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Multidimensional perspectives on gender in Dutch language education: textbooks and teacher talk

Abstract (150/150 words):
The language classroom offers a rich environment for deconstructing language- and culture-specific gender and sexuality models in action. The present study responds to calls for diachronic textbook studies and classroom based research in this area. We first examine gender and sexuality in text (types and tokens) and images in ´family´ chapters in 15 Dutch language textbooks published between 1970-2018. Second, we examine under-explored ´teacher talk around gendered text´ through observation of 32 Dutch language lessons in high schools in Germany and interviews with 9 participating teachers. Results show few changes in gender representations in textbooks over the past 50 years; and significant discrepancies between teachers´ self-articulated gender ideologies (e.g., gender equality is important) and teacher talk in class, which mostly ignores gender-biased representations in texts. We aim to further debate in this area, by extending an existing theoretical model on ´teacher talk around gendered text´ and discussing implications for inclusive language education.

Keywords: classroom-based research, gender linguistics, teacher discourse, textbook research, second and foreign language teaching, sexuality

1. Introduction

The urgency of promoting gender diversity and inclusion in education is increasingly highlighted in research, educational guidelines and practice (UNESCO, 2017; Gouvias & Alexopoulos, 2018). Guidelines for inclusive education aimed at a wider diversity of learners (Council of Europe, 2017) emphasise the value of both more diverse educational materials/textbooks and gender-aware teachers, even against the reality of non-diverse classroom materials (Sunderland et al., 2001). Some studies support the calls for gender diversity in learning materials, demonstratingthat diverse representations have an impact on the level of achievement for different learners. Good et al. (2010), for example, found that female US high school students achieved higher levels of science comprehension after viewing pictures of female scientists as compared with pictures of male scientists. Practitioners in educational contexts have highlighted the need for training and best practice guidance around gender inclusion and gender mainstreaming (e.g. Gouvias and Alexopoulos (2018)).

Despite existing guidelines, meta-analyses still reveal gender inequalities in textbooks all around the globe (Islam & Asadullah, 2018). Women are generally underrepresented in comparison with men and are often portrayed in stereotypical, low-status and passive roles (Sunderland, 2015). LGBTQI* characters hardly ever appear (Sancho Höhne & Heerdegen, 2018; Sauntson, 2021). Many studies focus on Teaching English as Foreign Language (TEFL) textbooks, but increasingly studies on textbooks for other languages, such as Greek (Gouvias & Alexopoulos, 2018), German (Ott, 2015) and only recently, Dutch (Koster, 2020), contribute to the evidence base in these areas. Menard-Warwick et al. (2017) suggest that examining non-Anglo contexts can reveal language- and culture-specific patterns, which help expand our theories of gender in language education (see also Hellinger & Motschenbacher, 2015). Moreover, Niehaus (2018) points out that diachronic studies are needed, for example Goyal and Rose's (2020) study, in order to uncover whether and what developments have occurred over time. In addition, whereas many textbook studies focus on the domain of profession and work life, very few studies have focused on family life (e.g., Zhao, Zhang & Liu, 2017), which is still characterized by major gender inequalities, including in countries relevant to this paper, such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019).

In contrast with research on learning materials, teacher talk around gendered texts has been far less well examined (Hansen, 2018). Two decades ago, Sunderland et al. (2001) proposed a model to show how teachers deal with gender in language classes. The framework identifies two types of gendered text (gender-biased vs. progressive) and shows that teachers deal with texts by *ignoring, subverting* or *endorsing* (non-)biased gender representations (examples follow below). Although Sunderland et al. (2001) convincingly argue that ´gender talk around the text´ constitutes an important research focus, few empirical studies have built on this work and, to our knowledge, none have verified or extended their model. Pawelczyk and Pakula (2015)'s study of TEFL elementary classrooms in Poland, however, showed teachers discussing *non-gendered* texts in a gendered manner (e.g. using sentences such as ´If I were a girl, I´d be a flower´ or ´If I were a boy, I´d be a car´). More

studies are certainly needed (e.g., Macalusco, 2016), to help us explore similar and other verbal behaviors in classrooms.

The aims of the present study are twofold. First, we examine how women, men and (when present) non-binary characters are described and depicted in ´family´ chapters in previously unresearched Dutch language learning textbooks across a 50-year time span (1970-2018). We respond to calls for more diachronic textbook studies, to help reveal (a lack of) changes in gender representations over time (Ott, 2017; Niehaus, 2018); pay attention to the underexplored topic of heteronormativity and absence of LGBTQI* characters in family relationships (Sancho Höhne & Heerdegen, 2018); and expand Anglo-centric research by focusing on the unresearched Dutch sociolinguistic context. Second, we consider much-needed data on actual classroom practices (Hansen, 2018) by examining ´gender talk around the text´ by Dutch language teachers in German high schools. In the German province North-Rhine Westphalia alone, circa 30.000 pupils follow Dutch language classes (Schulministerium, 2020). In doing so, this study is the first to address whether Sunderland et al.´s (2001) model on teacher talk around the text can be applied, adapted and extended in this new research context. We complement classroom data with interviews with participating teachers, to explore their gender ideologies and identify key areas for future gender-awareness training for language teachers should cover. In other words, we have aimed to investigate how textbooks and teachers navigate gender issues in the context of Dutch language education through a broad approach that considers several inter-related and complementary dimensions. Our intention is to build on existing theoretical and educational debates in the field, as well as encourage further research going forward on any of these dimensions, separately or jointly.

