Teaching Inequality: A study of gender identity in EFL Textbooks[1]

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Abstract

A command of English is recognised as vital for immigrants to Britain. Textbooks are used widely in learning the language but they cannot be assumed to be value free. As the Prime Minister has highlighted the importance of sexual equality, this paper analyses, from the perspective of a teacher, one book produced in the UK in order to discover how gender is represented. Making reference to key papers, there is a review of which occupations are attributed to women and which to men, which gender is given first when both are mentioned, language features employed by speakers in dialogues within the book and the use of adjectives. It is found that there are some subtle differences and therefore there is likely to be an acceptance of the values represented by its learners. Some practical recommendations are made for how a teacher might deal with such issues in class.

Key words: gender, identity, language, learning, English, Britain, education, teaching

Introduction

In order to settle in Britain, immigrants may perceive a need to learn English, a perception compounded by the Home Office requirements for many to demonstrate some level of competence in the language (2015: 2–3). Nearly all of these learners will use a textbook, which may be published internationally, nationally or locally, with some publishers reaching huge numbers of learners from a variety of backgrounds. Writers of these texts in particular have a responsibility to produce material which not only encourages learners to develop their linguistic ability, but also pays close attention to the culture of the target language which they choose to represent. With the Prime Minister claiming sexual equality as a 'basic liberal value' (Cameron, 2015), matters of gender are obviously among those which need to be considered, in order to avoid causing offence or providing the wrong message. For example, learners whose home countries do not offer equal opportunities for women will be concerned about the extent to which they can participate in British society. For people looking, at least linguistically, to assimilate with British life, this means that there may be a possibility of acquiring an understanding of culture and identity in the new home country.

This paper will examine the ways in which an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbook (*Speakout: Elementary*, from British publisher Pearson Longman in association with the BBC) represents gender in British society. The first part will

review some of the relevant material in this area, going on to an analysis and discussion of the book concerned, which will focus on occupational roles held by each gender, 'firstness' (i.e. whether the female or the male participant is referred to first in a pair), adjectival descriptions and address terms. There will also be some suggestions for how a teacher might manage any gender bias when using a text like this one.

An approach to the study

Research into language and gender relevant to this article has focused on three notions (Coates, 1986: 65, Wardhaugh, 2010: 326-327). One looks at difference, describing the English language (not limited to British English) used by the two sexes as naturally different from each other.[2] Men are generally seen as being competitive in conversation, while women are thought of as being cooperative (Montgomery, 1995: 151). Another approach is that of dominance, which portrays women as weaker linguistic partners. One key writer in this area is Lakoff, whose influential study (1975) identified typical features of women's language, such as heavy use of questions, supposedly a sign of weakness in conversation, as they feel compelled to do what Fishman (1978: 405) has labelled the 'interactional shitwork' (sic) of maintaining relations. A third approach sees each gender as a separate sub-culture with its associated conventions (Wardhaugh, 2010: 327). Tannen, a key writer of this school, acknowledges these gender-related norms without denying the dominance of men's language (1994: 9). While each approach has proponents, this paper will, like Tannen, focus on dominance, accepting societal causes, as opposed to biological differences. Linguistic differences between genders are not recreated amongst all cultures (Wardhaugh, 2010: 327). In fact, established gender roles (Key, 1975: 25) as well as linguistic differences according to gender (Holmes, 1998), rather than sex, vary by culture.

Text books which are sold internationally may or may not choose to represent a particular culture (e.g. British culture), but their users are likely to have a range of purposes for study, not all of which are in line with any culture selected for discussion in the text. For example, as a teacher in Japan, I have taught students who need English for UK vacations, business in Asian countries, and to communicate with foreigners in Japan: three different geographies and cultural contexts all requiring the study of English. To study with a text book with close ties to just one culture could be misleading for many of these learners, therefore it is desirable to use a publication which offers flexibility and reflects the views of many. Even in the UK, a variety of cultures exist and the purpose of every learner cannot be to assimilate with some kind of perceived norm. However, it is reasonable to suggest that educators are not invested in creating the perception that Britain is a sexist society. On the other hand, some theorists believe that the total eradication of sexism may be

