Gender Bias in Cambridge University Press's
Touchstone Series

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Abstract

Issues in gender bias in English language textbooks are presented, including the under-representation of women, the use of male generic forms, firstness, the use of adjectives to describe the sexes, and occupational stereotyping. Previous findings from research into these issues are presented, and a new measure of gender bias is proposed: *individuation*. Next, the *Touchstone* series of textbooks (McCarthy *et al.*, 2005a, 2005b) is analysed by way of these measures. None of these measures revealed any significant gender bias in the texts. These findings begged three further questions regarding the implications of gender bias for users of the textbooks and learners in general: 1) Had students perceived any gender bias in the text (despite evidence of its absence)? 2) If there had been clear examples of gender bias in the textbooks, would the students have perceived it? And 3) if the students had detected such gender bias, what would be their reaction to it? These questions were examined by administering a survey to student users of *Touchstone*. It was found that they had not perceived any gender bias in their textbooks. When presented with examples of biased text, students did not necessarily recognize and respond to it, but results here are inconclusive as findings may have been confounded by intervening variables.

Issues in gender representation

The onset of the women's movement in the 1970s led to a rapid expansion in the breadth of sociolinguistic research. Gradually, gender issues made their way into mainstream sociolinguistic texts where new chapters were added (e.g., Montgomery, 1995) helping to raise awareness of these issues among language teachers in training. Among these, and of direct relevance to language teachers, is the issue of gender bias in second and foreign language textbooks. A number of issues, both linguistic and non-

linguistic, have been explored in the area of gender representations in EFL materials. The following are a survey of these issues and the findings of prior research.

Traditional measures of gender bias

Omission. One of the simplest means of measuring gender bias in EFL materials is to count the number of depictions of females and males in the text. Disparities found in previous research, i.e. female under-representation, have led to the development of the concept of *omission*. Researchers discovered that there were simply fewer women depicted in language textbooks dating from the 1970s and into the 1980s (Arnold-Gerrity, 1978; Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porreca, 1984; Sunderland, 1992). In an examination of 15 of the most widely used textbooks of the time, Porreca (1984) tallied the number of textual and illustrated depictions of women and men. She found that women were outnumbered by men in a ratio of 1:2.06 (Porreca, 1984, p. 713).

Masculine generic constructions. A related issue, impacting on measures of female under-representation, is the use of masculine generic forms. Traditionally at least, the male half of male-female lexical pairs were used as generics to represent both sexes. Examples include terms such as *man*kind, rather than *woman*kind, which were adopted to represent all human beings, and the unmarked *he*, rather than *she*, which has typically been used to refer to an unnamed third person in text. Use of these forms seems relatively benign on the surface, but research has shown that they are not truly generic in the sense that they do not evoke mental images of women in readers as often as they do images of men (DeStefano *et al.*, 1978; Porreca, 1984). Further, in the case of female students, the use of masculine generics may lead to poorer recall than the use of more female-inclusive terms (Crawford & English, 1981), and thus has direct implications for education. Prior linguistic research shows substantial use of these constructions in language texts. In fact, by subtracting the apparent generics from the count of male-female depictions, Porreca (1984) found that the ratio of men to women depicted in textbooks dropped to 1.77:1 from the more than two-to-one ratio cited above. Porreca warns that quantitative analyses of under-representation in which generic constructions are discounted may not fully account for the impact these features have on textbook readers. That is, a "high concentration of masculine generics creates a very distinct masculine 'presence' (p. 713)."

Firstness. Another gender issue stemming from the examination of male-female lexical pairs is that of *male firstness*. Traditional male-female noun pairs (like *male-female* itself) present the male half of the pair in the first position. Other examples include *boys and girls, men and women, brothers and sisters*, etc. The only exception to this seems to be *ladies and gentlemen* (Hartman & Judd, 1978). Researchers have suggested that the male-first order "reinforces the second-place status of women" (Hartman & Judd, 1978, p. 390; Porreca, 1984). As well as examining appearances of these

pairs, research has focussed on the number of textbook examples, exercises, and dialogues in which male characters appear first. Porreca (1984) found that males appeared in the first position more than three times as often as did women. Approaching this issue from an educational standpoint, Jones *et al.* (1997) found that these imbalances had serious repercussions for female language learners in terms of practice opportunities in the classroom. They also discovered, however, that 13 years after Porreca's study the differences between total occurrences of female and male firstness were no longer significant, claiming the results to be "largely positive", and possibly reflective of the "progress" and "raised consciousness" of EFL publishers and writers (*Ibid*, p. 481).