2. Theoretical Background

We view textbooks from a cultural studies perspective as a medium of social observation within a network of media (Christophe et al., 2018; Fuchs & Henne, 2018) and depart from a dual 'objective'/ 'subjective' epistemology (Hansen, 2018) by combining qualitative and quantitative paradigms. In line with UNESCO (2017), we also argue that textbooks can and should play a more agentive role in terms of ensuring diversity than mere observation. We assume that representations affect readers as subjects, and that images and messages inform and to an extent determine the sort of women, men or non-binary people we think we can be (Butler, 1990). In the sections that follow, we look at key textbook studies as the backdrop to our own research.

2.1 Tracing gender in textbooks over time: focus on family

Niehaus (2018) poses that relatively few diachronic studies exist, where (changes in) gender representations are traced over time. In our recent research (Koster, 2020), for example, we found that descriptions and depictions of female and male professionals in Dutch language textbooks have hardly changed over a period of fifty years (1974-2017). Women were backgrounded through fewer female professional names; more references to male than female characters through gender-neutral professional names; and male firstness, where men were mentioned before women within a sentence (e.g. *Harry and Anna go to work* versus *Anna and Harry go to work*, also see Motschenbacher, 2013). Women were also described in less varied and more gender typical professions (as compared with demographic statistics) than men across the entire examined time span. These are *longue-durée* phenomena, allowing for meaning to be stabilized and exclusions to be further entrenched (Christophe et al., 2018; Lee, 2014; Goyal & Rose, 2020). Our study aims to uncover further, unexamined *longue-durée* phenomena in textbooks.

Whereas many textbook studies focus on the domain of work life, remarkably, fewer studies have placed a systematic focus on family life (e.g., Zhao, Zhang & Liu, 2017). Yet, like work life, family life is one of the standard areas covered in language textbooks, as well as a key area of social life characterized by inequality (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019). Some early studies (Kowitz and Caroll 1990; Ansary and Babaii 2003), found that shopping, child nurturing and housekeeping were represented as exclusively female responsibilities in TEFL textbooks. Porecca (1984) found that nouns denoting parenthood and marital status occurred more frequently for women than for men in TEFL materials. More recently, Bag and Bayyurt (2015) showed that current Turkish TEFL textbooks still display stereotypical family roles, such as around women and housework. On the other hand, Ott (2015) observed in a diachronic study on German math books that representations of family and relationships were evenly distributed, counteracting the stereotype of women focusing on family life. Yet, she noticed a bias in favour of heterosexual ´nuclear families´ - something criticized by, among others, Sunderland (2015). Sancho Höhnen and Heerdegen (2018) point out that LGBTQI* characters hardly ever appear in textbooks. They pose that if LGBTQI* characters are mentioned, the context tends to be

either negative (Wylie, 2012) or focused on the idea of the ´modern gay´, where textbook authors seem keen to be associated with modernity and progressiveness rather than breadth of LGBTQI* representations. The present study attempts to address these gaps by examining how authors and illustrators of Dutch language and culture textbooks represent diverse gender and sexuality roles in the family domain across a 50-year time span.

2.2 Textbook use in the classroom

Since textbooks do not exist in a vacuum, Sunderland et al. (2001) examined ´gender talk around the text´ by observing English, German and French language teachers in Greece, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The authors argued that texts can be categorized into those which are gendered, i.e., which referred to people in some way, and those which are non-gendered (e.g. a scientific text about technical processes, written impersonally throughout). Gendered texts were further subdivided into gender-neutral (e.g. ones which referred to people, students, holiday-makers etc.) or gender-specific (e.g. ones which referred to women, men, boys, girls etc.). The authors drew another distinction between gender-biased and progressive gendered texts. Gender-biased texts maintain or exaggerate traditional gender roles (e.g. mother is a housewife, father works full-time), with or without irony, whereas progressive texts might appear less biased (e.g. father is at home with the children, whereas mother has a ´high-profile´ job). A progressive text extends the range of activities typically associated with or available to women or men. Sunderland et al. referred to these texts as ´gender-critical points´, since the "teacher would then have to do something about the particular gender representation (even if it was ´playing it by the books´ or even ignoring it)." (2001; p. 259).

Sunderland et al.'s model (2001) describes different types of ´gender talk around the text´ (p. 280). For both gender-biased and progressive texts, four types of gender talk were identified. First, teachers ignored the given representation, by not dealing with it in any critical manner. Second, teachers subverted given representations, by turning traditional representations to non-traditional and vice versa. Third, teachers endorsed given representations by confirming or even exaggerating these. A fourth, ´unclear´ category, contained ´talk around the text´ that could not be classified. Though Sunderland et al. (2001) did not consider non-gendered texts, they acknowledge that ´gender talk around the text´ can occur with non-gendered texts (see Pawelczyk and Pakula (2015), Introduction). Our study shows how the model by Sunderland et al. (2001) can be supported or adapted with usage frequencies of different texts and types of talk in a novel research context: Dutch foreign language education in Germany.

