

EVOLUTION OF GENDER REPRESENTATION IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF
IRAN'S
GRADE ONE PERSIAN TEXTBOOK

MARAL DIVANGAHI

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO
February 2020

© Maral Divangahi, 2020

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to explore how the gendered policies of Iran's Islamic Republic are represented in the grade one Persian textbook, which is used throughout the state-run education system. Specifically, this study compares the 1983 version of the grade one textbook, which was introduced following the Revolution in 1979, to the latest edition from 2018. Content-analysis is used to investigate the way females and males are represented in grade one textbook narratives, illustrations, and expressions under the Islamic Republic's educational system. My examination shows there is a larger representation of males than females in both textbooks. Moreover, males and females are depicted to normalize patriarchal views of gender. Both textbooks also uphold fundamentalist Islamic values. My examination did reveal a change in gender representation between the two textbooks insofar the 2018 edition places more emphasis on family life and the role of women as mothers.

Keywords: *Education System, Gender inequality, Gendered policies, Iran, Islamic Republic, Textbooks*

DEDICATION

I dedicate my thesis to the educators who have inspired me throughout my life and to my family who have always been there for me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisors, Dr. Cowdy, Dr. Khayatt and Dr. Sheibani for their ongoing support, guidance and encouragement. You all have been an inspiration to me and have taught me the value of meaningful research. Thank you also to my family, for your unconditional love and support throughout this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
List of Tables	vii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Problem	1
Statement of the Problem	19
Purpose of the Study	21
Significance of the Study	22
Research Questions	23
Definitions of Terms	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Research Design	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Assumptions and Limitations	23
Organization of the Remainder of the Study	25
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	27
Methods of Searching	27
Theoretical Orientation for the Study	27
Synthesis of Research Findings	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Critique of the Previous Research Methods	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Summary	Error! Bookmark not defined.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	42
Purpose of the Study	55
Research Questions and Hypotheses	55

Research Design	56
Target Population and Participant Selection	56
Procedures	60
Ethical Considerations and Limitations	62
Summary	65
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS	66
Image Analysis	66
Text Analysis	67
Diversity of Roles	69
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS	72
Appendix A: Analysis of Images from 1983 Textbook	91
Appendix B: Analysis of Images from 2018 Textbook	95
Appendix C: Analysis of Names from 1983 Textbook	99
Appendix D: Analysis of Keywords from 1983 Textbook	104
Appendix E: Analysis of Names from 2018 Textbook	107
Appendix F: Analysis of Keywords from 2018 Textbook	109

List of Tables

Table 1 Percentage distribution of the representation of images by gender 71

Table 2 Percentage distribution of the representation of characteristics by gender 71

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

School textbooks are in many ways societal artefacts that reflect the dominant cultural values of their society. An understanding of Iranian culture is therefore important prior to any analysis of educational textbooks from that country. Culture in Iran is impacted by Islamic tradition, ancient Persian and Western cultures (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016). With the arrival of the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Iran became a theocratic state that was ruled by Islamic, or Sharia law. People, therefore, must publicly, at least, live according to Islamic tradition and rules.

The Sharia law that dominates Iran, dictates that females must remain covered with a hijab and men are encouraged to wear beards (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016, p. 260). There are also specific family roles under the Sharia, with men expected to be the head of the household and, ideally, the sole breadwinner who should provide for their wife and children. The Islamic faith does not mandate that women are required to carry out household chores, however in chapter 33 of the *Quran*, known as the Surah Al-Ahzab, Mohammed's numerous wives are instructed to abide quietly in their home (Farooqi, 2019). Islamic scholars interpret this to mean not only that women should not leave their homes to flaunt their sexual charms, but also that the home is the proper sphere of influence for women (Farooqi, 2010.). In accordance with these beliefs, in traditionally-minded Iranian families, therefore, women are considered responsible for carrying out household chores (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016). This male hegemony has taken place in Iran for centuries. Islamic norms that define men as breadwinners and women as mothers and

homemakers correspond to the patriarchal beliefs and gender ideologies dominating many traditional families.

That said, even within the context of a highly patriarchal social order, Iranian women have made strides in education. In 1975, four years prior to the Revolution, less than 30% of Iranian women were literate, whereas in 2015 almost 80% of Iranian women were literate, meaning that female literacy was nearly on par with male literacy (Theobold, 2018). Iranian women have also aggressively pursued higher education, with women's enrolment in post-secondary education surpassing that of men's by the early 2000s (Sahraei, 2012; Theobold, 2018). Ultimately, women's educational success resulted in a backlash by Iran's conservative governing authorities. In 2009, following post-election protests in which women played a visible role, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei called for the "Islamisation" of universities (Sahraei, 2012). That speech is thought to have prompted over 30 universities to ban female students from taking almost 80 different degree courses, many of them in scientific and technical fields such as engineering (Sahraei, 2012).

According to the Center for Human Rights in Iran (2015), the restrictions on women's access to post-secondary education have worsened since 2009. Referencing reports in the Iranian newspaper, the *Etemad Newspaper*, the Centre for Human Rights in Iran (2015) noted that two major universities in Iran, the Shiraz University and Mohaghegh Ardabili University had restrictive gender quotas in many disciplines that limited women's access to post-secondary education. In Biosystem Mechanical Engineering and Islamic theology women were allocated no spaces at Shiraz University, while twice as men were allocated spaces in most of the STEM programs. At Mohaghegh Ardabili University, 40

different majors allocated double quotas for men. According to the Centre for Human Rights in Iran (2015), “In a speech on April 19, 2014, Iran’s Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Seyed Ali Khamenei made it clear that gender-based university admissions were carried out with his full support”:

“There are some professions that are not commensurate with a woman’s make, so they shouldn’t pursue those. One thing to do is not to impose on women [an] education that leads to those jobs. On the issue of universities and education, some make a lot of noise about discrimination in education; such discrimination is not a bad thing everywhere...this discrimination is justice itself... [Therefore,] based on those high goals, we must look to see what studies are suitable for women, and make those studies available to them. Just because she participated in the University Entrance Exam, or because she scored a certain score, we must not force her to study a certain major which may not be compatible with her feminine nature, nor compatible with her high goals, and where the jobs she will be offered as a result of these studies are not compatible with her” (Center for Human Rights in Iran, 2015).

Upon leaving university, and attempting to enter the workforce, women often encounter additional gender-based hurdles and discriminatory practices. Women, for example, are forbidden from serving as judges who issue rulings and they are unable to travel abroad without their husbands’ permission, which makes many employers reluctant to hire women for senior roles involving international travel (Burkova, 2017). Beyond these specific examples of discrimination based on government policy, women face more generalized discrimination in the labour market, where employers are able to advertise

positions exclusively to men or women. Between May and September of 2016, Human Rights Watch undertook a detailed analysis of advertisements on popular Iranian employment search websites (Burkova, 2017). Numerous job advertisements in the STEM fields were explicitly advertised for male applicants (Burkova, 2017). In contrast, the postings directed at female applicants were for assistants, secretaries or other lower-ranking administrative positions (Burkova, 2017). On September 20, 2016, the popular job search site Hamshari posted 176 vacancies for secretarial positions, 173 of which stated a preference for female applicants (Burkova, 2017). Human Rights watch found similar discriminatory practices in the public sector, where positions are filled through state-administered exams known as the *Sanjesh* (Burkova, 2017). For the May 2015 exam period, more than 80 percent of the 2,649 available vacancies were limited to men, with the state tax organization reserving 96% of vacant positions for male candidates (Burkova, 2017).

While Iranian women have a high educational level with over 50% of university graduates being female, this is not reflected in employment statistics. In 2016, the unemployment rate for university-educated women was twice that of men, with one out of every three women holding undergraduate degrees out of work (Burkova, 2017). General labour participation rates for Iranian women in 2016 and 2017 were also low at 14.9 percent compared with 64.1 percent for men (Burkova, 2017). Iranian women's workforce participation also compares unfavourably with that of women across the Middle East and North Africa where an average of 20.7 percent of women are employed (Burkova, 2017).

Women's employment opportunities are further constrained by Iranian law which defines the husband as the legal head of the household, which can include up to four wives,

in accordance with Sharia law (Burkova, 2017; Sykes, 2008). Under Iranian law, husbands have the authority to prevent their wives from working and so some employers actually require written consent from a woman's husband before hiring her (Burkova, 2017). Despite the oppressive patriarchal nature of Iran's legal system, many of Iran's religious authorities feel that the country is becoming too 'Westernized'. Seemingly concerned about low birth rates and the spread of corrupting 'Western' ideas about gender equality, the Iranian government, at the behest of the Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, has recently instituted new laws restricting access to birth control and further limit women's participation in the labour market, by mandating that men be given preference in hiring over women (Esfandiari, 2016; Zaynab, 2018).