Adjectives. Examining the use of adjectives in describing the sexes is another, more qualitative measure of gender representation used to analyze textbooks. Among other findings, Porreca (1984) found that more adjectives were used to describe the physical appearance of women, and that the types of adjective used suggested a preoccupation with attractiveness (e.g. *beautiful, pretty, sexy*, etc.). Adjectives for men were dominated by descriptors of reputation or intellect (e.g. *famous, intelligent*, etc.), among others.

Occupational roles. Gender bias research has also examined the numbers and kinds of jobs held by women and men depicted in language teaching materials. Here too, women were under-represented. In surveys of textbooks at a variety of levels, the ratio of women in paid occupations to their male counterparts was at least 1:4 (Arnold-Gerrity, 1978). In fact, one textbook showed as much as a 1:20 imbalance (Porreca, 1984). Men also held a wider variety of jobs than did working women (Kinoshita Thomson & Otsuji, 2003) and men and women alike were often portrayed in traditionally stereotyped occupations (Hartman & Judd, 1978).

A new measure: Individuation

Whereas the measures above attempt to uncover gender bias through discrete methodologies, I suggest that a hierarchical combination of some of the preceding measures may produce a richer measurement of gender representations in text. Whereas each discrete measure may provide an interesting viewpoint from which to study textbook bias, it is certainly not the case that each type of bias has an equally strong impact on the reader. For example, there is reason to believe that bias at the level of female under-representation in *text* does not hold the same weight with the textbook user as does under-representation as measured in the number of *visual images*. In other words, some types of representation create deeper impressions in the reader than others. The more real the characters are made, that is, the more richly those characters are portrayed and presented to the reader, the more deeply the gen-

der of those characters impacts upon the reader's impression of the text.

I suggest then that the most basic form in which gender can be represented in text is at the *sub-nominal* level of instantiation. Linguistically, representation at this level takes the form of gender-specific pronouns (*she, he, him, her, etc.*) or gender-specific nouns (*grandmother, groom, woman, male, etc.*). Beyond this, is *nomination*, the named instantiation of characters (*Mrs. Henderson, Jimmy*, etc.). A textbook example in which the subject of the sentence is a named character is thus more meaningful to the reader than a sentence in which a generic subject like *he* or *she* is used. In other words, a reader encountering

Ms. Johnson bought an apple at the store.

is more deeply involved with the subject than a reader who encounters

She bought an apple at the store.

That is, names, as opposed to pronouns, more deeply individuate the character in the mind of the reader. A female character named *Ms. Johnson* is a more substantially individuated female character than one who is represented by the word *she* alone. Individuation is further deepened by illustrations and photographs. Such *graphic instantiations* hold even more weight in the mind of the reader than a named but faceless character. Further, photography creates a stronger mental image than hand-drawn or hand-painted illustrations, just as lifelike illustrations more deeply individuate characters than poorly drawn ones. Finally, the most deeply individuated characters in textbooks would be figures that are named and accompanied by photos or illustrations. These *nomino-graphic instantiations* place "names with faces", individuating the characters to a greater extent than any of the instantiations outlined above. These levels of individuation are illustrated in Figure 1. The levels are presented in a triangular *iceberg model* as representations of the sexes at the bottom of the figure are richer and more salient, creating deeper impressions in the reader. This relationship between depth of individuation and depth of impression formation in the reader is illustrated in Figure 2.

Applying the individuation model to gender representations in language textbooks, one could see how the results of previous quantitative research could be somewhat misleading. One can imagine a textbook containing an equal number of female and male references but, while the female references are only text-based (nominal and sub-nominal instantiations), the male characters are represented in photos and named in text. The strongly male "presence" of such a textbook would be detected by a measure of individuation, despite a lack of quantitative differences that might be found via
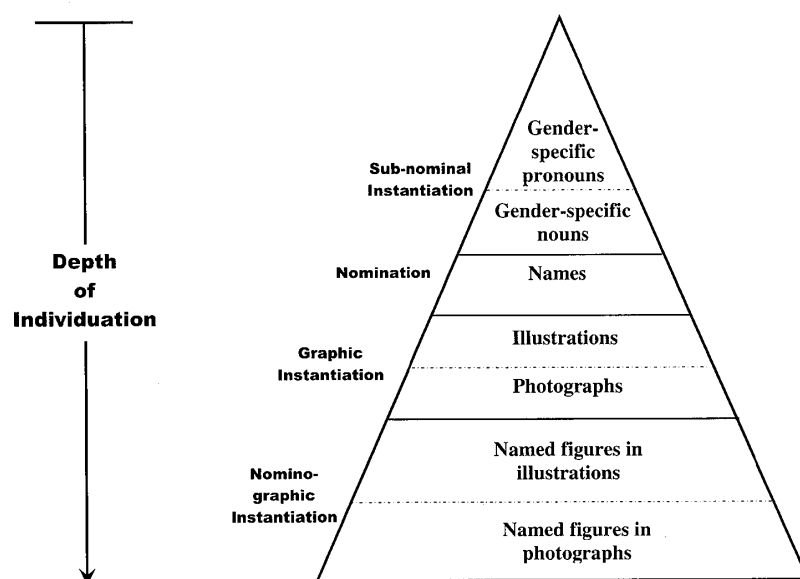
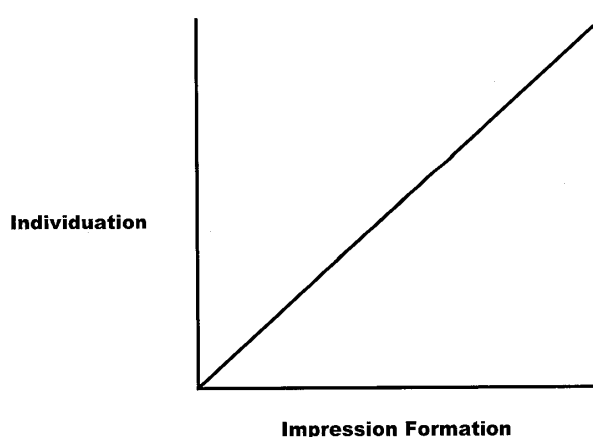Figure 1. Depth of individuation model of textbook character instantiation.