While classroom observation studies focusing on gender are rare, there are interview and survey studies on gender in language classrooms. Kizilaslan (2010) and Eslami and Hasan (2012), for example, found that TEFL teachers in Turkey and Qatar were either unwilling to bring up gender-related issues in the classroom or viewed gender stereotyping as relevant. Tainio (2012) found that Finnish teachers considered their schools and their own teaching as gender-inclusive, but when probedthey expressed stark gender difference-based and stereotypical views. Tainio and Karvonen's (2015) analysis of Finnish teachers´ focus-group discussions showed they evaded the topic, by framing their debates either in terms of inequality in Finnish society at large or in terms of problems with religious families of immigrant children (e.g. Somali girls). They thus treated gender inequality as a problem existing in minority cultures instead of critically examining their own gender ideologies. Gouvias and Alexopoulos (2018) work with Greek teachers showed, however, that teachers were indeed keen to see the implementation of initial and in-service training for teachers on issues of gender. The present study shows to what degree similar or different tendencies can be found in interviews with Dutch foreign language teachers in Germany alongside observations during the lessons of these teachers.

3. Methods

3.1 Textbook texts and images

We employed a mixture of content and linguistic analysis of textbook texts and images, in order to address the question of whether gendered family representations in Dutch language textbooks have evolved over time, and if so, how. We aimed to examine a time span of approximately 50 years and selected fifteen DSL books from the period 1970-2018 (Appendix 1).[1] This time frame was divided into five periods: 1970-1979; 1980-1989; 1990-

[1] The books were semi-randomly drawn from the library of The Institute of Dutch Studies at Münster University, which hosts 709 titles (including accompanying materials, such as teacher guides, CDs, DVDs etcetera) in the period 1970-2018. The 15 randomly selected books were a subsample drawn from a sample of 46 titles.

1999; 2000-2009; and 2010-2018. For each period, we analysed three DSL books (e.g., *Op nieuwe wegen*, 1970; *Levend Nederlands*, 1984; *Ijsbreker,* 1994; *Contact!*, 2009; *Welkom in de klas*, 2018). Books had to contain at least one section about family life to be selected. All books were im- or explicitly aimed at (young) adults. Seven books were targeted at German native speakers; one at French native speakers; the other books were intended for speakers of unspecified mother tongues. One book was targeted at ´advanced´ learners (*Bij ons in Nederland*, 1970), whereas other books were im- or explicitly targeted at beginning learners. In sum, our corpus contained text and images, sometimes divided over a textbook and an exercise book, containing 3427 types (unique words) and 31305 tokens (all words) in total (calculated with AntConc software). Data can be accessed through the IRIS database (Detailed View- IRIS Digital Repository (iris-database.org)).

We quantitatively analysed text for the following aspects: personal nouns, pronouns and proper names; roles in dialogues; (fe)male firstness (see Theoretical Background); distribution of active and passive verbs; and sexual preferences of characters. These aspects were selected based on pilot-analyses of recommended factors (Sunderland, 2015). In terms of personal nouns, we focused on family terms, which could be gender specific (e.g., *vader* [father]; *tante* [aunt]) or gender-neutral (e.g., *kind* [child]; *partner*). The (possessive) pronouns and proper names in our corpus were also classified as gender specific (e.g. *zij* [she]; *haar* [her]; *Anna*) or gender-neutral (e.g., *Chris*). We also analysed how often and how much women and men spoke in dialogues, since this shows how much verbal space they occupy anddialogues constitute gender and language models for actual uses in the classroom (Jones, Kitetu & Sunderland, 1994).

For all sentences that described actions of women and men, we categorized verbs into active (e.g. producing or involving action or movement, Merriam-Webster, 2020a, e.g. speaking, walking) and passive (e.g. acted upon by an external agency; not active or operating, Merriam-Webster, 2020b, e.g. receiving, waiting) ones. For each chapter, we documented the five most central or earliest appearing characters whether their sexuality could be inferred or not (e.g., image: Sandra kisses Anna; text: Richard is looking for a wife), and if so, whether it could be classified as (non-) heterosexual. Giaschi (2000) argues that images have become increasingly predominant in language education materials, and that they communicate particular perspectives on gender. Therefore, all images appearing in the chapters were analysed following an adapted qualitative question set by Giaschi (2000).[2] We documented for each image depicting people: who is active or passive; what does body language communicate; and where is the gaze direction. Though we recognize that images and texts are multimodal, the scope of this article does not allow for thorough multimodal analyses (see Van Leeuwen, 2015).