History of Education in Iran from 7th Century AD through Pre-Revolution of 1979

The history of Iranian education dates to scribal schools led by the Egyptians and Babylonians under the Achaemenid Empire (Arjmand, 2004). Little is known of the details of how children were trained during this period. There is no existing evidence on education in Parthian times. However, it is hypothesised that it was similar to education in the Sasanian period. In the Sasanian period the curriculum included writing, religious instruction, physical education, and training in courtly arts. There is some evidence that girls also received education based on their social class for general religious studies however the focal part of their training, consisted of domestic skills learned at home (Derayeh, 2006). With the arrival of Islam in the 7th century, Iranian boys attended elementary schools (school connected with a mosque, known as Maktab), which in its early stages focused on the memorization of the Koran, Persian grammar and poetry, Arabic, and basic accounting (Rassool, 1995). As private institutions not controlled by a centralized

authority, the curriculum and quality of instruction varied widely. It was also not compulsory (Rassool, 1995). While some religious authorities were opposed to women's literacy, others were in favour of teaching women to read and so girls, like boys, were able to attend Maktabas, which were typically gender segregated, and where the girls would be taught until the age of nine or ten by female teachers where (Rassool, 1995). or ten. After that, depending on the wishes and means of their parents, girls might continue to receive private educational instruction in their homes (Rassool, 1995).

Throughout most of Iran's history as an Islamic country, Maktabas were the main centers of religious teachings and they provided students with basic literacy. In fact, Maktabas and their traditional and Islamic approach to education continued to provide the main form of primary education for Iranian children until the introduction of primary school in the 1920s (Armjand, 2004). In that sense, for most Iranian children who received a basic education at their local mosque or at a private home very little changed between the 7th century and the early 20th century.

In the Qajar years (1794-1925) girls were occasionally sent to Maktabas until the age of eight or nine years, to be taught reading and writing and focused on the memorization of the Koran. There were, however, depending on their social class a number of women who were educated beyond such elementary levels. Even after Maktabas were replaced by elementary schools in the 1920s, Maktabas continued as an extra-curricular institution and played an important role as a preschool system (Arjmand, 2004).

In terms of women's education in Iran, the Qajar Period (1794-1925) saw the beginning of some improvements in educational opportunities for women from wealthy and elite families. The daughters of Iran's Ulamas, or religious elite scholars, were trained

in religious studies and the elite women of harem received both religious studies and foreign languages, which allowed them to have influence outside of Iran's national borders (Mottaghi, 2015). Indeed, the center of elite women's access to power was education (Mottaghi, 2015) and that allowed elite women to play an important role in changing the destiny of the nation and agitating for women's rights.

By 1905 the Qajar Dynasty began to lose its grip on power due and a popular uprising turned into a revolutionary movement which ushered in democratic reforms including an elected parliament and a secular constitution (Mottaghi, 2015). In 1925, when Reza Shah came to power, Iranian women's movements gained momentum because of his modernization policies and he brought the movement under state control (Mottaghi, 2015).

A problem was that a necessary requirement for creating secular women was unveiling and this created tension (Mottaghi, 2015). From 1941 to 1979 elite women activists became even more conscious of their political and legal rights. The right to education was considered to be the foundation of women's emancipation, however, there was a divide between religious and secular women in terms of their ultimate aims and goals. While religious women did not necessarily reject the idea of women's education, ultimately they longed to live in a society governed by strict Islamic values and patriarchal social structures, whereas secular women wanted democratic reforms and greater personal and political freedoms (Mottaghi, 2015).

Under the Pahlavis the Iranian modern state emerged, and modern technology and industry were introduced. The first steps were taken toward building a secular society. Education was mandatory, free, and secular. The government made systematic efforts to

repress religious resistance and to expand modern education. The Pahlavi's education focused on creating a national identity for children and promoted monarchy.

The Revolution of 1979

In 1978 to 1979, there was a massive urban revolution with several million participants in which the Iranian people toppled the regime of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (ruled 1941-1979). Islamists as well as secular nationalists, liberals, and leftists participated in the anti-regime uprising. However, by late 1978, the militant Islamist faction led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini dominated the anti-regime uprising (Afary & Anderson, 2010). The Islamists cast the struggle against the Shah as a reenactment of the Battle of Karbala (680 CE), which Shiite Muslims mark annually in the month of Muharram by commemorating the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (Afary & Anderson, 2010). Imam Hussein died in a battle at the hands of the enemy in present-day Iraq (Afary & Anderson, 2010). In 1978, Khomeini personified the innocent Hussein; the Shah stood for the enemy Yazid, and those protestors killed by the Shah's brutal repression were seen as martyrs in the tradition of Hussein's seventh-century followers (Afary & Anderson, 2010). For the sake of national unity, the secular, nationalist, and leftist demands of many of the anti-Shah demonstrators were increasingly articulated in religious terms and through the rituals that commemorated the death of Hussein (Afary & Anderson, 2010). The slogans and the organization of the protests were controlled by the Islamists, and this meant that many secular women who joined the protests were pressured into donning the veil as an expression of solidarity with traditional Muslims (Afary & Anderson, 2010).). The climax of the 1978 uprising coincided with Muharram and this ceremony brought a million people to the streets that December. By February 1979 the Shah had fled and Khomeini returned

from exile to take power. A national referendum was called in which Iran was to be declared an Islamic Republic by the next month.

A Brief Review of Education in Iran since the establishment of the Islamic Republic Regime

The Iranian schooling system consists of four tiers: primary, secondary, high school and pre-university (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016). Educational materials are provided by the Ministry of Education. Article 30 of the Iranian Constitution requires that the government provide free education to all children (Smith, 2018). Primary and secondary education in Iran is controlled and provided by the Ministry of Education (Arjmand, 2004). Education in Iran caters to the majority - ethnic minorities must receive their education mainly in the Persian language (Arjmand, 2004). Hence, ethnic minorities do not receive any formal education in their own languages. That said, the Constitution also stipulates that Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians are permitted to receive a religious education in their own religion or they can opt out of lessons on Islam (Human Rights Watch, n.d.). While these rights are guaranteed by the Constitution there have been recent examples of the Islamic authorities not upholding them and children being told to study Islam or leave school (Smith, 2018). It must further be mentioned that the religious authorities of Iran show tolerance only towards people from these three faiths and only if they were born into historic communities of religious minorities. Conversion from Islam is a crime and carries a penalty of up to ten years in prison (Ensor, 2018). Bahais, who make up the second largest religion in Iran, are considered a heretical sect and are subject to official persecution and discrimination in all aspects of Iranian life, including education (Baha'i International Community, 2019).

After the Revolution of 1979

The Islamic Revolution resulted in the religious elite (Ulama) ruling Iran (Arjamand, 2004). The Ulama reinforced the religious leadership, which paved the way for their political authority in the society, initially in the nation-state and later extended to the broader Muslim community or Ummat. One of the ways this was achieved was through appeals to verses in the Qur'an such as verse 4:59 which stressed obedience to God, the Prophet and those in power: "O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you..." (Qu'ran 4:59). In the eyes of Shiite leaders "those in authority" are religious leaders (Ulama) who are considered as the true and righteous inheritors of the Prophet Mohammad to being a true Muslim (Arjamand, 2004). A cultural revolution came after the Islamic revolution, that in 1980 led to the creation of the Higher Council of Cultural Revolution, which aimed to address Iranian education. The purpose of the cultural revolution was to create a Muslim identity and a Muslim community or Ummat. To do so, there are four ideological doctrines that are considered primary objectives of post-revolutionary education in the Iranian Islamic Republic (Arjamand, 2004):

- Inseparability of religion and politics
- Islamic revival
- Islamization of the society
- Creation of the committed Muslim community or 'ummah'

The goals set for basic education are the emphasis of ideological principles inline with:

- (a) Acceptance of the absolute authority of the jurisconsult,

- (b) Fortification and support of the political, economic and cultural unity of the Muslim community (Ummat) and oppressed people,
- (c) Rejection of any form of oppression, suffering, and domination, and
- (d) Strengthening the country through military training, where independence and territorial integrity are core values.

According to Arjmand (2004) the objectives above manifest the politicized ideological beliefs set for integration in a global society beyond what was perceived as arbitrary divisions according to racial, geographical and ethnic boundaries. Education is expected to be developed to increase productivity, achieve social and national integration and cultivate social, moral, and spiritual values, to strengthen the faith of Islam, and to expand them to the global society of Ummat (Arjmand, 2004).

The first fundamental educational reform introduced by the revolutionary government aimed at the transformation of the curriculum, initially through revision of textbooks, especially those in social studies, humanities, and religion (Mehran, 1989). The reform started with the content of the curriculum and continued with the replacement of the old textbooks, increasing the hours devoted to religious topics and the introduction of the Arabic language as the basis for Islamic principles. In the process of the transformation of education, schools were expected to instruct values and beliefs appropriate to the Islamic principles of Ummat (Mehran, 1989).