Figure 2. Impression formation as a function of depth of individuation.

prior methodologies used to detect gender bias. The individuation measure also differs itself from strictly linguistic methodologies like Lesikin's (2001) measure of social prominence, in that individuation takes both textual and graphic representations into account.

Examining gender bias in Touchstone

The first and second volumes of the *Touchstone* (McCarthy *et al.*, 2005a, 2005b) series of EFL textbooks were selected to examine the way women and men are represented in contemporary language textbooks. These texts were chosen as they had been adopted for use in first and second year oral communications classes at this university. Although findings may not be generalized to all language textbooks currently

available, the popularity of these specific texts seemed to make them a logical representative. As there are only four levels in the *Touchstone* series, all of which were authored by the same co-writers, it is at least reasonable to generalize these results to the series as a whole.

Procedure

First, the occurrences of female and male representations in the texts were counted. Separate tallies were maintained for photographic representations, illustrations and named figures, as well as gender-specific nouns, pronouns and names. Masculine generic constructions were also tallied. For all mixed-sex dialogues, examples and exercises in the texts, the number of instances in which women or men appeared first was recorded. The CDs accompanying the *Touchstone* texts were also used to determine which sexes were participating in written dialogues when it was impossible to ascertain from the written text (e.g. conversations between "A" and "B"). Occupations held by women and men were counted and the types of jobs were recorded as well. Adjectives used to describe the sexes were also counted and categorized.

Results and analysis

Omission and individuation. Tables 1 to 3, taken as a whole, represent the actual number of female and male instantiations in the texts. Table 1 shows the number of sub-nominal instantiations. Pronouns in this group of instantiations included: *she, he, herself, himself, one* (where it was clear which sex was being referred to), and *they* (when it was clear that only one sex was being referred to). Gender-specific nouns included: *woman, man, girl, boy, male, female, king, queen, etc.*, and nouns denoting family relations (*mother, father, husband, wife, etc.*) It should be clear from the totals here, that women have not been under-represented in the texts. In fact, due mostly to the relatively few male pronouns in *Touchstone 2*, men are slightly underrepresented in terms of sub-nominal instantiations. The data in Table 2 illustrates that men are

Table 1. Sub-nominal instantiations of gender in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female			Male		
	Touchstone 1	*Touchstone 2*	Total	*Touchstone 1*	*Touchstone 2*	Total
Gender-specific pronouns	72	126	198	70	90	160
Gender-specific nouns	38	67	105	44	64	108
Total sub-nominal instantiations	110	193	303	114	154	268

slightly underrepresented in nominal instantiations as well. Here 183 named female characters have been referred to 368 times, while only 292 references were made to the 161 men named in the textbooks. Graphic instantiations of the sexes appear to be extremely well-balanced, as seen in Table 3. Female to male illustrations and photos appear in the textbooks in a ratio of 448:451. Table 4 presents the total frequencies of nomino-graphic instantiations, the final and the most heavily-weighted layer in the individuation model. Here too, women are slightly overrepresented: 133 named women are depicted in illustrations and photos, while only 107 men appear in this manner.