3.2 Classroom observations and interviews

Our analyses of classroom discourse and interview data were guided by the following research questions: How do Dutch language teachers treat and navigate gendered texts in their classrooms? And to what degree is this treatment aligned with their gender ideologies? Observations of 34 random lessons in total (on average, 11 lessons of 45 minutes by each of nine teachers) were carried out by three trained observers. They took fieldnotes, made audio recordings and transcribed those. Through chain sampling, the observers obtained permission from schools, teachers and parents to observe lessons at three German high schools. As in Sunderland et al. (2001), we considered entire coherent short texts (e.g. a reading comprehension text, or song lyrics), or parts of short texts (e.g. a dialogue, a fill in the blanks exercise) so texts could be broad enough as well as brief. Following the observation sessions, we conducted semi-structured interviews with each participating teacher, using questions based on Sunderland (1994). They included more general questions about the teachers´ background (e.g. age, teaching experience, views on teacher responsibilities); and more specific ones, for example, whether they had ever taken a course on the role of gender in education, how important they find gender equality in teaching materials, and whether and how they pay attention to gender (in)equality in their lessons. The interviews were carried out in the teacher's preferred language, which was either German or Dutch. We audio-recorded and transcribed both the lessons and teacher interviews.

In two data sessions with the observers and authors, materials and observations of teachers´ behaviors were independently coded and then compared to enhance the quality of analysis (e.g. investigator triangulation). Based on Sunderland et al. (2001), we categorized materials as gender-biased, progressive or non-gendered, echoing their observation (2001: 281) that operationalizing these categories requires a "relatively high level of inference and sensitivity on the part of the analyst but simultaneously takes account of her/his understandings and perceptions as valid and useful." For the teacher talk around the text, which was collected via transcribed

[2] Images were separately coded by 13 graduate students and thereafter assessed by the first author.

audio recordings, the employed categories were: ignoring, subverting, endorsing and unknown (see Section 2.2). The cases where independent coding differed were discussed until consensus among observers and authors was reached. Interviews were thematically analyzed through descriptive and interpretative coding, which entailed the formulation of overarching themes (King & Horrocks, 2010).

4. Results

4.1 Diachronic textbook analyses (1970-2018)

4.1.1 Text analysis

Female, male and gender-neutral family terms, pronouns and proper names were evenly distributed across all time frames (106 male family terms (32,3%) with 910 male pronouns and proper names; 106 female family terms (32,3%) with 927 pronouns and proper names; and 116 gender-neutral family terms (35,4%)). Frequent female types were *moeder* [mother], *dochter* [daughter], *zus* [sister] and frequent male types were *vader* [father], *zoon* [son], *man* [husband]. Frequent gender-neutral types were *kind* [child], *grootouder* [grandparent] en *ouder* [parent]. The 727 pronouns and proper names for gender-neutral family terms were most often gender neutral (452 instances (62,2%); e.g. *kind* [child]). However, they referred more frequently to men (177 instances (24,3%); e.g. *hij* [he]) than women (98 instances (13,5%); e.g. *zij* [she]). On average, each period contained more male (M=35,4, SD=32,1) than female pronouns and proper names (M=19,60, SD=21,3) for gender neutral types. An ANOVA revealed no significant differences across time frames, with $F(1,4)=2,161$, $p=.216$, $\eta p2=.351$.

No non-binary characters spoke in the 27 dialogues (all characters were classified as female or male based on proper names, content of utterances and/or accompanying images), but more women (29) than men (19) participated. Over time, the percentage of speaking women increased and the 2016-2018 books featured women only, and no speaking men (see Figure 1). Women (1189 types, e.g. unique words; 1876 tokens, e.g. all words) uttered only slightly more types and tokens than men (921 types; 1476 tokens) in total. This difference can be attributed to men taking up most verbal space in textbook dialogues in earlier time frames (1970-1998). An ANOVA revealed no significant differences for types, but women uttered significantly more tokens than men with $F(1,4)=10,380$, $p=.0.032$, $\eta p2=.722$. Male firstness (207 instances in total) occurred significantly more often than female firstness (99 instances in total) across all time frames. An ANOVA showed that this difference was significant with $F(1,4)=31,397$, $p=.005$, $\eta p2=.887$. In total, we found 73 different verb types for men and slightly less variation with 56 different verb types for women. The distribution of passive verbs was similar for both sexes and across time frames, with only the 2007-2009 books showing a rise in active verbs. Table 1 shows the five verbs that occurred most frequently for women and men in total, and those that occurred only for women (15 in total, 7 active) and men (34 in total, 31 active).

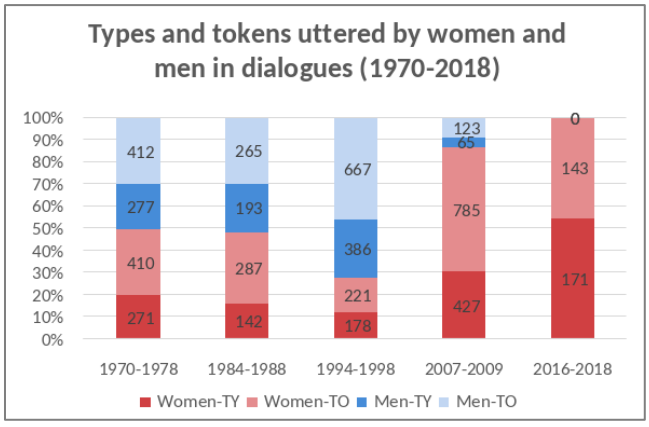

Figure 1: Types and tokens uttered by women and men in dialogues (1970-2018)

	Only women	Only men	Women total	Men total
1	praten(3) [to chat]	doen(7) [to do]	zijn(79) [to be]	zijn(85) [to be]

2	wachten(2) [to wait]	zien(4) [to see]	hebben(25) [to have]	hebben(33) [to have]
3	verwachten(2) [to expect]	spreken(3) [to speak]	gaan(15) [to go]	heten(13) [to be called]
4	trouwen(2) [to marry]	geven(3) [to give]	heten(11) [to be called]	wonen(13) [to live]
5	krijgen(2) [to receive]	brengen(3) [to bring]	willen(8) [to want]	zitten(10) [to sit]

Table 1: Top five verbs that occurred exclusively and in total for women or men and their absolute frequencies. Dutch with English translations in brackets.