The Organization of Textbook Research was created by the Ministry of Education to regulate and control the ideological content of textbooks as well as the trend of Islamization (Mehran, 1989). In the new textbooks, secular figures like scientists, writers, poets, and political personalities are never presented as role models, whereas Persian

religious figures, prophets, and the Shiite Imams are elevated into figures for imitation (Arjmand, 2004). Nafisi (1992, quoted in Arjmand, 2004, p. 72), in his comparative analysis of pre- and post-revolutionary Iranian education, finds that “the Pahlavis emphasized the pre-Islamic Persian heritage to legitimize their rule, similarly, Islamic Republican textbooks concur with other ideological statements in emphasizing the Islamic era of Iranian history, the pulpit, and the faith itself as sources of legitimacy.” (p. 341).

It was argued that the textbooks should strengthen an Islamic world view according to which “one single focus: the development of a thoroughly committed individual to one God” was emphasized (Arjmand, 2004). School children are presented with a sharply defined image of the world, divided into pious, brave, uncompromising, honorable, morally superior Muslims and secular, unjust, greedy, inhuman, oppressive “Westerns” and “Westoxicated” intellectuals (Mehran, 1989). Students were exposed to a complex Islamic environment for patterns of conduct and social control (Mehran, 1989).

In order to continue teaching in Iran’s new Islamic republic teachers were required to pass a test to demonstrate their conformity to the regime’s Islamic values, a process which resulted in 8,000 professors, half of the total university faculty, being dismissed from their jobs for not sufficiently conforming to Islamic values (Arjmand, 2004). From the primary grades through college, the study of religion was emphasized and teachers were required to ensure that only students understanding the “true meaning of Islam” moved forward with their education (Arjmand, 2004). Strict dress codes were imposed and students were compelled to follow regulations that were in conformity with Islamic beliefs while in school. Students were submerged into a complex Islamic environment with particular patterns of conduct and social control (Mehran, 1989) Admittance to the elite of

Islamic society required religious commitment and the new ruling group became known as “Religiously Committed Intellectuals.” In summary, after 1979, education in Iran was focused on developing the Islamic identity and loyalty to Islam in each student.

Most of Iran voted for the Islamic Republic of Iran, however, Moghaddam (2003) indicates that Iran’s great revolution was hijacked by Islamic fundamentalists. As a result, the government issued policies of restriction and fundamental Islamism. The Family Protection Law that gave women rights was suspended and the selection of women as judges was suspended as well. Women were asked to wear the Islamic hijab at work, school, and in public, and women and men were segregated in sports. Gender segregation in public schools, which had been widespread before the Revolution, became mandatory (Baghdadi, 2012).

To protest all of this, there was a large demonstration of women on March 8, 1979 (International Women’s Day) to protest against the new rules, especially the dress code. There were several instances where women were assaulted by the new revolutionary guards (Baghdadi, 2012). The women in the protest were not supported because the government had broadcasted that the protest was in support of the old regime. The intellectuals were concerned it was another attempt to bring back the Shah and overthrow the new revolutionary government. Regardless, the protest did result in a new movement and later an intensive power struggle among the liberals, socialists, and conservatives. Since 1980 there have been many restrictions on women’s participation in society. As reported by Moghadam (2003):

1. Rather than wear a hijab, many women in high posts chose to leave the workforce.

2. Women were banned from entering certain fields, including: engineering, mathematics, agriculture, and law.
3. Women couldn't leave the country for any reason, including to pursue education, without the explicit permission of a male relative such as a husband or father.
4. Women were forbidden from wearing perfume or cosmetics in public
5. Women's voices were banned on television.
6. Abortions and contraceptives were banned.
7. The marriage age was lowered to puberty for girls.
8. Multiple laws were passed to encourage women to return home and make certain they do not go back to work. For example, daycare centers were closed that were established at employment sites.
9. Retirement programs allowed women who had worked only 15 years to retire without loss of entitlements.
10. The civil family protection law was suspended and all divorce and settlement cases were referred to Islamic Sharia courts, which are biased towards men.

Islamic family law gives full authority to fathers as legal guardians, but, in cases of divorce, children may reside with their mothers during their "tender years" to the age of seven (Kar, 2005). During this time, fathers still have legal authority over their children, which they can exercise in relation to their children's education, for example (Kar, 2005). If the mother remarries, custody of the children reverts to the father (Kar, 2005). And so this was the climate in which the 1983 textbook was written. Between 1979 to 2019, two major social changes helped the Iranian women's rights movement. First, in 1988, after eight years of the Iran-Iraq war with more than 500,000 casualties, many Iranian women

who lost their fathers or husbands in the war were given a chance to get a job to support their family (Baghdadi, 2012).

The second change came with a reform within the regime. A group of young Islamists, who had been actively involved in the revolution and the establishment of the new republic, came back from the Iran-Iraq war, which ended after eight years on August 1988. They faced government corruption and abuses of power among the high-ranking clergy and revolutionary guards. They started to ask for reforms, but they never intended to change the regime. Without the nationalists and liberals and other political parties in the election of 1997, the Iranian people (including women in a majority) voted for a less conservative (reformist) branch of government in the hope of reform (Baghdadi, 2012). The majority in parliament was formed by the reformists and Mohammad Khatami was selected as president. Even though there were only small changes, there were some changes in areas like education and family laws. For example, in June 2002, the marriage age for girls was changed from nine to 13, the ban on some educational fields for women was lifted (e.g. law, engineering, environmental sciences, etc.), and women were able to serve in higher clerical and administrative positions (Baghdadi, 2012).

In 2009 Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who is considered a religious hard-liner, was elected for a second time after the controversial presidential election that resulted in a massive street demonstration known as the Green Movement. The Green Movement signifies the solidarity and all the activities that took place after the 2009 election and people's demand for freedom, democracy, and governmental change (Baghdadi, 2012). Since the beginning of that demonstration, many women activists have been arrested, tortured, or killed. Law enforcement on dress code and segregation has again intensified

and the government is trying to terminate majors in the humanities and social sciences because they do not align with Islamic values (Baghdadi, 2012). In response to declining birth rates and the spread of ‘Western’ ideas about gender equality, Iran’s religious authorities, with the support of the Iranian parliament, have recently instituted laws reversing successful family planning policies that had been introduced in the 1990s (Esfandiari, 2016; Zaynab, 2018). Passed in 2015, the Bill to Increase Fertility Rates and Prevent Population Decline (Bill 446) and the Comprehensive Population and Exaltation of Family Bill (Bill 315) represent a serious reversal of women’s rights (Zaynab, 2018). Bill 446 outlaws voluntary sterilization and limits access to information about birth control, while Bill 315 “instructs all private and public entities to prioritise, in sequence, men with children, married men without children and married women with children when hiring for certain jobs” (Dehghan, 2015). Bill 315, therefore, further restricted women’s access to employment, beyond the measures that were previously in place, placing women at the bottom of the employment hierarchy and mandating that men be given preference over them.

Iran’s Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, has made it clear that he views Western-style gender equality as a social evil, which can undermine the entire basis of society (Esfandiari, 2016). Following the passage of Bills 446 and 315, he issued a 16 point declaration in which he demanded yet more measures to make Iran a family-centered society through policies and regulations which promote a clear division of social economic roles between women and men (Esfandiari, 2016).

Fundamentalist Islam, the Green Movement, and Iranian Youth Awakening

The theocracy that currently rules Iran and controls its educational system is based on Islamic fundamentalism. In order to understand Iranian society, it is, therefore, necessary to understand what Islamic fundamentalism is. Pasha and Ahmad (2014) define fundamentalism as involving specific characteristics that distinguish it from other social phenomena especially in the Iranian context. Fundamentalism involves “political movements with very specific agendas” and it is distinct from “traditional Muslim faith” (p. 300) in which Iranians conduct their daily spiritual practices by Islamic rules. It is inappropriate to generalize fundamentalist ideologies to the Iranian public beliefs just because a sizable majority believe in the Islamic faith. A second characteristic of fundamentalism is “reaction and rejection of modernity of modernity” on the grounds that it is “justified in being hostile to aspects of modernity as threatening the Muslim’s faith” (p. 300). Here, the word “modernity” refers to a secular and capitalist way of life. The most important point here is that fundamentalists are driven by conflict and terror rather than logical arguments (Droogers, 2005; Tibi, 2010). As a rule, “Islamist fundamentalism rejects, as a totalitarian ideology, the principles of pluralism” (p. 301). This intolerance is not founded on the basis of their faith, rather adopted as fundamentalists reject all concepts brought by modernity. Another key characteristic of fundamentalism is its dogmatic rejection of alternative worldviews and viewpoints.