Table 2. Nominal instantiations of gender in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female			Male		
	Touchstone 1	*Touchstone 2*	Total	*Touchstone 1*	*Touchstone 2*	Total
Named characters	97	86	183	92	69	161
(Total references)	(186)	(172)	(368)	(165)	(127)	(292)

Table 3. Graphic instantiations of gender in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female			Male		
	Touchstone 1	*Touchstone 2*	Total	*Touchstone 1*	*Touchstone 2*	Total
Illustrations	99	115	214	105	107	212
Photos	110	124	234	121	118	239
Total graphic instantiations	209	239	448	226	225	451

Table 4. Nomino-graphic instantiations of gender in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female			Male		
	Touchstone 1	*Touchstone 2*	Total	*Touchstone 1*	*Touchstone 2*	Total
Named photos (Total references)	37 (50)	41 (58)	78 (108)	30 (43)	34 (46)	64 (89)
Named illustrations (Total references)	35 (41)	20 (20)	55 (61)	27 (33)	16 (19)	43 (53)
Total nomino-graphic instantiations	72 (91)	61 (78)	133 (169)	57 (76)	50 (65)	107 (142)

Taken as a whole, the data clearly indicate that female figures are not underrepresented in the *Touchstone* texts. On the contrary, women are well represented both in terms of total numbers of instantiations as well as qualitatively, in that these instantiations are at least as deeply individuated as their male counterparts. Figure 3 allows comparison between the sexes for each type of instantiation. By both this measure of individuation and by more traditional measures of omission, *Touchstone* clearly is not biased in a negative way towards women. In fact, there is some evidence of bias against men.
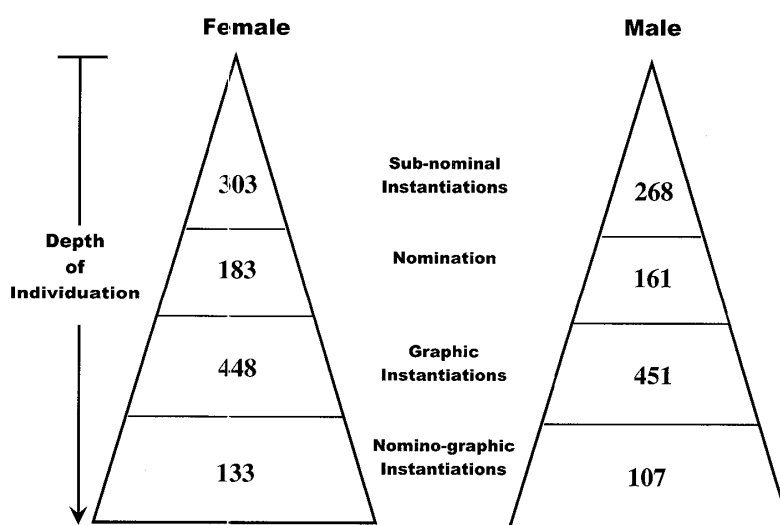

Figure 3. Female and male instantiations in *Touchstone*.

Masculine generic constructions. Unlike earlier language textbooks where the use of masculine generics appeared frequently, *Touchstone* contains almost none of these constructions. The only clear example occurs in a dialogue in Book 2 (McCarthy *et al.*, 2005b) where a mixed-sex group of musicians is referred to as "some local guys" (p. 15). This one instance by no means makes a substantial contribution to the masculinisation of the texts as a whole. Clearly an effort has been made to use female-inclusive generics.

Firstness. Table 5 presents the number of occurrences of gender firstness in *Touchstone*. These frequencies include all mixed-sex examples, exercises, and dialogues. Here too, there is a very even-handed presentation. In tallying these results,

Table 5. Firstness in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female	Male	Same-sex dialogues
Touchstone 1	44	46	14
Touchstone 2	63	51	16
Total	107	97	30

it seemed as if the authors had made a conscious effort to approximately alternate the sexes as the initial subjects/speakers.

Adjectives. Adjectives used to describe the sexes were categorized according to 10 headings derived from the 11 groups utilized by Porreca (1984, p. 713): Physical appearance (e.g., *muscular, cute*), Intellect/Education (e.g., *smart*), Emotionality/State of mind (e.g., *embarrassed, stressed*), Physical state/condition (e.g., *hungry, tired*), Personality traits (e.g., *friendly, quiet*), Age (e.g., *young*), Environmentally descriptive (e.g., *rich, busy*), Normality/Deviance (e.g., *weird*), Ability (e.g., a *good* singer), and Environmentally induced (e.g., *lucky*). There were no representations of Porreca's eleventh category, Rapport/Reputation, in the texts. The totals for all adjectives appear in Table 6. Not surprisingly, the slight over-representation of women in the books has lead to a proportionate over-representation of adjectives to describe these women. The relatively low frequency of adjectives in each category makes a quantitative analysis of these categories unreliable, but it should be noted that there was not a disproportionate use of negative adjectives to describe either sex. For example, although one of the five adjectives used to describe the physical appearance of women in the texts