For 43 out of 75 examined characters, sexuality could be classified as heterosexual, based on less or more explicit texts. A frequent implicit textual inference indicated marriage with a partner from the opposite sex, e.g. ´Belgin married a Dutch man a couple of years ago´ (*Ijsbreker*, 1994, p. 56). Less frequent, more explicit texts were e.g. Marie stating ´I was married to Peter for five years, but we filed for divorce last year. (…) I am still searching for the perfect man´ (*Van Start*, 2017, p. 63). In addition, we found low-frequent sexuality inferences in images such as a heart-tokens drawn above heterosexual pair (*Levend Nederlands*, 1984, p. 24), family trees with heterosexual marriages (*Taal Vitaal*, 1998, p. 29) or men cuddling women (*Van Start*, 2017, p. 62). The excerpt from the most recent book in the corpus (*Welkom in de klas!*, 2018, p. 53) contained the first and single picture that could be classified as depicting a lesbian couple with child (see Figure 2). The couple is shown amidst pictures of two other families accompanied by the text ´Look at the pictures and describe the families´. The family on the left of the picture consists of four adults and four children, with a mix or racial profiles. The picture on the right portrays a father and son. The accompanying teacher guide encourages teachers to discuss gay marriage becaming legal in the Netherlands in 2001. Yet, note that the homosexual characters could not be classified as central.

4.1.2 Image analysis

There were 189 images in the chapters, of which 329 women, 285 men and 11 non-binary characters (e.g. mainly children, whose characteristics such as body shape, hairstyle and clothing did not allow for classification as either female or male). On average, each chapter contained 12 images (range: 0-58, SD=14) of which 21 depicted women, 19 men and 0,7 gender neutral characters, which hardly varied across periods. An ANOVA showed that differences were significant with $F(2,3)=5{,}684$, $p=.029$, $\eta p2=.587$, with gender neutral characters driving the effect. Following Giaschi (2000), we then first classified who was active or passive in the pictures. Almost half of the pictures were classified as passive, depicting groups or individuals posing for pictures, standing or sitting, without any noticeable gendered patterns across time frames. The more active pictures showed actions such as waving, eating, playing games, speaking and holding or giving objects. Exclusively female activities were: shopping for clothes, hugging, teaching, smelling or giving flowers and showing houses. Exclusively male activities were: showing cars, writing behind a desk and doing sports, e.g. driving a boat or bike, dancing, ice-skating, parachute jumping, weightlifting and bullfighting.

Figure 2: A lesbian couple with child in *Welkom in de klas!* (2018)

Second, we examined body language. It was striking that almost all pictures showed smiling women and men. If women were depicted with babies, they were hugging and smiling at them, whereas men depicted with babies were literally (position: far apart) or emotionally distant (no emotion recognizable). There were few noticeable further patterns, except for men holding women´s shoulders or waists but not vice versa. In terms of eye gaze,

this was directed downwards, upwards, sideward, at other people, at objects or in a few instances eyes were closed. In about a third of the pictures, characters looked straight at the lens. In the earliest books in the corpus (1970), these were mostly men, but in the more recent books (1998-2018), it was both sexes. All in all, women and men were portrayed equally often, and as equally passive or active, but some specific activities were exclusively ascribed to women and men.

4.2 Current classroom practices and ideologies

In most classes, teachers (7 of who identified as female, 2 as male; age range: 27-54 years) did not use materials from a single textbook, but complemented their lessons with texts, songs or exercises from other sources. We excluded 8 of 46 employed texts as they were not discussed in class, and included 38 texts for analysis. Following the data sessions, we classified 23 (60,5%) of those as gender-biased; two (5,3%) as progressive and 13 texts (34,2%) as non-gendered. For the gendered materials, we found that the most frequent behavior was ignoring (19 instances; 76,0%), followed by endorsing (5 instances; 20,0 %) and subverting (1 instance; 4,0%). Below we give examples of these types of ´talk´ and discuss the single instance where a non-gendered text was interpreted in a manner described as ´gendering´.