Despite the grip that Islamic fundamentalism, as the ideology of the ruling class, has on the social and political system of Iran, the Iranian people do not universally embrace fundamentalist values. Even among devout Muslims in Iran, there are differences among those who choose Islam as a way of life and those who embrace more theocratic and

fundamentalist interpretations of Islam. The Green Movement opposes Iran's Islamic theocracy and the fundamentalist values that it is based on and instead upholds the thesis of pluralism. Like many protest movements, young urban people are the backbone of the movement and so understanding their values and beliefs are important (Kazemi, 2019). Pasha and Ahmad (2014) conducted a qualitative study focusing on how Iranian high school students view other cultures and religions, particularly religious pluralism. Iran's population reached about 75 million by 2011 and more than half of this population is under 35 years old. More than 6.5 million are between 15 to 19 years old. This research covered four of nineteen zones of the Tehran Educational Administration. About 206 questionnaires were filled out and 31 pre-university students were interviewed. There were four key themes among Tehranian pre-university students who were interviewed in regard to fundamentalism (Pasha & Ahmad, 2014):

- Rejection of an aggressive way of fundamentalism against others
- Rejection of Islamic extremists
- Positive/negative attitude in regard to modernity
- Adjustment of Islam to a new way of life

Some students spoke of fundamentalism as a hateful term for Muslims because of attributing terror and fighting with unarmed people including women and children (Pasha & Ahmad, 2014). Students liked certain aspects of "modernity" such as "modern technologies and lifestyle" but rejected other aspects such as "free sexual relations." They felt they could keep their culture while living in the modern age. Students seemed opposed to a "return to pure Islam" by stating "I don't know about that" (p. 306). The survey and interview results indicated that the students (a) had respect for others and their choices, (b)

had respect for others for their practice of religion, even if it was different than their own, and (c) had tolerance and could co-exist with others who had different sources of values (Pasha & Ahmad, 2014). While the study only looked at a small sample of students in the most populous city of Iran, the results, nevertheless, suggest that for Iran's sizeable youth population, decades of fundamentalist indoctrination have not resulted in them fully embracing fundamentalist values or rejecting modernity.

. Gender Bias in Textbooks

Blumberg (2008) explains that gender bias in textbooks is *near universal*. Gender biased textbooks are found worldwide. Only in Sweden have government efforts to eliminate gender bias in textbooks succeeded. In Sweden, apparently the textbooks depict males in stereotypically female domestic roles more often than is prevalent even there (Blumberg, 2008). There is a uniform pattern of gender bias in textbooks around the world. Studies exposing this pattern emerged during the Second Women's Movement in the Western hemisphere. All the studies demonstrated that whether measured in lines of text, proportion of named characters (human or animal), mentions in titles, or citations in indexes, females were underrepresented. In addition, females and males in domestic settings were depicted in highly stereotyped ways. They were further gendered through occupational divisions of labour, and through actions, attitudes, and traits displayed. Women were in caring, compassionate, and nurturing roles and the men were impressive, noble, fun and active. The first study took place in Chile in 1970, a year before the publication of a content analysis in the US, then studies followed worldwide. These studies were repeated two to three decades later, with the finding of small improvement at a very slow pace (Blumberg, 2008).

Blumberg (2008) argues that gender bias in textbooks is important because students spend as much as 80% of their class time in textbooks and teachers make a majority of their instructional decisions based on the textbooks. Specifically, a Canadian study found that the average teacher uses textbooks for 70 to 90% of classroom time (Blumberg, 2008). Gender biased textbooks are suspected of diminishing girls' achievements, although to an unknown extent. There are three regions where enrolment lags behind for female students: sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East/North Africa – particularly in the poorest or most “fragile” states (Blumberg, 2008).

By the 1990s, various “second generation” studies began to analyse the persistence of gender-biased textbooks in a variety of areas in the US (Blumberg, 2008). Three areas that were examined included US history textbooks, children's illustrated books, and teacher training textbooks. Clark and Mahoney quantitatively analysed six American history high school texts from the 1960s, 1980s and 1990s and found fairly moderate, but statistically significant improvements in the textbooks. Women made up only 5% of the names in the indexes in the 1960s vs. 13% in the 1980s and 16% in the 1990s. Five other indicators also showed mild to moderate improvement. The authors credit the improvements to the feminist movement and the impact of prior studies.

The improvement in children's illustrated books was even slower than high school history books. Czaplinski studied a sample of children's books from 1940 through 1971 and found that 63% of the characters were male and 37% of the characters were female. Davis and McDaniel repeated the study for a sample of children's books from 1972 through 1997 and found a mere 2% increase in the percentage of female characters.

Finally, a study of teacher training textbooks carried out by Sadker and Sadker (1980) found that 23 out of 24 texts had devoted less than 1% of content to women's contributions or challenges and that 8 of the 24 texts did not even mention sex bias (Blumberg, 2008). On the whole, teacher-training textbooks were found to strongly promote gender stereotypes (Blumberg, 2008). When Sadker and Sadker replicated their study in 2002, they found progress "minimal" and "disappointing" in 23 teacher-training textbooks from 1998-2001. Women-related coverage rose to 3.4% overall. In introductory texts the increase was 7.3% but only 1.3% in the 16 methods books for reading, science, mathematics and social studies). Social studies had the highest amount, 2.5%, and reading had the least, 0.3% (Blumberg, 2008).

Statement of the Problem

The majority of previous studies, which are discussed in detail below, have investigated English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks in Iranian educational system (Hall, 2014; Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016; Parham, 2013; Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012; Yaghoubi-Notash & Kooshaver, 2013). The combined results of these studies indicate that there is considerable gender bias in Iranian educational materials, over a range of grade levels. Foroutan (2012) who looked at Persian, Arabic, and English language textbooks issued by the Iranian educational authorities found that the Persian language books demonstrated the most male dominance, and that gender bias became more marked in the high school and pre-college levels as compared to elementary and middle school level materials. Gender bias was found both in the text and illustrations and through both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Hall, 2014; Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016; Parham, 2013; Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012; Yaghoubi-Notash & Kooshaver, 2013). The only

instance when gender bias was not found was when cross-gender conversations were considered without considering the number of male-only or female-only conversations (Yaghoubi-Notash & Kooshaver, 2013). What previous research has not examined is how the gender bias and representations of gender bias may have changed over the years in the primary grades Persian textbooks. Accordingly, this study will undertake such an investigation, comparing the first grade Persian textbook published in 2018 to the one published in 1983.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this quantitative study which adopts a content analysis approach was to determine whether there is a change in gender bias in the first grade Persian textbook published in 2018 8th edition compared to the one published in 1983 as determined by the proportion of female illustrations, proportion of female-related keywords (sister, wife, aunt, cousin, niece, etc.), the proportion of female names, and the relative diversity of women in employment roles.

Significance of the Study

This study will be the first of its kind to look at the Persian language Grade one textbook and compare the recent 2018 edition to the 1983 edition. Textbooks not only provide a specific subject content to the readers but also inculcate knowledge of a specific culture and society (Qasim, 2018). Textbooks are an important part of the socialization process for school children (Qasim, 2018). In this way, the students start to realize their social identity and this realization enables the students to develop a communal relationship with their peers and institution (Qasim, 2018). The 2018 edition textbook being

investigated in this study was written at a time when religious and political authorities seemed to be reacting against calls for greater personal and political freedom on the part of young people and Iran's Supreme Leader demand that the nation firmly reject Western ideas of gender equality and instead embrace an even stricter version of Islamic family values. It will be interesting to see if the ideology being promoted, greater focus on the family and the role of women as mothers and homemakers, is being transmitted through the textbooks which is such an important part of the children's education. If it is, there should be a difference between the particular forms of gender bias found in the older textbook and the newest 2018 8th edition.

Research Questions

The main focus question of the study is: Is there a changed gender bias in the 2018 8th edition of the grade one Farsi textbook compared to the 1983 edition textbook?

From the main focus question a number of other guiding questions arise:

1. What are the proportions of male/female illustrations in the 2018 textbook?
2. How does the number of female-related keywords in the 2018 textbook compare to previous versions?
3. Are the proportions of female names in the 2018 textbook improved, remained the same or diminished in numbers?
4. Are women's employment roles in the 2018 version different from previous editions?
5. How does the 2018 edition reflect the major changes that have recently occurred to family law?

Definitions of Terms

In this section I provide operational definitions of key terms used in this study:

Gender: Classification of sex (male/female); a multifaceted complex social and cultural construct based on sexual identity (Thorius, 2010).

Gender bias: Intentional or unintentional favouritism of one gender over another; assumptions made relative to abilities and/or behaviours of others based upon their gender (Scantlebury, 2009).

Female-related keywords: Nouns pertaining to specific members of the female sex, including but not limited to mother, woman, lady, madam, girl, daughter, grandmother, sister, wife, aunt, cousin, and niece.

Male-related keywords: Nouns pertaining to specific members of the male sex, including but not limited to father, man, gentleman, sir, boy, son, grandfather, brother, husband, cousin, nephew, and uncle.

Research Design

The corpus for this study consists of the 1983 Persian textbook and the 2018 Persian textbook for comparison. Each of the research questions will be considered in the analysis:

1. What are the proportions of male/female illustrations in the 2018 textbook?

Each page will be counted as one unit. A page with more female human illustrations than male will be counted as “M<F”. A page where the female human illustrations are equal in number to the male human illustrations will be counted as “M=F”. A page where the female human illustrations are fewer in number than the male human illustrations will be counted as “M>F”. Non-human illustrations will not be counted. Each page in each book will be counted separately.