Table 6. Adjective types used to describe the sexes in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female			Male		
	Touchstone 1	*Touchstone 2*	Total	*Touchstone 1*	*Touchstone 2*	Total
Physical appearance	1	4	5	2	9	11
Intellect / Education	3	0	3	1	0	1
Emotionality / State of mind	2	5	7	2	2	4
Physical state / condition	8	1	9	6	4	10
Personality	14	1	15	7	0	7
Age	1	1	2	0	0	0
Environmentally descriptive	7	1	8	4	0	4
Normality / Deviance	0	1	1	0	1	1
Ability	1	2	3	0	0	0
Environmentally induced	0	2	2	1	1	1
Total			55			39

could be considered negative (*skinny*), 3 of the 11 adjectives used to describe men were also negative (*short, heavy,* and *bald*).

   Occupational stereotypes. The occupations depicted in the textbook are listed in Table 7. Of the 21 job classes, women participated in 15 of them, while men were represented in 17. Thus, *Touchstone* offers a very balanced view of what types of jobs women and men are doing, or are capable of doing. On the other hand, a fairly large majority of working people in *Touchstone* are men. Women hold 86 jobs in the text, while 120 jobs are held by men. Here too, however, a strictly quantitative statistic does not tell the entire story. With the exceptions of the categories of actors/musicians and athletes, the numbers are quite even. In fact, by removing these job classes from the totals as a whole, the ratio of working women to men comes more into balance (54:63). These particular job classes, it should be noted, were depicted mostly through the photographs of famous celebrities. Thus, group photos of men's professional sports teams or rock groups contributed largely to the numbers. It should also be noted that

Table 7. Occupations in *Touchstone 1* and *2*.

	Female			Male		
	Touchstone 1	*Touchstone 2*	Total	*Touchstone 1*	*Touchstone 2*	Total
Teacher	7	1	8	5	0	5
Office worker	7	11	18	8	8	16
Pilot	0	0	0	1	0	1
Business person	6	6	12	6	9	15
Actor / Musician	14	15	29	25	21	46
Athlete	3	0	3	9	2	11
Artist	1	0	1	1	0	1
Restaurant staff	2	2	4	2	1	3
Sales clerk/retail	2	0	2	3	5	8
Driver	0	0	0	1	1	2
Writer / Reporter	0	0	0	0	3	3
Doctor / Dentist	1	2	3	0	2	2
Farmer	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hotel staff	0	0	0	0	2	2
Model	0	1	1	0	0	0
Firefighter	0	0	0	0	1	1
Police officer	0	1	1	0	0	0
Nurse	0	1	1	0	0	0
Construction	0	1	1	0	2	2
Architect	0	1	1	0	0	0
Lawyer	0	1	1	0	1	1
Total			86			120

it is difficult to evaluate the exact impact that group images have upon a reader's perceptions. It is possible that same-sex group images are perceived with only the impact of a single instantiation. In other words, a group photo of The Beatles, may not contribute as deeply to a masculine impression formation, as would four separate images of the group's members alone. In any case, this is an empirical issue that goes beyond the scope of this paper and awaits further research.

Summary

It seems then that by almost all methodologies, the *Touchstone* series offers a very egalitarian representation of the sexes. Female characters were not under-represented at any level of individuation, and were only slightly over-represented in certain areas. Likewise, the overall masculinisation of the text was not influenced by an abundance of male generic constructions. Mixed-sex examples, exercises and dialogues were as likely to be initiated by female characters as they were by males. Adjectives used to describe people in the text appeared to show no bias toward either sex, and wide varieties of occupations were held by both sexes.

This uniformity of results across measures bodes well for depth of individuation as a new measure of gender bias in language textbooks. Individuation appears to have at least some surface validity when compared to the other measures presented here. It is important to note however, that the placement of the various types of instantiations in relation to depth of impression formation (Figures 1 and 2) remains an empirical hypothesis. For example, it may be the case that there is no distinction between nominal and sub-nominal instantiations as far as impression formation in the reader is concerned. The order in which instantiation types appear in the iceberg model is also open to empirical exploration. It is possible that photographs, for example, always create deeper impressions in the reader than illustrations regardless of whether the characters therein are named or not. If this is the case, then the deepest layers in the iceberg model would not actually be graphic and nomino-graphic instantiations, but *illustrations* and *photographs* respectively. This possible scenario is illustrated in Figure 4. Although the investigation of these issues is beyond the scope of this paper, the individuation model holds promise as both a measure of gender bias in educational
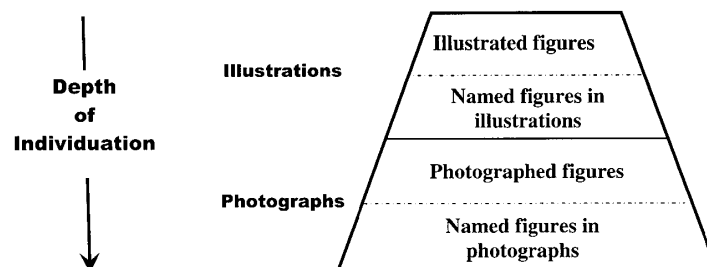
Figure 4. Alternative hypothesis for graphic instantiations in the individuation model.

materials, and as a vehicle of further empirical investigation.