4.2.1 Teacher talk around (non-)gendered texts

The first and most frequent ´talk´ was ignoring gender-biased texts. Figure 3 exemplifies this talk in the discussion of a textbook text about professions, where descriptions and pictures of each profession were shown. Note that, unlike English speakers, that employ more gender neutral than gendered terminology, Dutch speakers employ both gender neutral (e.g. *ingenieur,* engineer[gender neutral]), male (e.g. *tuinman*, gardener[male]) and female (e.g. *secretaresse*, secretary[female]) professional terms (Hellinger, 2001; Gerritsen, 2002). Even though the distinction between Dutch gender neutral and male terms is not always clear-cut, female terms are clearly identifiable through suffixes such as *-e, -ing, -ster, -es* or *-trice*. The textbook text contained more male (seven) than female (three) professions. Both male professions (e.g. *politieman*, policeman[male]) and female professions (*verkoopster*, saleswoman[female]), could be classified as low-status professions (Koster, 2020). Considering the limited amount of female terms, all of them low-status professions, we categorized the text as gender-biased. Figure 3 shows how teacher Anna (a pseudonym) ignores this biased depiction of gender roles in interaction with a student, as she simply asks the student to read the professions out loud and takes no further (verbal) actions.

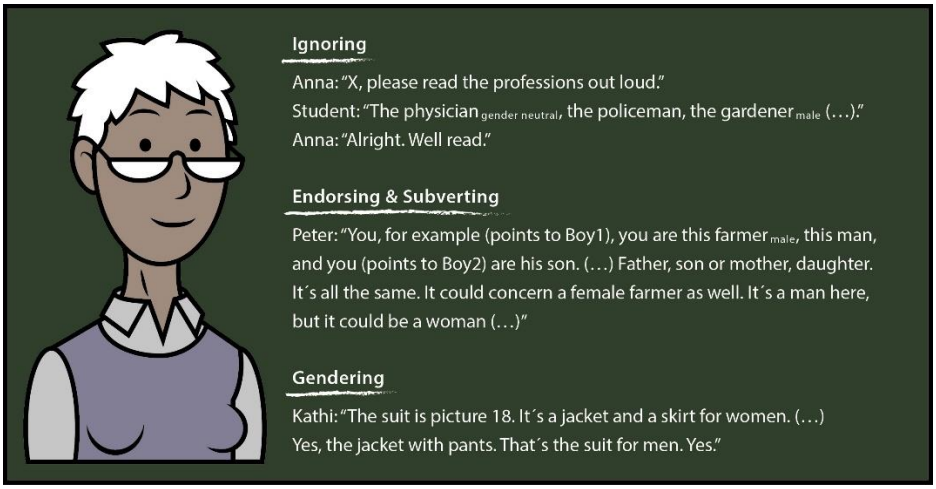

Figure 3: Examples of teacher talk: ignoring, endorsing/subverting and gendering texts

Secondly, we found ample instances of endorsing (e.g. verbally supporting the present gender representation(s)) and subverting (e.g. presenting alternative representations to those present) gender-biased texts. Figure 3 exemplifies both types of talk in the discussion of a textbook text about the daily life of a (male) farmer and his family: him and his son Martijn milking the cows in the morning and the afternoon, his wife and sometimes his daughter supporting this activity; and when the farmer gets home, his wife Else has dinner ready. As Martijn does an excellent job, he is expected to take over the farm within the upcoming years. We unanimously classified this text as gender-biased. Below, we see how teacher Peter (a pseudonym) first endorses the biased

description of gender roles by uncritically assigning the roles of farmer and his son to two boys in the classroom for a speaking exercise. However, later he points out that students can also assume the part of a female farmer or daughter instead of son – "it´s all the same". By this statement, he is subverting the gender-biased representation to pursue a more inclusive interpretation.

Third, we found that the 13 non-gendered texts in our corpus were discussed with no gender interpretation, with one exception. In one observed class, students worked on a ´clothing´ theme, where the task was to match words on a vocabulary list with pieces of clothing depicted on a worksheet. Although it can be argued that clothing terms are subject to similar gendering mechanisms as personal nouns, after considerate debate, we categorized this material as non-gendered. We did so, since there was no mentioning of gender at all in neither the list nor the worksheet. Figure 3 reveals that teacher Kathi (a pseudonym) adds a gender interpretation to the materials in her talk, as she classifies certain pieces of clothing as intended for either women or men. We call this ´gendering´. As was the case with the other examples, the students do not question the teacher´s interpretation. Based on these findings, our study adapts and extends the model by Sunderland et al. (2001); as shown in Figure 4 below, we have added ´non-gendered´ texts to the model, and importantly, we have added the usage frequency of employed text types and types of teacher talk that occurredwith both gendered and non-gendered texts , as reflected in percentages and category sizes. For the ´non-gendered´ texts, we have also added two types of teacher talk: offering ´no gender interpretation´ or ´gendering´ the text.