impossible (Florent & Walter, 1989: 183) or unrealistic (Aydınoğlu, 2014: 238-239) while a true descriptivist would insist upon an accurate reflection of the language, including any sexist elements (Hartman & Judd, 1978: 391). On this point, it has been found that studying the English language in Japan can reinforce gender stereotypes in Japanese (Sakita, 1995: 2), while classroom language has been found to lead to male dominance (Swann 1992: 51). This can be alleviated by taking a descriptive approach to teaching which raises awareness of how sexism can be carried through the language (Hartman & Judd, 1978: 391). If the teacher takes responsibility for highlighting the options in the language, it is then up to learners to apply their own values and choose whichever form of the language they feel most comfortable with. This can be aided with a textbook which, as far as possible, aims at equality.

In terms of identifying sexism within a text, there are many relevant factors, such as the extent to which each sex is represented in the language, in its illustrations and roles within the text. This paper will focus on 'linguistic representations', which will refer to instances of representing gender through any level of language. This includes vocabulary items, grammatical constructions or features of turn-taking, but not illustrations. The following section gives some justification for the areas selected.

Representation of gender in text books

Omission
Early research in the field of gender bias in text books came from two papers, by Hartman & Judd (1978) and Porreca (1984), both of which found it to be prevalent. Initial research examined a number of key features, from which the most significant were determined (Hartman and Judd, 1978: 385). One was said to be omission, i.e. the extent to which females are underrepresented in a text, in comparison with males. This can lead readers to overlook the perceived minority group. Another significant area was that of occupations. The employment of characters who appear in a text in non-stereotypical roles (men as homemakers, women as police officers) might encourage learners to consider their views, giving writers an opportunity to challenge stereotypes.

Firstness
Firstness is a convention said to be comparatively subtle in its representation of gender (Hartman & Judd, 1978: 390). The English language does not always offer truly gender-neutral terms, therefore writers need to make decisions. A generic male form ('mankind', or use of 'he' to refer to both genders) tends to be interpreted as referring exclusively to males (Porreca, 1984: 708), while a female generic form is still marked. The referencing of the female before the male is also marked, as was shown by Hartman and Judd's work, in which 'ladies and gentlemen' was found to be the

only construction in which the female reference came first (1978: 390). In some cases, it is possible to use a gender-neutral plural form instead, and this is a common solution, but can sound quite clumsy at times (Holmes, 2013: 327). Consider, for example, 'would anyone finding *themselves* in need of assistance please notify a member of staff'. Although there does not appear to be an obvious way of overcoming gender bias through firstness, an analysis of a text for gender bias should be able to reveal whether or not its authors have tried to challenge societal norms.

Language and power

Some linguistic features found to correlate to gender include interruptions by males (Zimmerman & West, 1975: 116) and tag questions by females (Holmes, 2013: 302). It has been pointed out that context is crucial in understanding these areas, so attributing them to power is somewhat misleading (Tannen, 1994: 36). This point has been well made, but an added complication in the area of EFL textbooks is that of authorship. The inclusion of a dialogue offers a strong opportunity to identify power relationships, but it is hard to know the source of these conversations or verify their authenticity. To review texts for their accurate representation of society is a mistake as there are too many interfering factors, such as author viewpoint or intention. However, they can be studied in order to uncover what values of society the author or publisher is communicating. As a guide, the work of Lakoff (1975, cited in Holmes, 2013: 302) will be used. Although somewhat dated and lacking in evidence, her list (see Table 1) remains influential, showing connections between women and the language of the powerless.

Table 1
Features of 'women's language' (Lakoff, 1975, cited in Holmes, 2013: 302)

Feature	Example
Lexical hedges or fillers *	you know, sort of, well, you see
Tag questions	She's very nice, isn't she?
Rising intonation on declaratives	It's really good
'Empty' adjectives	divine, charming, cute
Precise colour terms	magenta, aquamarine
Intensifiers such as 'just' and 'so'	I like him so much.
'Hypercorrect' grammar	(Consistent use of standard verb forms, as opposed to 'I likes that')
'Superpolite' forms	Would you mind opening the window?

