audio CDs were not considered. In the conversations which were accompanied not by visuals identifying a gender, but by names of the interlocutors only, the names identified genders. When there were no contextual clues in conversations to indicate the gender, unisex names were equally distributed to both genders. Conversations that did not specify a gender (Student A:, Speaker B: etc.) were not considered.

b) Which gender was first mentioned in reading texts/paragraphs?

The other form of primeness is the mention of either gender in reading passages first. The number of instances in the coursebook series is limited in this sense (see Table 11), and there is only a slight difference with regard to primeness in the mention of males and females in the writings ($n=7$, 58% for men; $n=5$, 42% for women). The below paragraph is an example in which a female character was mentioned first (*Yes You Can A2.3*, p. 46).

The Stranger and the Gingernuts

A business woman was at the airport and she was very tired after a long business trip. Her return flight was delayed, so she started to wait at the airport desperately. She went to the airport shop wearily, bought a book, a coffee and a small packet of five gingernut biscuits. The airport was crowded, so she found a seat with difficulty next to a stranger. She started to read her book, after a few minutes she concentrated on it completely. Then, she took a biscuit from the packet and began to drink her coffee.

Suddenly, the stranger in the next seat took one of the biscuits and ate it calmly. She didn't say anything and she continued reading nervously. After a few minutes she picked up and ate the third biscuit slowly. Incredibly, the stranger took the fourth gingernut and ate it. Then he picked up the packet and offered her the last biscuit.

The lady picked up her belongings quickly, looked at the stranger angrily and walked to the boarding gate, because her flight was now ready. She opened her bag for the boarding ticket, and surprisingly found her unopened packet of gingernuts!

Table 11. The number and percentages of genders in terms of first mention in writings

Primeness of mention in writings*	Male	Female	Total
	7(58.3%)	5(41.7%)	12(100%)

*Naturally, only the writings that included both males and females were considered.

Research Question 7: Is there a fair distribution of males and females in terms of being the focus of writings?

Gender focus in writings

As shown in Table 12, according to the numbers and percentages of genders focused on in writings, there seems to be a slight difference in favor of males as being the main focus of writings ($n=32, 57.14\%$ for men; $n=24, 43\%$ for women). Another chi-square test was applied in order to test if this slight difference makes a statistical sense. The results indicate no significant difference ($p > .05$), which means no real discrimination was observed between males and females in terms of being the focus of writings. Below are the examples which focused on male and female film stars (*Yes You Can* A2.3, p. 52):

**ORLANDO BLOOM 'TERRIFIED' OF PIGS.
Star admits to pig phobia**



Famous Hollywood actor Orlando Bloom is very fond of extreme sports. He likes doing snowboarding, paragliding, bungee jumping and surfing. He had many accidents and broke nearly half of his bones, but he continues to do extreme sports.

He is one of the bravest Hollywood actors, but he has a strange phobia; fear of pigs-swinophobia. He refused to take part in the film *Animal Farm* because of that phobia. "In 2005, I saw a pig on the set of *Kingdom of Heaven* and I began to run like crazy." confessed Orlando in one of his interviews.

Orlando is not the only famous name in Hollywood to suffer an irrational fear of something. From Nicole Kidman's mottephobia to the coulrophobic Johnny Depp and ornithophobic Scarlett Johansson, here's our selection of the top 3 celebrities with their strange phobias and interesting hobbies...

1. SCARLETT JOHANSSON

Attractive Hollywood star Scarlett Johansson has an irrational phobia of birds. The 27-year-old is scared of seeing them around her. In her recent interview, she said, "I don't want to get too close to any bird. I don't know why, but something about wings and beaks and the flapping terrifies me." Scarlett is afraid of wings, but she has wings like an angel and works for charity to help the poor. Fighting against poverty is her leading hobby.

Table 12. The number and percentages of males and females focused on in writings, and chi-square test result* for the category of gender and the focus of writings

Gender	Observed freq.	Expected freq.	O-E	(O-E) ²	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Male	32(57.14%)	28	4	16	0.571
Female	24(42.86%)	28	-4	16	0.571
Total	56(100%)				1.142

*df=1, $\chi^2 = 1.142, p = .285 (> .05)$

4. Conclusion

Has the state of gender representations in ELT coursebooks changed since Hartman and Judd's (1978) study? Findings of the present study have provided a definitive answer to this question in its own right and context, with few other recent supportive studies to allow for a contextual generalization, though. That is not to say that gender discrimination is dominant(or not) in the ELT coursebooks produced and used in Turkey, but rather that there is a necessity for a great deal of nationwide investigation into the general state of these coursebooks for the portrayal of gender

(in)equalities. In this study, it was revealed that throughout the *Yes You Can* coursebook series, males and females were represented in a strong balance in terms of visibility in the illustrations, distribution of domestic roles, household and out-of-home responsibilities, assignment of activities and sports, participation in conversations and text writings, primeness in conversation initiation and text mention, and gender focus in writings. With regard to the occupations assigned to males and females, there are both positive and negative associations in the coursebook series. On the one hand, more careers seem to be pursued by males (doubling females), which is contradictory to the general non-sexist tendency throughout the coursebook series. On the other hand, women were assigned significantly more non-traditional and fewer traditional careers than men, which needs to be interpreted in a positive manner rather than as a discriminatory practice given the sophisticated and encouraging careers for women (e.g. astronaut, archaeologist, businesswoman etc.) which were not much observed in the previously examined ELT coursebooks. Therefore, with respect to the quality of occupations assigned, *Yes You Can* can be viewed as an exemplary path-breaking coursebook series. In general terms, the coursebook series was proved to embody a very elaborately distributed, gender-inclusive language and representations. Despite the mere case that men were associated with significantly more careers than women, *Yes You Can* comprises the ideal case in terms of gender representations in ELT coursebooks.