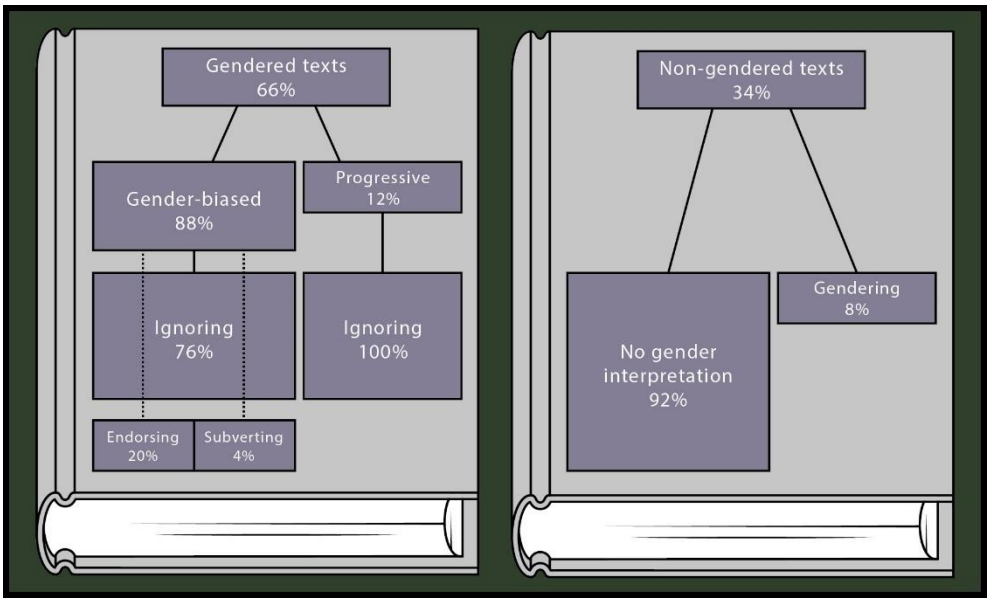

Figure 4: Extension of Sunderland et al.´s (2001) model on teacher talk

4.2.2 Interview results: teachers´ gender ideologies

With one exception, teachers indicated that gender equality in educational settings was important to them. None of the teachers reported having had formal gender awareness training, but most indicated they would use gender-balanced materials if they were given the choice. Their affirmations of gender equality as a principle, however, did not align with the classroom data that showed they mostly ignored biased gender representations.

Two teachers talked about issues around gender and migration (as in Tainio & Karvonen, 2015), as illustrated in this example translated from Dutch: ´*One must address gender inequality (…) Definitely when working with migrants. I don´t like it if girls think they cannot do certain things, because they are not yet acceptable within their culture*.´ One teacher mentioned avoiding using gender stereotypes in example sentences, in contrast with findings by Pawelczyk and Pakula (2015). We also found two novel themes in our data. Three teachers argued that they demonstrated more awareness of gender (in)equality when they taught in German, a grammatical gender language (Bußmann & Hellinger, 2003). A teacher, for example, said (translated from German): ´*I believe that [gender inequality] in [Dutch] language education is less of an issue as compared with subjects taught in German (…) The German linguistic norms concerning gender (…) are different from those in*

the Netherlands (…) linguistic choices are less important in the Netherlands, since the Dutch are pragmatic, and pay less attention to such things.´ This suggests that treatment of gender may indeed be language and culture-specific (Menard-Warwick, Mori & Williams, 2017). Second, almost every teacher expressed ambivalence about selecting material that is gender neutral as opposed to gender specific, as illustrated in this example translated from Dutch*: ´ [gender equality] is important (…) but I do have to consider what is interesting for boys and girls (…) when I choose materials (…).´*

5. Discussion

The twofold aim of this paper was to present diachronic textbook analyses and examine ideologies and teacher talk around gender in Dutch language classes (high school level). Our general research question was: How do textbooks and teachers navigate gender issues in the context of Dutch language education? We now discuss our findings in the context of existing literature and consider their implications.

5.1 Few changes in family representations over time

Our textbook analysis was guided by the following research question: Have gendered family representations in Dutch language textbooks evolved over time, and if so, how? First, the textbook analyses showed that women and men are equally represented, in terms of quantity of family terms, personal pronouns and proper nouns. This is different from reported inequality in early TEFL books (Porecca, 1984), but is consistent with findings by e.g. Ott (2015) in the context of recent German language textbooks. However, ´gender neutral´ family terms (e.g. *parent*), were referred to more often by male pronouns (e.g. *he*) or proper nouns (e.g. Patrick). Men thus tended to be slightly more linguistically visible overall across the time span. This mirrors the findings of Koster (2020) on professional nouns in Dutch language textbooks. Since no significant changes across periods occurred, both these equal and unequal tendencies appear to be *longue durée* phenomena (Christophe et al., 2018; Lee, 2014).

Differences were also found in the distribution of speakers over dialogues and male firstness. In dialogues, no non-binary characters spoke, in line with findings by Sancho Höhnen and Heerdegen (2018), but more women than men spoke, and in the most recent books (2016-2018), only women spoke. From a gender equality perspective, this absence of male voices must be viewed critically. Men however, did take up more verbal space in earlier time frames (1970-1998), while women only took up more verbal space in dialogues from 2007 onwards. Male firstness, as also suggested by Motschenbacher (2013), Sunderland (2015) and Koster (2020), occurred significantly more often than female firstness across all time frames, revealing another *longue durée* phenomenon (Christophe et al., 2018).

The distribution of verbs was similar for women and men across time frames, yet male actions were slightly more varied, especially because of more male- than female-specific verbs. 91,2% of male-specific verbs were active versus 46,7% of female-specific verbs, which could contribute to stereotypes of passive women and active men (as in Bag & Bayyurt, 2015).