Feature	Example
Avoidance of strong swear words	fudge, my goodness
Emphatic stress	It was a BRILLIANT performance.

Actually, a hedge ('it's *kind of* interesting') shows uncertainty and might indicate a lack of power, but a filler can be used to maintain control of a conversation, leaving its inclusion here somewhat dubious.

Describing gender

One genre of text which is said to reinforce stereotypical gender roles is magazines (Ballester 1991), often displayed in British newsagents by gender (e.g. sports for men, handicrafts for women). In contrast, textbooks are not obviously gendered, but stereotypical roles can be more subtly included. There are many areas where this can be identified, such as adjectival use. The inclusion of quite gender-specific terms such as 'manly' is inadvisable, as they have the potential to reinforce stereotypes and berate behaviour opposite in nature (Hartmann & Judd, 1978: 390). However, apparently gender neutral adjectives can be used in a similar way to represent both genders as displaying 'typical' characteristics. Just as 'manly' includes notions of strength and excludes those such as sensitivity, 'strong' or 'sensitive' may also be used to underline gender stereotypes. Of course, such expression is not limited to adjectives, but as a focus for the paper, this salient part of speech will be observed.

A second area of interest is that of address terms, ways of referring to an addressee such as 'Mr. Jones', 'Doctor', or 'babe'. Many of these are gender specific, especially when two speakers do not know each other and are unable to refer to each other by name or occupation. Romaine (2002: 159) explains that many of these terms are historically tied to gender, and that connotations have altered over time. Therefore, the use of 'sir' to address a man is respectable but its female equivalent, 'madam', is less so (Romaine, 2002: 160). A phenomenon like this suggests that it is the language itself, rather than its users, which is sexist. It will be determined whether the authors choose to rely on these somewhat unequal terms or to find ways of avoiding them, which might result in greater equality.

Method

The textbook to be examined is *Speakout: Elementary* (hereafter '*SOE*') (Eales & Oakes, 2011). It includes a DVD disc and links with several BBC television shows. It comes from a very different era to that of the textbooks studied by Hartman and Judd, and Porreca, but it cannot be guaranteed that sexism has been eradicated as times have changed. Pearson Longman is part of the world's largest publishing company (Publishers Weekly, 2014), meaning that it has the potential to reach many

students globally. With the writers not knowing its actual audience, it is especially important to deliver equal treatment of both genders. The following analysis will employ quantitative, qualitative and mixed approaches, for balance and a wider picture. Quantitative analysis will cover the area found to be most significant, omission, which is dealt with in 'occupational roles' as this gives a more specific indication of what areas female participants are omitted from. 'Firstness' is also selected for its salience. The qualitative and mixed analysis will look at the language of the powerless, based on some of the key areas identified by Lakoff. Finally, there will be a look at how each gender is described. The purpose will be to find out whether each group is represented in a stereotypical way.

Results and analysis

This section will look at each of the representations of gender, discussed above, in turn. Details can be found in the appendices.

Occupation (see Appendix 1)
All instances of occupations which occurred in the text (including its illustrations) were counted and divided into those held by men and those by women. Sixty-seven were filled by men, and forty-eight by women. Although a ratio of 1:1 is unlikely, this one of 1:0.7 obviously represents a significant difference. There were instances of jobs stereotypically held by one sex being held by the opposite sex, such as female boxers and male hairdressers, but these seem somewhat cosmetic as the only engineers and politicians were men, while the only nurses and cleaners were women. The fourth section of each unit has a link to BBC programmes, sometimes featuring people who carry out quite unusual jobs, such as a (female) diver, but not all sections of the text were seen as reflecting this diversity. On this account, female participants have been omitted to some extent. This representation reflects a similar exercise undertaken by Barton and Sakwa (2012: 181).