2. How does the number of female-related keywords in the 2018 textbook compare to previous versions?

Female-related keywords and male-related keywords will be identified (see definition section for a listing of included words). The frequency of each keyword and the total female-related and male-related keyword per total keyword frequency will be determined.

3. Are the proportions of female names in the 2018 textbook improved, remained the same or diminished in numbers?

Every proper name will be identified in each textbook. The names will be identified as referring to a “Male” or “Female” figure. Names will also be identified as “Persian” or “Islamic” in origin to compare the 1983 and 2018 proportions.

4. Are women’s employment roles in the 2018 version different from previous editions?

Every role will be identified in each textbook, including household chores, child rearing, and spiritual roles. For each role, whether the role was assigned to a male or female figure will be identified.

Assumptions and Limitations

I am making the assumption that the 2018 Persian language textbook being used is representative of the textbooks used in Iran for Persian language education and that the 1983 version of the textbook is representative of what was used at that time.

I am assuming that the translation from Persian to English is accurate to a reasonable degree and that any discrepancies will not hinder my understanding of the data. In other words, I am assuming I have good quality data that will allow me to accurately assess the presence of gender bias.

The assumption is made in content analysis that the words that carry the greatest importance are said with the greatest frequency. In other words, I am making the assumption that having more mentions of male names means that males are given more importance than females. This assumption is consistent with the fact that males in Iran have greater legal and economic rights than females. It is also consistent with the view of Iran's religious authorities that women should play a less visible role in society insofar as their primary responsibility should be that of wives and mothers who remain in the domestic sphere, while men are encouraged to be breadwinners and to participate more fully in civil society. In a similar fashion, we assume that if there are more male illustrations on a page, they are given more importance.

Organization of the Remainder of the Study

Chapter 1 gave an overview of the culture of Iran, its history, and the purpose of the study. It reviewed the research questions, which has to do with whether the 2018 edition of the grade one Persian textbook is less gender biased than the 1983 edition textbook. Chapter 1 also discussed definitions of terms and assumptions and limitations. The current study contains four more chapters. Chapter 2 is a review of extant research that is relevant to the current study. Research pertinent to the theoretical basis of the current study is reviewed. Studies that looked at English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks in other countries are compared to EFL textbooks and Persian language textbooks in Iran. Chapter 3 explains methodology related issues including how the content analysis was performed, the steps to determine the relative frequencies of the proportion of female illustrations, female-related keywords, female names, and number of women holding diverse employment roles are explained. Chapter 4 contains a description of how the data was

collected and a detailed analysis of the data. Chapter 5 includes the results of the study, conclusions about the study, and recommendations for future research.

. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Methods of Searching

The literature review began by accessing the EBSCO host search engine through the York University database. Computerized searches to obtain articles relative to stated research questions included Education Research Complete, Academic Search Premier, SAGE, and ProQuest. Keywords and phrases used to search the databases included *gender bias*, *gender representation*, *textbooks*, *Iran*, *gender stereotyping* and *gender bias*. I also used the technique of finding a suitable article and perusing the reference list of that article to find more suitable articles for review and repeating this exercise with each suitable article. The search conducted spanned works from 2000 to 2019, but some references are from before that time.

Theoretical Orientation for the Study

Gender is the “cultural differences between men and women” that define our expected type of career, psychological characteristics, and interests (Humm, 1995, p. 416). Sociologists have long recognized how the education system can reinforce and “reproduce” cultural values, including those that define gender (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). Bourdieu, a seminal theorist in the field of sociology, first proposed that cultural reproduction is a social process whereby culture is reproduced across generations, most importantly through the socializing impact of major institutions like schools (Stanford Centre on Poverty and

Inequality, 2018). Bourdieu applied this concept to the way that schools and other social institutions pass along cultural ideas that underlie and support the privileged position of the dominant or upper class. Cultural reproduction is part of a larger process of social reproduction through which entire societies and their cultural, structural, and ecological characteristics are reproduced through a process that invariably involves a certain amount of social change (Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2018).

Bourdieu (1993), a proponent of “reproduction theory”, asserts that the educational system reproduces social inequality and propagates it within French society. The “reproduction of class inequality” is central to Bourdieu’s criticism of the French educational system. However other countries’ educational systems can reproduce other forms of ideologies and as a result, other social inequalities, such as those based on gender. Social reproduction, as noted above, also involves gender socialization. Gender socialization takes place in multiple contexts, most importantly in the school system. Schools are responsible for much of children’s gender socialization by promoting stereotypes that impact student’s attitudes, interests as well as psychological traits (Humm, 1995). During gender socialization, children are assigned certain masculine and feminine characteristics. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the educational system teaches students to internalize gender ideology and gender inequality. In this research I have converted class inequality as Bourdieu’s key concept to gender inequality to illustrate the function of the Iranian educational system in school subjects towards gender inequality continuity

Capital

Bourdieu discusses the concept of cultural capital in his work. Similar to the ideas of Karl Marx, Bourdieu argues that capital is important in social life and that it determines

where a person is in the social order (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Both Bourdieu and Marx argue that the more capital a person has, the better off they are and the better position they occupy in social life. Bourdieu, however, refers to capital as symbolic of culture rather than just in the economical sense like Marx.

For Bourdieu, cultural capital includes symbolic elements like skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, and other things that people get by being part of a social class (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). A sense of collective identity develops by sharing similar types of cultural capital with other people. For example, certain people have the same taste in certain types of movies or a group of people have a degree from a certain type of college. This is also how cultural capital becomes an important source of cultural inequality – when there are group members and non-members. Some forms of cultural capital are considered more valuable than other forms of cultural capital. Cultural capital can help or hinder social mobility in the same way that income or wealth does (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014).

Bourdieu suggests that cultural capital comes in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital includes such things as a person's dialect or accent. Objectified cultural capital can take the form of a fancy car. Finally, institutionalized cultural capital includes credentials or degrees awarded that symbolize cultural competence and authority (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014).

Habitus

One of Bourdieu's most impactful concepts is that of habitus. Habitus refers to the physical attainment of cultural capital and is often expressed through sports metaphors (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). For example, the skilled baseball player instinctively knows

exactly when to swing the bat at a fastball without having to consciously think about it. This “feel for the game” is termed habitus. In a similar sense, a kid who lives in the rough side of town and has the type of street smarts needed to survive the rough part of town, also has habitus.

Habitus also refers to a person’s taste for cultural objects such as art, food, and clothing (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). For example, in one of Bourdieu’s major works, *Distinction*, he connects French resident’s taste in art to their social class such that the upper class, who had been cultivated since a very early age to appreciate fine arts, develops a habitus appropriate for the fine art “game” whereas the working class usually has not had the same experiences (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Bourdieu notes that people often confuse habitus as a natural feeling rather than being culturally developed and that this leads to justifying social inequality (Routledge, 2016).

Bourdieu on Values Education

The concepts of capital and habitus are central to many of Bourdieu’s other ideas, including his ideas on education. Bourdieu believes that institutions of education lead to the reproduction of class inequality. A way to propagate such ideas is through values education. Values education has become very popular in the world and it is supported by policy makers, educationists and governments (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014). Certainly, values education is usually a positive attribute of education because it encourages morality and character building in its young citizens. Values education plays a critical role in social change and it shapes morals, mentality, and culture in agreement with the economic class (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014). Aspects of societal change may include economic, political, and cultural. “Social change” refers to any significant alteration over time in behaviour

patterns and cultural values and norms. For some scholars, this includes differences in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organizations, or value systems. The important question becomes how teaching values in education, as a political act, can contribute towards social change. In the context of this project, this includes the impacts of using gender-biased textbooks with Iranian propaganda within the school system. As Pitsoe and Mahlangu (2014) explain, “Education is a social instrument of great importance, and never an autonomous process, separate and apart from the society it serves” (p. 142). The role of education as an agent of social change is widely recognized today. This can have many outcomes. For example, in South Africa, values education is aiding in the transition of a racist apartheid society to a society that is rights-based and fully democratic.

Dewey maintains that schools are agents for social change and argues that if teachers look to democracy to find answers, we will be better positioned to understand how schools contribute to social change (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014). Dewey maintains that depending too much on subject knowledge is a critical error for education. Instead, he suggests that teachers should have a reflective mindset of self-inquiry and moral judiciousness on the part of the students (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014).

Now, as discussed above, during the cultural revolution in Iran teachers and professors were subjected to a values test and those whose stated values and beliefs contradicted those of the new regime were forced out. Iran’s government, in effect, recognized that education is an essential social process that has the potential to shape future society. Schools are institutions that can promote their (the government’s) goals. Bourdieu’s social reproduction theory explains how schools are social institutions for cultural reproduction that results in amplifying persistent inequalities in education (Pitsoe

& Mahlangu, 2014). According to Bourdieu, children from middle class families are advantaged in gaining educational credentials due to their possession of cultural capital. Capital includes both monetary and nonmonetary forms and also both tangible and nontangible forms. Inequalities in cultural capital reflect inequalities in social class (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014). The social reproduction theory holds that the existing class structure and social inequalities of individuals in a capitalist society are reproduced by that society, and it argues that schools are not institutions of equal opportunity but mechanisms for perpetuating social inequalities (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014).