Implications of textbook gender bias

This study set out to examine gender representations in the *Touchstone* series and to examine the impact of gender bias on students using the texts. Failing to find any clear bias in the text raised three further questions, the answers to which will help lead to an understanding of the implications of gender bias on language textbook users:

1. Had students perceived any gender bias in the text (despite evidence of its absence)?
2. If there had been clear examples of gender bias in the textbooks, would the students have perceived it? And
3. If the students had detected gender bias, what would be their reaction to it?

To examine these questions, a survey was administered to Japanese university students who had been using the texts.

The survey and subjects

The survey was conducted via written questionnaire distributed in first- and second-year English Communication classes at a Japanese university. One of the survey forms is replicated in Appendix A. The actual form that the students received differed slightly from the one pictured here in that the real form included instructions in the respondents' native Japanese and contact information for respondents who had any questions or concerns about the research. Part 1 (where respondents are asked to evaluate two dialogues, one of which is noticeably gender biased) and Part 2 (where they are asked specifically about *Touchstone*) were not labelled as such on the actual forms, but are labelled here for ease of reference.

In total, four types of form were distributed, two for first-year students and two for second-year students. Half of the students received forms in which Part 2 preceded Part 1. This measure allowed an examination of students' opinions of the dialogues presented in Part 1 with or without first raising awareness of gender issues, as is done in Part 2, Question 6 (*Did you notice anything about the way men and women were portrayed in the textbook?*). These conditions will be referred to as *gender-first* and *text-first* respectively. Instructions at the top of the form request that students not go back and change their answers, thus maintaining a clearly differentiated condition for each student. The other variation in forms concerned the contents of the dialogue boxes in Part 1. Those shown in Appendix A appeared on the first-year students' questionnaires while those in Appendix B appeared on the second-year students'. In fact, Dialogue ② in Appendix A was adapted from a dialogue in *Touchstone 2* (McCarthy *et al.*, 2005b, p. 6), while Dialogue ② in Appendix B was adapted from *Touchstone 1* (*Ibid,*

2005a, p. 8). This way, students would not receive dialogues with which they were already familiar (second-year students had not used *Touchstone 1* in the previous year). This avoided the confounding influence of *familiarity* in responses to Questions 1 and 2. In so doing, however, *level of difficulty* became a possible influence on these responses as second-year students received dialogues designed for first-year students and vice versa. Dialogue ① for all students was a truncated version of a dialogue from *Functions of English* (Jones, 1977; cited in Sunderland *et al.*, 2001). This particular passage was selected as an example of male firstness and female under-representation in that Sally speaks substantially less than John does, and only in response to John's questions. All dialogues were modified slightly for length and the names in Dialogue ② were changed to match Dialogue ①. Although survey questions 1 and 2 (*Which dialogue do you like/dislike?*) are intended to access almost identical attitudes towards these dialogues, both were included in the hopes of eliciting greater detail as to why one dialogue might be preferred to another.

In total, 89 (69 female) first-year English students and 111 (82 female) second-year English students responded (with three spoiled surveys). The high number of female respondents was not a product of the survey itself, but a representative percentage of the actual class population.

Results and analysis

Perceived bias in *Touchstone*. The answers to Question 6 shed light on the question of whether or not students had perceived any gender bias in their textbooks. In fact, students regardless of their sex or year of study did not perceive any particular bias. Table 8 shows the percentage of responses to each of the three parts of this ques-

Table 8. Response percentages to Question 6 as a function of sex.

		Response				
		A	B	C	D	E
①	Female	1.3	1.3	32.7	64.7	X
	Male	0.0	4.1	30.6	65.3	X
	Total	1.0	2.0	32.2	64.9	X
②	Female	3.3	0.7	39.9	4.6	51.6
	Male	0.0	4.1	38.8	2.0	55.1
	Total	2.5	1.5	39.6	4.0	52.5
③	Female	2.6	5.3	46.7	45.4	X
	Male	6.1	6.1	38.8	49.0	X
	Total	3.5	5.5	44.8	46.3	X

tion. Responses to Part ① show that more than 97% of all students either believed that women and men in the text held almost the same kinds of jobs (Response C) or they hadn't noticed any bias at all in this regard (Response D). Part ② examined the student's opinions about the images of the sexes in the textbooks. Here too, the majority of respondents felt that representations of the sexes were equally positive (or negative) or they hadn't noticed either way (96.1%; Responses C, D, and E). Part ③ addressed the perceived number of representations of the sexes in the text. Again, no bias was perceived as 91.1% of the students had either not noticed, or felt that the numbers were basically equal (Responses C and D). Thus, students did not perceive any gender bias in *Touchstone*, in terms of types of occupations held, positive or negative images, or the actual number of gender representations in the text. These findings mirror the results of the analyses described in Section 3 above.