Firstness (see Appendix 2)
Regarding the order in which gender paired parts are given, *SOE* does not appear to be very different from the publications of the 1970s and 1980s. 'He' comes before 'she' without exception. The grammar charts of each unit often display a list of pronouns together with their verb conjugations. On no occasion was 'she' used as a general example of how to use the language, only 'he/she'. Outside of the grammar charts, some exceptions can be found, such as on page 30 ('they have got 17 children, 8 girls and 9 boys'). However, this was a minority of cases, only reflecting family relations, as paired jobs ('waiter/waitress') all featured the male counterpart first (the more neutral 'server' was not used). Clearly, the writers did not act on any perceived need to give females equal prominence here.

Language of the powerless

In order to assess the use of features typically associated with women (and their lack of power), a conversation within the text was analysed, as the features listed by Lakoff (see Table 1) of women's language can be applied most easily to a conversation. Unit eight, recording six (see Appendix 3) is an appropriate choice for analysis, containing two conversations in which a man and a woman are discussing which film to watch. It is doubtful that this conversation is authentic, containing mostly complete sentences, typical of writing, and quite straightforward negotiation processes. Reflecting on the conversation using Lakoff's list of features of women's language shows that male participants use fillers more than women, while the only tag questions, and rises in intonation, were provided by female participants. The tag does not suggest a lack of power, in fact it almost appears to be encouraging the man's agreement:

9. Woman: ...You like comedies, don't you? And it's very funny.
10. Man: Yeah, OK. Why don't we get it then?

Few of Lakoff's features of 'women's language' are included here (see table 1) and any appearances do not appear to suggest weakness. Furthermore, they are fairly evenly distributed among women and men. Unlike with the previous two features, it is hard to identify sexism here.

Describing gender (see Appendices 4 and 5)
An analysis of adjectives used for describing people's characters, from unit three, immediately shows the level of representation given to men over women, as the section on occupations also revealed. In this particular unit, around 70% of adjectives were applied to men. The only adjective used to describe women to a (slightly) larger extent than men was 'friendly'. This seems to reflect traditional findings about women's conversational style (e.g. in Montgomery 1995: 179) but it is marginal. More significant was recording five, unit eight (see Appendix 5). This unit deals with describing physical appearance, and the conversation involves an interview with ordinary people about their preferences towards the opposite sex. Perhaps such a topic is difficult to produce in a non-offensive way which avoids stereotypes. The interviewer here aims to find out if women prefer men with feminine faces (the section on 'language and power' warned about the use of gender-related adjectives) and if 'gentlemen really prefer blondes' (teachers would need to explain the film reference to demonstrate that this sexist notion dates from a different age). Although some of the participants do express less stereotypical views:

26. Man: 'Beauty comes in all shapes and sizes and ages. Look at this photo of Judi Dench. She's lovely.'

it eventually descends into a discussion on the weight of actor Scarlett Johansson. Regarding the question of gentlemen preferring 'blondes', men (shown greater respect by the prefixing of 'gentle') are placed in a position in which they can select their favourite type of women, who are at times referred to simply by the colour of their hair. The address terms here see the interviewer getting the attention of a male participant with 'sir', while using 'ladies' for the female participants. As explained above, this might be the most obvious option, but it underlines the gender specificity of the language. Taught in a sensitive and explanatory manner, students need not come away from this text assuming that sexist language is normal, but learner interpretation cannot be ascertained. The conversation forms just one small part of the text, but is striking in its relevance to this paper.

Discussion

What follows is a consideration of the extent to which this one textbook portrays British society and its language as being sexist. Then, there will be a section explaining how teachers might manage this textbook in class, in consideration of the results. This is in answer to Hartmann and Judd's admonition (1978), explained earlier.