The roots of Bourdieu's interest in education, social class and power can be traced to his own life (Dalal, 2016). He had a humble upbringing in a remote village in the Pyrenees Mountains where he was culturally and geographically distanced from institutions of learning, which were all in Paris (Dalal, 2016). During the time that Bourdieu grew up, in the 1930s and the mid-1940s, the education system in France had two kinds of primary schools. The schools for working class and rural children only provided schooling through the primary level and prepared children for technical training, whereas the schools for the children of the elites offered secondary and higher education (Dalal, 2016). At the beginning of the twenty-first century the different structures were eliminated at the primary and middle school levels, however, Dalal (2016) reports that the French school system still has a subtle stratification that continues at the higher levels even today. Bourdieu's analysis of education and his theory about the replication of class structure within the educational system draws on this highly stratified French education system.

Because of the primary socialization that children receive from the home, children from different class backgrounds enter school with different amounts and different types

of cultural capital and the corresponding primary habitus. The school is not a culturally neutral zone, as it embodies the culture of the dominant group, treating it as the legitimate and natural group. Cultural capital is an effective filter in reproducing inequality in society because it favours the primary habitus and the cultural capital of the dominant group, while perceiving those that are being dominated as a failure within the group (Dalal, 2016). The school curriculum itself acknowledges and rewards the dominant classes, while systematically devaluing the lower classes. The school, being responsible for inculcating the secondary habitus, actually privileges and legitimizes the cultural capital of the dominant group by giving them high grades and awards, therefore authenticating their knowledge, culture, and skills (Dalal, 2016). By resonating with their cultural capital, the school becomes an extension of their family. In this way, acquiring the secondary habitus of the school is natural and smooth for the dominant group. For the dominated group, however, this feels difficult and unnatural. School feels like an alien world and children learn to internalize their own failure, blaming themselves for the loss. Expecting they will do poorly in school, children “choose” to do poorly at school or even drop out of school (Dalal, 2016).

Bourdieu uses the analogy of a “fish in water” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127) to capture the idea of congruence between culture in the home and the culture prevailing in the school system for the dominant group. For the dominated group, it is like a fish out of water, one that does not belong and cannot survive. The school is a hostile environment – a cultural and social world set apart from that of their families and communities, making them feel out of place, or, in other words, a fish out of water. Schooling means the continued dominance of the group whose habitus and cultural capital

are embodied in the school and in the curriculum. For Bourdieu, the school itself perpetuates the class inequalities. The school exercises a symbolic violence on the dominated because the school curricula, examination system, and teaching principles reflect and reinforce the ideology of the dominant groups. Hence, the school becomes a space of “ideological production which contributes to the reproduction of inequalities in society whilst simultaneously concealing its own role in processes of social reproduction by masquerading as neutral and universal” (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2009, p. 114).

While theories of social reproduction help us to understand the how and the why of the social inequalities that are reproduced, they do not produce any solutions to the problem (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014). There are multiple institutions in society through which society multiplies itself: family, economy, government, religion, and education. From the stance of social reproduction theory, educational institutions follow the direction of the dominant group and maintain the status quo of society. Lower, middle, and upper-class children are socialized to become lower, middle, and upper-class adults (Pitsoe & Mahlangu, 2014).

Within the context of this project, it may be mentioned that in Iran the children in school are also socialized according to appropriate gender relations and gender stereotypes, according to proper behaviours and proper dress code. Textbooks serve an important function in this socialization by creating images, literally, of what men and women in various social classes should be doing and of what is socially acceptable. These images not only divide men and women by gender, but also by social class, race, and any other division that can be depicted either graphically or by the text of the stories and ideas presented.

Textbooks therefore may be considered an important form of social capital on which Bourdieu's theory sits.

Agency

While Bourdieu's theories emphasize the role of the state-run education system in reproducing cultural values, there are many other factors at play, including agency, socially accepted behaviour associated with civil disobedience, resistance of society and children's willingness to accept the state-imposed Islamic propaganda. Children are not merely blank slates that the state-run school system acts upon. They also have agency. At school, Iranian students may learn how to behave in conformity with a conservative interpretation of Islamic values, but in their personal time, they may behave differently. In many instances, their mothers may not wear a headscarf within the home or among friends and family. Their parents may not be devout. A recent example of young Iranians asserting their agency occurred in May of 2018, when videos of Iranian teenagers dancing and singing to a Persian pop song called "Gentleman" by an Iranian singer, Sasy Mankan, who lives in Los Angeles went viral on social media, mostly on Instagram. The videos were part of an online "dance challenge" meant to mark the country's Teachers' Day celebration on May 2, which is held annually. However when Iranian authorities saw the videos uploaded to social media by teachers at several schools across the country they became frustrated and anxious. Iran's Education Minister, Mohammad Bathaei said "The enemy is trying different ways to create anxiety among the people, including by spreading these disturbing videos we have been seeing in cyberspace [...] I'm certain there's some kind of political plot behind the publication of these devious clips in schools." In response, teens started to post more videos of themselves dancing in parks and schools with their faces covered with a caption that

stated: “Do not oppose the girls of the 80s decade (according to the Iranian calendar),” thus affirming their agency and their determination to resist the control of Iranian authorities.

In the above example, the internet and social media played a significant role in Iranian youth being able to assert themselves in a way that was at odds with the values of the regime. In fact, the internet and social media have also played a pivotal role in the Green Movement from its inception in 2009, which the Western media dubbed “Iran’s Twitter Revolution” (Williams, 2018). For youth across the globe, including Iran, mobile devices, social media, editing and distribution platforms such as YouTube, have opened up unprecedented opportunities to engage with each other on a range of political issues from environmentalism to human rights. With these tools at their disposal, Iranian youth are able to express their agency and engage in a variety of activist activities.

The concept of agency is also important specifically in terms of the gender socialization of girls and the role of women in Iranian society. Haideh Moghissi, a key feminist researcher in the Middle East, explains the diversity of *Muslim women* in Iran and the problem of characterizing them as all Muslim. It is important to consider factors such as class status, ethnic origin, rural or urban location, and social and moral standards and general life choices that women have everywhere else (Moghissi, 2011). Not all women represent their society’s cultural values, in this case the dominant religious ideology. However, some people have the right to cultural representation and some do not, depending on whether what they say confirms pre-existing images and expectations about a society or community (Moghissi, 2011). Moghissi (2011) uses the example that her ideas do not conform to her culture, being from the Middle East. She is expected to conform to Islam and that is all there is. Instead, she draws attention to the differences among people from

Muslim societies and speaks critically of Islam's gender practices. These sorts of gender issues are reflected in the production of textbooks for Muslim children. As you will see, the textbooks only reflect girls in hijabs and all reflect the segregation of boys and girls in school and mosque. Gender representation in the textbooks in Iran in no way reflects that women have a choice in how they represent themselves or in how they live.

Moghissi also speaks about the meaning of agency. She considers the definition given by feminist scholar Saba Mahmood that agency is the "individual powers to reason and choose" and the ability "to behave as independent, autonomous human beings" (Moghissi, p. 79) and considers that feminism represents a moral vision with which there are struggles and cultural constraints. To the definition of agency Moghissi adds that agency can mean acting "otherwise" or not in conformity to the status quo. Furthermore, she explains that who benefits from the agency is of importance, too. In other words, a woman can just as easily use agency when they follow rules or when they participate in religious practices. A woman can use agency even as an agent of patriarchal domination and control (Moghissi, 2011). Certainly, however, in that instance, the agency does not deserve validation and blessing except by those who benefit from it (Moghissi, 2011). Moghissi's point is that the purpose of the agency should matter. For women, having agency should give them more control over their lives and allow them to make informed choices within political and cultural contexts. It is important to realize that having agency does not have to be dismissive of religious Muslim women. Religious Muslim women can have agency in the same manner as secular Iranian women. To assume they cannot is a misinterpretation of Moghissi's argument. She does not suggest that women have been

passive victims of the Islamization policies in Iran. Women since the revolution have been at the forefront of the struggle to secure democracy for Iran (Moghissi, 2011).

The work of Fatema Mernissi adds additional historical context to the discussion of gender in Iranian educational textbooks. Mernissi was a central figure of Arab feminism in Morocco. She embraced feminism with an Islamic philosophy and the Qur'anic principle of communicative *jadal* (debate and argumentation), as well as from her encounter with Sufism and its nexus of love and compassionate knowledge (Salime, 2016). Some of her novels include *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (1995) and *Scheherazade Goes West: Different harems, Different Cultures* (2002). Since the publication of her first book *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Muslim Society* in 1975, Mernissi documented specific turning points in the history of political and intellectual debates that Muslim societies generated in their relationship to Western modernity's (Salime, 2016).