This study is important in terms of (1) providing data and its methodology for the researchers interested in the studies of gender equality, (2) intending to establish the culture of democracy and equality in the society through dissemination, and (3) raising an awareness of these critical issues for different societal groups including educational policy makers, parents, teachers, students, coursebook writers, program designers and so on. Yet, this study is not enough in itself to document the current state of its context. Considering that previous gender-focused coursebook evaluation studies only amount to a drop in the bucket, more scholarly research is needed to clarify whether gender inequality is vanishing or still present in ELT coursebooks both in the national and global context. There are two basic gaps in relation to the previous related research in this respect. First, thus far, no database creation studies have been conducted by drawing on a comprehensive collection of ELT coursebooks in order that a general understanding of (non-)sexism in ELT coursebooks would be provided for the targeted context. Second, the published studies of gender-focused coursebook evaluation generally point to the presence of gender discrimination and marginalization. However, as a matter of course, there should also be some *role model* coursebooks around. Some researchers might be of the false belief that only if evidences of gender-biased attitudes were found in a gender-based coursebook evaluation study would it be worth reporting and publishing. Research findings that do not suggest gender discrimination should also be published as well as those that do in order to contribute to the related field of gender equality (e.g., Ebadi & Seidi, 2015). As a final suggestion for researchers, it might help to gain a cumulative insight in this sense to investigate different ELT coursebooks for the same and different grades starting from those used in primary school level up to postgraduate education. In addition, a relevant examination of coursebooks of other subjects can provide complementary instances to help portray the overall state of sexism in the coursebooks of the targeted educational context.

As a reference guide, *Guidelines on Gender-Neutral Language* (UNESCO, 1999) suggested alternative words to use instead of words containing *man*, and also made a call for the avoidance of gender-specific language in its bid to transform behavior and attitudes that legitimize and perpetuate the moral and social exclusion of women (Mose, 2013). Similarly, *Guidelines for Gender-Fair Use of Language* (Women in Literacy and Life Assembly, 2002) suggests avoiding exclusionary forms and choosing inclusionary alternatives, and gives practical examples of gender-neutral and non-stereotypical language use (For example, *Papers should be handed in promptly* instead of *Each student should hand in his paper promptly*; and *Dear Families, Please bake cookies for our class*

party instead of *Dear Mothers, Please bake cookies for our class party*). Coursebooks writers and material designers can draw from these resources in the challenging process of content preparation, which should be followed by the ultimate peer editing and review procedures for gender neutrality in advance of publication of their materials.

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İngilizce ders kitaplarında cinsiyetçilik hâlâ mevcut mudur? Türkiye'den bir durum çalışması

Öz

Cinsiyet ayrımcılığı, eğitim çevrelerinde tartışılan güncel konulardan biridir. Bu ayrımcılığın öğrencilere dayatılma şekillerinden birisi de basılı ders materyalleri ve ders kitapları ile olmaktadır. Zengin dilsel içeriği ve içerik temelli yapısıyla, özellikle yabancı dil ders kitapları bu suistimale çoğu kez daha müsaittir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'deki devlet liselerinde okutulmak üzere Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından hazırlanmış olan *Yes You Can* isimli İngilizce ders kitabı serisini cinsiyet temsilleri açısından incelemektir. Bu kitap serisinde cinsiyet ayrımcılığına yönelik unsurlar varsa, bunları farklı boyutlardan ortaya koymak amacıyla dokuz farklı kategori kullanılmıştır. Hem sözlü hem de resimsel içerikler analiz edilmiş olup, betimsel istatistikten ve ki-kare testlerinden yararlanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, genel anlamda, *Yes You Can* ders kitabı serisinde cinsiyet eşitsizliği barındıran unsurlara rastlanmamıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları, erkek ve kadınların eşit temsiliyi yansıtmaması bakımından yeni nesil İngilizce ders kitapları için ümit vericidir. Ayrıca, ders kitabı yazarlarına ve gelecek çalışmalara dair önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar sözcükler: İngilizce ders kitapları; cinsiyet eşitliği; cinsiyet ayrımcılığı; cinsiyet temsilleri; cinsiyet kalıp yargıları

AUTHOR(S) BIODATA

Yusuf DEMİR completed his Master's and Doctoral Degrees at English Language Teaching programs of Selcuk University and Gazi University, respectively. Currently, he is employed as an assistant professor at Necmettin Erbakan University, School of Foreign Languages, Konya, Turkey. His main research interests include second language teacher education, error and feedback in L2 classroom interaction, the use of newly-introduced technological tools in teaching foreign languages, native and non-native teacher issues.

Mustafa YAVUZ is an associate professor of educational administration, supervision, planning and economics. He is a faculty member in Necmettin Erbakan University, Ahmet Keleşođlu Faculty of Education, the department of Educational Sciences. He has published articles in international and national journals. He has also been supervising several postgraduate theses and dissertations.