The extent of sexism
There is nothing to suggest that a typical student of *SOE* would work through it and consciously conclude that it is sexist. The imbalance of the text only becomes clear with a closer analysis. In fact, this text does contain some areas which represent women in powerful positions (there are more female doctors than male ones, for example). However, balance is in favour of males, which might lead to unconsidered assumptions that terms which favour them are the norm. Regarding factors such as firstness in pronouns, it can be just as easily argued that the language itself is sexist (Wardhaugh, 2010: 326). The arguments on this are numerous and this is not the place to go through them in detail. What is clear is that writers have a choice in what they write, but this selection is partly governed by the options offered by the language. I have shown in this paper just how easy it is to place women before men (see for example the left-hand column in Appendix Two), and there are options which exist allowing both genders to be represented equally, although this can be linguistically awkward. The writers of *SOE*, whether consciously or not, write in an unmarked manner which does not attempt to challenge established gender norms. The conversation which was analysed for power balance did not reveal any male bias. However, both occupational roles and firstness do appear to skew the balance of power in favour of men. It is conceivable for the writers that a woman can be a doctor, or a man a sales assistant. But other concepts seem to be too radical for the text, such as female engineers or the placing of a female pronoun before a male one.

Perhaps this is a safe approach, one which avoids drawing too much attention to its ideology, is arguably representative of the values of the society and culture in which it was produced and is capable of fulfilling the publisher's ultimate goal, which must surely be to make sales (parent company Pearson took $9.33 billion in revenue in 2013 (Publishers Weekly, 2014)).

Teaching implications

In answer to Hartmann and Judd (1978), a descriptivist approach which tackles the area of potential sexism in language appears to be the best solution to teaching the language in a sensitive way. For example, in a lesson on sexism, students could be asked to play a 'pictionary' game in which some have to draw an actor, others an actress. Any preference for drawing males for generic words could be pointed out to them. Following on from this, they could be presented with the reading from *SOE* about a female diver, leading to a discussion of stereotypes in jobs, in which they could be challenged to describe occupations in terms of the gender (and other variables) opposite to the one which they believe to be stereotypical. They could be asked to find as many examples from their text as they can which appear to refer to gender in some way, including third person singular pronouns, and even complete a checklist of items with the potential for sexism, such as those in this paper (omission, language of the powerless, etc.) or use Hartmann and Judd's checklist (1978: 392-393). Such an approach should help learners to identify which aspects of the language are in danger of causing misrepresentation, allowing them to make their own decision whether they would use the same forms or find something else.

An alternative perspective on textbooks, particularly at elementary level, is that such an activity as the ones described above could prove to be too challenging for a class of beginners. A teacher might prefer to focus on the basics of the English language and being able to use a publication already primed for equal representation would avoid the problem of sexual discrimination altogether. However, offering learners such a non-pedagogical goal as analysing a social problem through reviewing relatively basic linguistic items could boost motivation by raising their interest in addition to developing language proficiency. Such a twist to the language learning process is described as a 'satiation control strategy' (Dornyei, 2005: 112) which can reduce boredom and therefore increase motivation. An approach to textbooks which challenges gender representation or even discourse in general is seen as a teacher's duty by some (e.g. the Swedish Agency for Education, Skolverket, 2006: 70; Marefat & Marzban, 2014: 1098).

Conclusion

The text appears to contain some elements of gender bias. Most seriously, female participants are overlooked in more than one area. Other factors, such as male use of

powerful language, are less noticeable but the embedding of male dominance at deeper levels might leave the average reader to perceive this textbook as unbiased, even though somewhat sexist values are communicated. This does not imply a tendency for the genre of EFL textbooks to be sexist, but mirrors similar studies (e.g. Lee, 2014: 51) nonetheless. This paper has made some suggestions for how a teacher might manage some elements of gender bias within the text, to ensure that learners are presented with options from which they can choose the language most appropriate to them.

As well as gender, it is also necessary to look in detail at other groups included in Cameron's description of 'diverse' Britain, a quality which he claims to be the cause of Britain's success (2015). Gender studies of the type conducted here tend to focus on the dichotomy of male/female, relatively simple in its reach. Other groups in society may also feel disenfranchised by text books, and so a re-investigation of *SOE* might involve an examination of, for example, the representation of ethnic minorities. It can only be through continuous evaluation of such teaching materials that a balanced learning experience can be created, helping future immigrants to Britain to communicate in an inclusive manner, representing, if not the total reality of the society which they are entering, something about equality both in theory and in practice.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper originally submitted in original form as part of author's MA in TESOL (University of Birmingham).
2. The term 'sex' refers to biological differences as opposed to 'gender,' which includes notions of identity (Wardhaugh, 2010: 315)

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Appendix 1

List of occupations from *Speakout: Elementary* by gender. Numbers refer to page number.