Mernissi was one of the first voices in redefining *sharia* and the Islamic textual tradition of prophetic rhetoric – *hadith* – as interpretive, contingent, and subject to human scrutiny (Salime, 2016). Mernissi gave a loving exploration into the life of the Prophet Muhammad which was expounded in her book *The Veil and The Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's rights in Islam* (1991). The book was created as one of the most powerful paradigms in feminist studies by widely opening the world of *hadith* and Islamic studies to feminist scrutiny (Salime, 2016). The book challenges the perception that the mosque is an exclusive male space for prayer by claiming that the mosque was originally an open platform for political debates, including feminist debates (Salime, 2016).

Mernissi communicated Islam as a form of knowledge production, knowledge seeking, border crossing, and trespassing by women through her use as Sinbad and

Scheherazade, which were figures in her writing (Salime, 2016). She did work on a series of debates that concerned women, Islam, democracy, and modernity. Rather than dealing with oppression, her work reads as an account of women's power and agency. Rather than claiming rights for women, Mernissi, through her work, shows that women have always taken the space without asking for permission (Salime, 2016).

The idea of women's agency is also an important concept when considering the gender representation of the textbooks. Moghissi is suggesting that religious Muslim women may have the same agency as secular Muslim women. Mernissi represents Muslim women as already having the agency that she feels they should. This may be portrayed in a textbook in narrative form rather than a picture or name. The textbooks in their current form do not demonstrate that religious Muslim women have any agency and they do not represent secular women.

Review of the Literature

There are a variety of studies on gender representation in textbooks from a wide range of countries. Studies have shown that gender role stereotypes are portrayed in school materials throughout the world. Men are overrepresented in the texts and women are underrepresented in the texts (Foroutan, 2012). This has been demonstrated in both developing and developed countries, across multiple nations.

Indonesia

Suwardi, Sri, Muhammad, & Asrowi (2018) studied the gender bias present in three first grade textbooks used to teach Muslim children in Indonesia. The textbooks used were those of "Aqidah Akhlak", "Fikh", and "Arabic". A quantitative method was used to investigate the gender bias of the pictures only. Each page was rated separately to favour

males, favour females, or to be “fair” meaning that males and females were equal in number. Suwardi et al. (2018) assumed the distribution would be fair if each category were distributed equally, that is, if it were found that one-third of the pictures favoured males, one-third favoured women and one-third were neutral. There were 142 pages in the three Islamic textbooks with pictures. Suwardi et al. (2018) concluded there was a high amount of gender bias in the pictures because there was a 38% difference between the amount of male-dominated pictures (44.37%) and the amount of female-dominated pictures (6.34%). Only 9 pages of the 142 pages favoured women. The neutral category included 49.3% of the pictures. The authors concluded that the Islamic textbooks used to teach Muslim children in Indonesia contain gender bias.

Pakistan

Qasim (2018) investigated the representation of gender in two EFL textbooks used in 9th and 10th grades in Punjab, Pakistan. Qasim used both quantitative and qualitative analysis to determine that the male gender is over-represented and the female gender is underrepresented in both textbooks. Within the text of the lessons and the poems in the books, the frequency of male characters was 263 (59%) and the frequency of female characters was 185 (41%). The gender visibilities at the end of the lessons in the exercises were biased as well, with 354 male and 202 female references. Qasim (2018) noted that the images in the textbook make an important impression on the reader, fascinating the young reader and grabbing the attention of young readers. With that in mind, it is important to note that of the 46 human images, 39 were male and only 7 were female. The dialogues were also skewed, with 67% of the dialogues between only males, 32% of the dialogues between male and female, and only 1% of the dialogues between two females. The findings

on gender visibility in occupational role indicate that females have less public roles except for one instance in which a female character had the role of a column writer (Qasim, 2018).

United Arab Emirates

Al-Qatawneh & Al Rawashdeh (2019) investigated the gender representation in the Arabic language textbook for the ninth grade in UAE. They found the total number of roles given to females was 99 compared to 292 male roles, at a ratio of 1 to 2.95. Using specific examples, there are only three references to a female doctor, compared to eight for men. There are seven references to female writers and 25 for men. There was a predominance of men in most roles except for nurses and fiancés, which were predominantly female. Al-Qatawneh & Al Rawashdeh (2019) also counted the number of female and male aspects in the textbook, and again a clear imbalance was demonstrated. There were 97 aspects for females and 800 for males, demonstrating a 1:8.2 ratio. There was also a clear tendency to assign fitness to males, with 13 instances (76.47%) when the male gender was mentioned before the female gender and only 4 instances of female fitness. The ratio of masculine to feminine pronouns used was 1.73 to 1. Finally, the percentage of neutral language used was 26.07%, masculine language was 72.46% and feminine language was 1.47%. The authors concluded that discrimination on the basis of gender is still an issue and that although the authors of the textbook are trying to convey a positive message in support of gender equality, their presentation is not objective when compared with social changes and reality in contemporary UAE society (Al-Qatawneh & Al Rawashdeh, 2019). References to gender equality were superficial and did not reflect the deeper perceptions and attitudes of the authors. When females are not referenced as often as males in the books, it sends the implicit message that women are not as important to include in these books and that they

cannot hold the roles or positions that are being represented by men (Al-Qatawneh & Al Rawashdeh, 2019). Textbooks play a very important role in shaping stereotypes, so these findings are considered to be quite problematic. Note that in these textbooks all roles were preferentially assigned to men, with the exception of nurses and fiancés. The ratio of pronoun usage of 1.73:1 shows that females are underrepresented and trivialized in this textbook in relation to males. This may be related to the customs and traditions of the community that result in the writers giving men more leadership roles in the community and the women more roles within the home. For example, the number of female appearances in the religious and historical aspect was 15, compared to 270 for males. The number of female appearances in the traditional aspect was 26, compared to 56 for men. Writers usually show women in traditional roles including cleaning, caring for children, and household tasks. Given that educational materials are very important socialization agents, it is important to note that the positive changes taking place in the UAE are not reflected in the textbooks (Al-Qatawneh & Al Rawashdeh, 2019).

Syria

Blumberg (2007) reviewed a number of studies on gender disparity in textbooks for various countries. For the developing nation of Syria, Blumberg found a dated but good quality study by Alrabaa published in 1985 which reviewed a total of 28 textbooks used in grades 8 through 12 that were found to be male biased in content and language. The author concluded that the females in these texts were “derogated and victimized” (Blumberg, 2007, p. 7) despite a 1975 campaign which “called upon Syrian citizens to remove any practice derogatory to the dignity of women” (p. 7) and despite specific educational proposals for sex-role equality. In the texts, it was found that males were responsible for

87% of the biographies and they were the leading characters in 75% of the 353 lessons analyzed (Blumberg, 2007). In regard to division of labour, they found that out of 463 occupations, 84% (391) were taken by males and 16% (72) were taken by females. Words that were associated with images for each gender included for males: brave, popular, strong, kind, achiever, innovative, adventurous, hard-working, generous, and educated and for females: beautiful, kind, loving, faithful, motherly, compassionate, generous, loyal, educated, and dependent (Blumberg, 2007).

The qualitative findings looked at several different topics. One analysis looked at traditional sex roles and how men were viewed as “masters” in their homes and did not consult females on any topics, even child rearing. Females were chastised for disagreeing with males. Another topic was “derogation of women” (Blumberg, 2007, p. 8). Females were often portrayed as “manipulative, jealous creatures; as fussy-do-nothings; as weak, irrational, superstitious, or despicable” (p. 8). Finally, the masculinity of men is exaggerated and they are given power over women. The analysis implied that women should endure an abusive male and accept violence as natural (Blumberg, 2007).

Within Iran

From the preceding literature review, it may be seen that the male gender is privileged across many countries in education textbooks, and that in some places the gap is quite wide. One area that has a wide gap with male privilege in education textbooks is the Middle East, which is often noted for its patriarchy, high fertility, and ideas that men are breadwinners and women receive less education (Foroutan, 2012). There is, however, some evidence of change in the region. For example, according to figures from the World

Bank (2019), the birth rate was substantially reduced from approximately 7 children per woman in the 1960s to approximately 2 children per woman during the past two decades. Women's age at marriage increased from 18 in 1956 to 24 in 2006 (Foroutan, 2012). There was also an improvement in attitude about women in the labour force and improvement in opportunities for women in education, especially tertiary education such that female students exceed male students (Foroutan, 2012). The question, then, is whether there the change in socio demographic characteristics is associated with a similar change in the gender representation of school textbooks. Some authors have looked at varying aspects of this. This next part of the review will look at various studies within Iran.