The heteronormativity and absence of LGBTQI* characters in the family chapters was perhaps unsurprising (Sunderland, 2015; Sancho Höhnen & Heerdegen, 2018; Sauntson, 2021). At the same time, it must be said that for almost half of the characters, sexual preferences could not be inferred by text or image. Also, in line with educational diversity guidelines (UNESCO, 2017), it was encouraging to see a lack of negative LGBTQI* depictions, and an instance of a lesbian couple representation in the most recent textbook in the corpus.

Our analysis of pictures of women and men in the family chapters found few noticeable differences in active or passive depictions of women and men. Yet, the female-specific (e.g. shopping for clothes) and male-specific activities (e.g. doing sports) that were depicted could be classified as stereotypical, as noted by Kowitz and Carroll (1990) and Ansary and Babaii (2003). We also found depictions of distant or removed fathers and men holding bodies of women, whereas the reverse patterns did not occur. Straight looks towards the lens by women increased in later time frames and were most visible in more recent books (1998-2018), suggesting diachronic change. All in all, our study moves debates on textbook representations forward by showing that whereas some gender roles in textbooks may change over time (e.g. more women than men spoke in dialogues; more straight looks towards the lens by women over time), other balanced (e.g. fe/male types and tokens for family terms) and less balanced (e.g. more frequent reference to males through gender-neutral terms, male firstness, gender-specific verbs and depictions, heteronormativity) dimensions are stabilized and further entrenched across the time span.

5.2 Ignoring gender-biased representations in teacher talk

Second, we examined how Dutch language teachers treat and navigate gendered texts in their classrooms and to what degree this treatment is aligned with their expressed positions on gender issues. Since teachers do not use textbooks in a vacuum, it is important to conduct more classroom-based research, to be able to discuss practices rigorously (e.g. Hansen, 2018). Our finding that most discussed texts in the examined classrooms were gender-biased, does align with inequality found in textbook research (e.g. Islam and Asadullah (2018). We found all types of ´talk´ identified by Sunderland et al. (2001) in our data, thoughignoring of both gender-biased and progressive texts occurred most frequently. We found one instance of a biased interpretation of a non-gendered text (as reported in Pawelczyk & Pakula, 2015), which suggests that this behavior occurs rather infrequently in practice. More broadly, our data provided a basis for adapting and extending Sunderland et al.´s (2001) theoretical model, by adding novel insights in the usage frequencies of texts and different types of talk. Future studies should examine whether these usage frequencies can be replicated for other contexts.

By studying teachers' own perspectives, it became clear that discrepancies between self-articulated gender ideologies and teacher talk in class exist – similarly to the Finnish teachers in Tainio and Karvonen (2015), who believed they adhered to the principle of gender equality, yet, at the same time, distinguished girls from boys in terms of motives and behavior. Future studies should examine to what degree such discrepancies can be found in interviews or questionnaires with other and larger samples of teachers. Our findings diverge from studies in non-western contexts, such as those onTurkish or Qatari teachers´ unwillingness to discuss gender stereotyping in class (Kizilaslan, 2010; Eslami & Hasan, 2012). Still, even though the DFL teachers in our sample spoke about the value of gender equality, none of them explicitly reported the need or desire for training around gender (contrary to the Greek teachers in Gouvias & Alexopoulos, 2018). Our study, however, suggests such training would benefit teachers of Dutch in Germany, who see the relevance and usefulness of guidelines for promoting gender diversity and inclusion in education (UNESCO, 2017). Moreover, our data suggests that topics such as gender in majority (e.g. Germany), minority (e.g. Turkish migrants in Germany), and personal communities (e.g. one´s family, friends and colleagues), as well as stereotypes in example sentences, language-specific gender themes and selection of gender neutral versus specific materials should be covered in such training.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

The present study has answered calls for diachronic textbook studies, provided much-needed actual secondary school classroom data, and built on existing theoretical and educational debates. Future studies could further examine micro-level foci (see also Sunderland, 2015) not included in this study, such as adjectives (e.g. *the beautiful woman vs. the man*), diminutives (e.g. *the little girl vs. the boy*) and use of possessives (e.g. *Hans says "This is my daughter"*). Future multimodal analyses could also look at the gendered distribution of images in detail, alongside text. While the present study did not focus on nuclear families, future work could explore nuclear vs. other families in textbooks. Examining intersections with categories such as ethnicity, class and age are also needed, as observation of the present textbooks suggests that families are predominantly white. Moreover, there is significant scope for research in this area involving different languages (see Islam & Asadullah, 2018 for a comparison of Malaysian, Indonesian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi textbooks) and different media. In particular different online materials should be examined, given the ever increasing digitalisation (Fuchs & Henne, 2018). There is also scope for studies that aim to involve publishers and textbook authors (Bläsi, 2018), to open up the discussion on more inclusive and diverse textbooks.

As suggested by Sunderland et al. (2001) and Macalusco (2016), we need more insights into how different teachers approach the same textbook; whether teacher age, sex, class composition and classroom space affect how texts are discussed in class – and indeed how students think and speak about gendered textbooks. Research findings could also provide insights that help inform gender-awareness training for both pre- and in-service language teachers. Subsequent research could examine whether training enhances gender inclusive practices in language education (see Case, 2007). We agree with Case (2007) that more studies with observable instead of self-reported data and large numbers of classroom observations of teachers with (versus without) training would provide valuable insights to move debates around language, gender and education forward.

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