Occupation	Male	Female	Notes
Journalist	112	8, 21, 112 (assistant)	
Tour guide		8	
Secretary		8	
Owner	14 (hotel), 65 (orphanage)	14 (hotel), 65 (orphanage)	
Waiter	14, 52, 53, 153	14, 53, 153	
Office worker	20		
Pilot	20		
Window washer	20		
Entertainer	58, 64 (dancer), 75 (director), 78 (singer), 79 (singer), 80 (actor x 2), 81(actor), 85 (comedian), 104 (presenter), 114 (comedian x 2), 120 (actor, director), 139 (actor x 2), 143 (actor x 2), 153 (actor), 160 (acrobat)	24 (TV presenter, actor, singer), 58 (singer, actress), 61 (actress, radio presenter), 64 (dancer), 74 (TV presenter), 79 (actress), 80 (actress x 2), 81 (actress), 153 (actor)	Movie posters pp. 82-83 ignored as difficult to classify
Doctor	31, 114 (optician, dentist), 145	31, 114, 153, 160	
Engineer	31, 153		
Architect and historian	34		
Shopkeeper	42		
Shop assistant	156 x 3	43, 61, 153 156	

Occupation	Male	Female	Notes
Chef	54, 153		
Athlete	58 (racing driver, tennis player), 63, 74 (football player), 153 (boxer)	58 (skater), 153 (boxer)	
Factory worker		60	
Teacher	65, 114 (fitness instructor), 153	126, 128, 129, 149	
Cleaner		65	
PR	70		
Business person	81 x 2, 90, 96 (boss), 153, 153 (boss)	92 (boss), 99, 122, 131, 153, 153 (PA)	
Caterers	98	98	
Hairdresser	114, 156	153	
Accountant	114, 153		
Extreme jobs	120 (stunt double)	124 (diver)	
Driver	139		
Police officer		142 (or traffic warden?), 153	
Nurse		153	
Politician	153		
Lawyer	153		
Receptionist	153		
TOTAL (quantity)	**67**	**48**	

Appendix 2
Firstness, *Speakout: Elementary*

Type of language	Female is first	Male is first
Pronouns (she/he)		92
Family relations (sister/brother)	7	21
Paired jobs (waitress/waiter)		5
Titles (Mrs/Mr etc.)		3
Woman or man		5
Total	**7**	**126**

Appendix 3
Speakout: Elementary
Transcript, Unit 8, Recording 6 (with language of the powerless underlined and notes in italics)

Conversation 1
M= Man   W= Woman

W: OK ... what do you feel like watching?
M: <u>Hmm</u>. I don't know really. What do you recommend? (*Filler*)
W: <u>Erm, ... well</u>, how about *French Kiss*? Do you know it? (*Filler*)
M: No, I don't think so. What's it about?
W: Well, it's a romantic comedy. It's about an American woman. She goes to France and meets a French guy and... they fall in love. It's quite old, but it's really funny.
M: Sounds OK, I suppose. Who's in it?
W: Meg Ryan and Kevin Kline.
M: Oh, I like Meg Ryan. <u>Mmm</u>. Do you think I'd like it? (*Filler*)
W: Yeah, I think so. You like comedies, <u>don't you</u>? And it's very funny. (*Tag*)
M: Yeah, OK. Why don't we get it then?
W: Great. Excuse me. Can we have this one, please?