Perception of existing bias. Questions concerning whether or not the students would recognize bias if it had been present in the texts, and what their reaction to it would be are addressed in the responses to Part 1 of the survey. These results are presented in Tables 9 and 10 as a function of year of study and order of question presentation. Table 10 shows that male students showed approximately equal preference for either dialogue, regardless of year of study or condition. Table 9, on the contrary shows a clear trend: The majority (78.8%) of first-year female students preferred the *Touchstone* dialogue, that is, Dialogue ②, if they had not already responded to questions about gender issues (i.e., the text-first condition). Female students in their first-year who answered questions about gender issues first (the gender-first condition) showed roughly equal preference for the dialogues. This effect was reversed in the case of second-year female students, an effect that was not anticipated and points to the influence of confounding factors.

To unravel the cause of this trend, the reasons expressed by female students for

Table 9. Percentage of female respondents who preferred the *Touchstone* dialogue as a function of question order.

	Gender-first	Text-first
First-year	53.3	78.8
Second-year	78.6	50.0

Table 10. Percentage of male respondents who preferred the *Touchstone* dialogue as a function of question order.

	Gender-first	Text-first
First-year	60.0	60.0
Second-year	53.3	64.3

their responses to questions 1 and 2 were examined. Students' reasons for preferring one dialogue over the other were classified into five categories:

1. *Comprehensibility*: the students' assessment of relative ease or difficulty.
2. *Realism*: the extent to which students felt the dialogues were natural or unnatural.
3. *Usefulness*: students' assessment of the utility of the dialogues to their studies.
4. *Structure/content*: assessments of e.g., monotony, smoothness, etc.
5. *Sociolinguistic/pragmatic*: evaluations of the characters, situation, mood, etc. of the dialogues.

The sociolinguistic/pragmatic class of reasons is of prime importance to the question of whether students' evaluations of the text had been influenced by the manner in which gender was represented in the dialogues. Table 11 shows the percentage of sociolinguistic reasons offered by female students *regardless* of which dialogue they preferred. It is clear that sociolinguistic and pragmatic issues became salient (almost doubling from 25.0% to 48.2%) for second year female students after having given consideration to questions about gender. Thinking about gender issues failed to influence the percentage of sociolinguistic reasons given by the first-year female students. It may be the case that Dialogue ②'s level of linguistic difficulty impeded the first-year students' abilities to consider pragmatic issues in the text.

A qualitative examination of the sociolinguistic/pragmatic reasons underlying dialogue preference provides an interesting insight. Specifically, students were most likely to attribute their dislike of Dialogue ① to Sally rather than to John. Of 16 reasons attributing their dislike of the dialogue to one the characters, students blamed Sally 14 times. Typical responses stated that Sally was "cold", "blunt", "negative", or "didn't want to talk". Only twice was their dislike attributed to John ("weird", "asked too many questions"). This confirms the potentially damaging influence of gender bias in learning materials on the formation of learners' impressions regarding the sexes. For more on the implications of these impressions and how they may generalize beyond the textbook, see Jones *et al.*, 1997; Florent and Walter, 1989; and Hellinger, 1980. See also Sunderland *et al.*, 2001 and Florent and Walter, 1989 for how teacher treatment can counteract the effects of textbook gender bias.

Table 11. Percentage of reasons in the sociolinguistic/pragmatic category given by female students as a function of question order.

	Gender-first	Text-first
First-year	14.9	18.2
Second-year	48.2	25.0

Conclusion

The *Touchstone* series of textbooks is not biased in its representation of the sexes. The texts fared well as analyzed by traditional measures of gender bias and on a new measure proposed here, individuation. A survey administered to student users of the texts showed that they had not perceived any gender bias therein either. Although students had not necessarily recognized biased text and responded to it in the survey, results here appear to be confounded by intervening factors.

It would seem that the authors of the *Touchstone* series have evaded the influences of the "unconscious garbage-can of sexual stereotypes" that some researchers suggest we all possess (Florent & Walter, 1989, p. 181; Hartman & Judd, 1978). I suspect that McCarthy and his co-writers are not alone however. Further analyses of current language materials, I believe, will show that a quarter-century of consciousness-raising attempts by feminist linguists (e.g., Cameron, 1985; Coates, 2004) and some fundamental changes in the nature of language itself (Ehrlich & King, 1998) have had a strong positive impact upon the representation of gender in language textbooks as a whole.