Conversation 2
M= Man   W= Woman

W: What was the last DVD you saw?
M: <u>Erm, let me think. Oh</u>- I know, it was *Speed*. (*Fillers*)
W: *Speed*? Is it new? What's it about? (*Rising intonation on declaratives*)
M: No, a bit old actually. It's an action film. It's about a bus and it can't stop. It has to go at top speed or ... or it explodes. It's great!
W: Right. Who's in it?
M: Sandra Bullock and ... the guy is, <u>the actor is, er</u> ... Keanu Reeves. (*Filler*)
W: Mmm. Do you think *I'd* like it?
M: Well, do you like action films?
W: Not really. I prefer romantic films and dramas.
M: Oh, then I *don't* think you'd like it .... <u>Er, well. Oh, I know.</u> I think you'd like that French film, you know, with the actress Juliette Binoche. <u>What's it called?</u> Oh, yeah: *Chocolat*. (*Fillers*)
W: *Chocolat*? Do I know it?... Oh ... <u>with Johnny Depp</u>? Mmm! Now that *is* a good recommendation. Have you got the DVD? (*Rising intonation on declaratives*)

Appendix 4

Adjectives used to describe personality by gender. *Speakout: Elementary*, Unit 3

Adjective	Associated with male	Associated with female
Intelligent	XX	X
Kind	XX	
Talkative	X	
Friendly	XXXXX	XXXXXX
Funny	XXXXX	X
Serious	XXX	
Noisy	X	X
Bored	X	
Energetic	X	
Lively	X	
Single	X	
Nervous	X	
Late	X	
Quiet	X	X
Not kind		X
Not nice	X	
TOTAL	27	11

Appendix 5
Speakout: Elementary
Transcript, Unit 8, Recording 5 (with language relevant to gender underlined and notes in italics)

I= Interviewer   **W1=1st woman**
W2=2nd woman   **W3=3rd woman**
M1=1st man   **M2=2nd man**

I: Excuse me, <u>ladies</u>. Do you have a moment? (*gender-specific address term*)
W1: Yes?
I: Just a quick question. Research says that these days <u>women prefer men with feminine faces</u>... (*generalisation of female preferences and prioritisation of physical feature*)
W1: Really?
I: Yes. It's true...honestly!
W1: I don't agree at all. I like <u>masculine faces</u>... (*as line 3*)
I: Can I show you some photos?
W1: Sure.
I: So which of these guys do you like best?
W1: Sean Connery. <u>He's definitely the best looking man here. And he's tall, isn't he? Yeah...I like tall men. And I like a man with a beard.</u> (*Preferences based entirely on physical appearance*)
I: Uh-huh. What about you?
W2: Mmm. I'm not sure. I like this one, what's his name?
I: It's Gael Garcia Bernal. He's a Mexican film star.
W2: <u>Yeah? Well, he's got quite a feminine face and he's very good looking. I like his eyes- he's got dark brown eyes and I like men with dark eyes and black hair. But I think it's more in the personality...in the smile...so I like this one best. Will Smith. He's got a really nice smile</u>. (*As line 10*)
I: Thank you. And here's another lady. Excuse me. Have you got a moment?
W3: Well...
I: I'm doing a survey about the changing face of beauty. Can I ask you some questions?
W3: Yes, OK. Yes.
I: I've got some photos here. Can you tell me which of these people you like? Do you think any of them are good-looking?
W3: Well, I don't really like any of them...
I: No? So <u>what sort of man</u> do you like? (*Assumes heterosexuality and that W3 judges by appearance*)
W3: <u>What sort of man do I like</u>? Well, my husband's over there. I think he's good-looking. I like his hair. I love guys with red hair. (*Filler used to express uncertainty*)
I: Which one? The one looking in the shop window?

W3: No, he's over there. He's wearing a white T-shirt and he's talking to...that blonde woman... Excuse me... (*Identification by hair colour*)

I: And then I talked to some men to find out if they really prefer blondes- just like they did fifty years ago. Do you think it's true that men prefer blondes, sir?

M1: What? No, not at all! Beauty comes in all shapes and sizes and ages. Look at this photo of Judi Dench. She's lovely. She isn't young, but she's got beautiful grey eyes and she always wears beautiful clothes. She looks kind and intelligent. (*Youth is a positive aspect*)

M2: Yeah, she does. But I still prefer blondes, you know... like Scarlett Johansson. She's lovely...slim, blonde hair, blue eyes- that's the sort of woman I like. (*Purely based on appearance*)

M1: Scarlett Johansson, *slim?*

M2: Well, OK... but she's not *fat.*

M1: That's not true...

I: OK guys. Thanks for talking to us...