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ケンブリッジ大学出版社の『タッチストーン』シリーズにみる性の偏見

ジョンP. ラシーン

　この研究では，英語教科書にみられるジェンダーバイアスの問題，例えば，女性の登場頻度の低さ，性差別表現，職業のステレオタイプなどについて提示している。これらの問題について従前から提示されている結果および新しいジェンダーバイアスの尺度，個性化 (individuation) を提案する。次に，タッチストーンというシリーズの英語教科書をこれらの尺度を用い分析する。この教科書において，以前からの尺度と私の新しい尺度で，ジェンダーバイアスを見つけることや明らかにすることはできなかった。この結果から教科書を使う人々や一般的な学習者におけるジェンダーバイアスの暗示について三つの疑問が浮かんだ。

　１．ジェンダーバイアスがなくても，学生たちは教科書の中でジェンダーバイアスを感じたか。
　２．もしも教科書の中にジェンダーバイアスのたとえがはっきりあれば，学生たちはそれに気づく
　　　か。
　３．学生たちがジェンダーバイアスに気づけば，どう反応するか。

　以上の三つの疑問は，タッチストーンを使っている学生たちにアンケートを取ることによって調査した。結果は，彼らは教科書の中でジェンダーバイアスを見つけていない。バイアスがかかった文章を見せたときにも，学生たちはあまり気づかず，反応は見られなかった。しかし，この結果は互いに干渉し合う原因が結果を混同させているので確定的ではない。

Appendix A

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research survey.

I am conducting a survey about English textbooks. These questions will only ask for your opinion, so remember that there is no right and wrong answer. Also, you don't have to write your name on this form, so please express yourself freely.

Please write your answers only in the order they appear here. That is, do not go back and change or add to your previous answers. It's ok if all questions are not answered. Please continue to the end and then hand it in. You may write your answers in Japanese.

Part 1
Please look at these two examples from different English textbooks.

① At a Coffee Shop	② In Front of a Club
John: Excuse me, is this seat taken? Sally: No. John: Do you mind if I sit here? Sally: No, not at all. John: Thanks. Would you like a coffee? Sally: No, thanks. John: It's crowded here, isn't it? Sally: Yes, it always is. John: I've seen you before. Do you live near here? Sally: Yes. I live and work near here.	Sally: I'm cold. John: Me, too. But I like cold weather. Sally: Really? ...There are many people here tonight. John: Yes, it's crowded on weekends. Sally: Do you come here a lot? John: Yes, I do. Sally: So you're a big hip-hop fan? John: Yes, I am. Are you? Sally: No, but my brother's in the band. John: Oh, really? By the way, my name's John.

1. Which conversation do you like the best?   ①   ②

   Why?

2. Which don't you like?   ①   ②

   Why?

Part 2

3. What did you like about your textbook (Touchstone) this year?

4. What didn't you like about it?

5. Next year, would you like to continue using the Touchstone series?

A. I'd like to continue using Touchstone.   B. I'd rather use a different textbook.

6. Did you notice anything about the way men and women were portrayed in the textbook?
   ① About jobs:
   A. Men had better jobs than women.
   B. Women had better jobs than men.
   C. Men and women had almost the same jobs.
   D. I didn't notice.

   ② About images:
   A. Women were portrayed more positively than men.
   B. Men were portrayed more positively than women.
   C. Men and women were both portrayed positively.
   D. Men and women were both portrayed negatively.
   E. I didn't notice.

   ③ About the number of people:
   A. There were more women than men in the textbook.
   B. There were more men than women in the textbook.
   C. There were about the same number of men and women in the textbook.
   D. I didn't notice.

Finally, about you:

Age _____   Sex: Male   Female

Thank you again for participating.

Appendix B

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① At a Coffee Shop

John: Excuse me, is this seat taken?
Sally: No.
John: Do you mind if I sit here?
Sally: No, not at all.
John: Thanks. Would you like a coffee?
Sally: No, thanks.
John: It's crowded here, isn't it?
Sally: Yes, it always is.
John: I've seen you before. Do you live near here?
Sally: Yes. I live and work near here.

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② In a Park

Sally: It's a beautiful day.
John: Yes, it is.
Sally: Are you here for the concert?
John: Yes, I am. How about you?
Sally: Yeah, me too. Are you a student here?
John: Yeah. How about you?
Sally: No, I'm here on vacation.
John: Nice. By the way, I'm John.
Sally: Hi, John. I'm Sally.