Foroutan (2012)

Foroutan (2012) used content analysis to study gender representation in Iranian version 2010 school textbooks at the primary, intermediate, and high school levels that were written in Persian, Arabic, and English. The textbooks were the official, sole and standard resources of schools provided and distributed by the Ministry of Education. These books were used in all schools throughout Iran and are therefore fundamental in the student socialization process (Foroutan, 2012). A total of 35 books were analysed, 21 Persian language, 8 Arabic language, and 6 English language. Ten of the books were primary level, 9 were intermediate level and 16 were high school level.

Foroutan (2012) used four research strategies associated with the representation of male and female genders in the book. He investigated the balance of (a) images (b) names (c) pronouns and (d) keywords by gender. In the Persian language, pronouns do not refer to the male or female gender per se, so those words were not included in that analysis. The general observation using those research strategies was that males are overrepresented and

that this research finding was supported by all four research strategies (Foroutan, 2012). More than two-thirds of all images, names, pronouns, and keywords referred to males and this was true for all three languages (Foroutan, 2012).

The intensity of the male dominance varies somewhat by language (Foroutan, 2012). The Persian language textbooks had the most dominance, by far, with only 10% of images allocated to the female gender. In both Arabic and English, more than twice that amount of images were allocated to the female gender, with Arabic having 18% female images and English books having 25% female images. Foroutan (2012) suggests that because the English language textbook initially comes from a western context, even though it is being used in a non-western context, the book may be somewhat more gender fair.

The intensity of male dominance also appears to go up as the educational level increases (Foroutan, 2010). Additionally, a considerable number of names are allocated to females in the early primary years and this decreases substantially as the grade level increases (Foroutan, 2010). The finding that male dominance increases as grade level increases is true for all languages. Foroutan (2010) suggests this may reflect ideology from the post-revolutionary Islamic state such that gender segregation in some Islamic settings is “perceived as a strategy for containing [woman’s] power’ due to the basic assumption that ‘women are powerful and dangerous beings” (Mernissi, 1987, p. 19). Therefore, while women are represented in textbooks for very young children, they have almost disappeared from the textbooks for adolescents (Foroutan, 2010).

Hall (2014)

Hall (2014) used both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to study two English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks used in Iranian secondary schools (grades

7 and 8) in 2014. The systematic quantitative analysis looked at (a) the visibility of females and males in text and illustrations, and (b) female/male-oriented topic presentation in conversations and sections of text. Hall (2014) found in the 7th grade textbook (Textbook 1) 62.5% of the figures (text and illustrations) were male and that in the 8th grade textbook (Textbook 2) 59.5% of the figures were male. This indicates a large asymmetry for both Textbooks, although a larger asymmetry for Textbook 1. The results of the female/male-oriented topic presentation in dialogues and readings revealed a more equal presentation of male-oriented and female-oriented dialogues and readings, overall. For the qualitative analysis four aspects of gender-role modelling was considered: (a) male-centred language, (b) gender-linked occupation possibilities, (c) distribution of household responsibilities, and (d) distribution of spare time and leisure activities. The analysis of the findings showed an imbalance of gender representation in both textbooks, similar to many other studies of gender bias in EFL textbooks.

To demonstrate the lack of change in women's status, Hall (2014) compared the 2012 edition textbooks to the same textbooks in the 1999 edition in a study done by Ansari and Babaii (2003). Male-referenced text increased from 56% in the 1999 edition to 62.5% in the 2012 edition demonstrated in textbook 1, an increase of 6.5%. In textbook 2, male-referenced text was 60% in both editions and female-referenced illustrations was approximately the same (difference of 2%). This emphasizes the low visibility that women still experience after 13 years.

Ghajarieh and Salami (2016)

Ghajarieh and Salami (2016) conducted a critical discourse analysis of seven Iranian EFL textbooks at the secondary, high school and pre-college levels. The authors

concluded that the discourse of “equal opportunities” should be accompanied with other gendered discourses with the purpose of protecting educational opportunities for girls. The discourse of “equal opportunities” views men and women as different and fails to challenge the dichotomy of men and women. It cannot be considered an effective discourse because of the way it views men and women as different, although it has been approved in the legal document of many countries (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016). In the textbooks, a large number of male and female social actors were individualized and functionalized as students in lexis. There were 84 cases (40 for secondary-level textbooks, 29 for high school-level textbooks and 15 for pre-college textbooks). All the representations were examples of “equal opportunities in education for men and women”. No female actors were functionalized as college students in the education materials. Male characters were individualized and functionalized as prospective college students. For example, a high school textbook had: “He is working hard. He wants to go to university. He plans to study physics. I think this is a good end” (p. 265). Female social actors functionalized as students were not assimilated as a group of students studying together as male students in lexis. The accompanying images had boys and girls studying separately. This shows that male and female social actors were defined only within a narrow perspective in line with the notion that women and men should be separate in public places, including educational settings (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016).

Female social actors were also not individualized and functionalized in high-level jobs. Male social actors were represented in 89 cases as engineers, bus drivers, police officers, scientists and doctors whereas their female counterparts had just one instance each of being a dentist and a boss (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016). These representations support

the discourse of women's marginalization in science, technology and medicine. Examples of texts representing male social actors in these professions include: "Mr. Amini is a doctor," "He is a dentist," and "Isaac Newton was a great scientist" (p. 266). The authors conclude that the resistance against the discourse of equal education opportunities for men and women in Iranian EFL textbooks show inclusive education has yet to be achieved in the education system of Iran.

Parham (2013)

Parham (2013) used critical discourse analysis to understand how discourse supports or creates gender discrimination in English education aimed at young children. She investigated a corpus of books used in different Iranian language institutes to teach children English by studying the conversations, illustrations and graphic designs of the cover. Critical discourse analysis looks for evidence of bias and inequality at the micro and macro levels (Parham, 2013). The micro level refers to the text and the macro level refers to whatever surrounds the text such as the illustrations, graphic design of the cover, font, colour, and size. Each of the books contained a variety of activities such as puzzles, songs, matching tasks and conversations. The number of conversations was normally limited to one per unit. She looked at all conversations that happened between both males and females and marked them as occurring with $M=F$ (equal males and females), $M>F$ (more males than females), or $M<F$ (more females than males). For each conversation, she evaluated: (a) number of participants, (b) whether the initiator of the conversation was male or female, (c) the number of turns males and females had categorically, and (d) the length of turns that males and females take in the conversations. Conversations between participants of a

single gender (all male or all female) were excluded. Sixty-three conversations were analyzed.

Parham (2013) concluded that the conversations were distributed equally among females and males. Out of the 63 conversations, 36 had an equal number of male and female participants, 13 had more male participants, and 14 had more female participants. In about one-third of the conversations both males and females had an equal number of turns, in one-third males had more turns, and in one-third females had more turns. In approximately half of the conversations males had longer turns and in the other half of the conversations females had longer turns. Interestingly, females initiated 62% of conversations compared to 38% of male initiators. Parham (2013) found that males are overrepresented in illustrations. Males and females were equally represented in cover designs.

Gharbavi & Mousavi (2012)

Gharbavi and Mousavi (2012) used linguistic analysis to investigate the relative social prominence of males and females in four current EFL textbooks for high school and pre-university students in Iran. The methodology chosen for the study focused on both vocabulary and agreement of grammatical items in sentences. The authors analysed themes, rhymes, and last stressed elements. Themes refer to the psychological subject or the subject of discourse. It is that with which the clause is concerned. The rhyme is the rest of the message, which develops the theme. The last stressed element (end-focus) of a clause is also important. The person or persons occurring as the last stressed element bears or bear the information focus of the clause and, like the person or persons in the theme position, has or have communicative prominence (Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012).

There were 324 gender-specific nouns and pronouns in the clauses and of these, 265 were themes, like “he” in “He spent the day working” (Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012). For themes, the ratio of male to female themes was 80% to 20%. There were 44 rhymes, which refers to the background focus, like the “her” in “The man gives her a reward”. The ratio of male to female for rhymes was 71% to 29%. There were also 15 gender-specific nouns that were rhymes that were the last stressed element, like “Oliver Twist” in “The boy’s name was Oliver Twist”. The ratio of male to female for last stressed element was 74% to 26% (Gharvavi & Mousavi, 2012). The greater number of male nouns and pronouns in clauses reinforces the finding that males are in a position of social prominence. It suggests fairly traditional, stereotypical roles were presented for each gender in the textbooks. That is, the males act as sayers and the females act as sensors. The males are the ones communicating messages and acting out roles. The females are receiving messages and responding to what they are told, rather than doing any “telling” themselves. The authors suggest that the reason males outnumber women in almost all participant roles can be explained by the writers’ motivation and ideology. They further explain that ideology has a significant impact on language use and that the writer’s ideology and viewpoints impacts the writer’s style, linguistic behaviour, lexical and grammatical patterns, and the representation of different kinds of people such as political groups, women and men, and so on (Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012).

Yaghoubi-Notash & Kooshavar (2013)

Yaghoubi-Notash and Kooshavar (2013) conducted an analytic quantitative comparison of discursive features of conversations in two sets of Iranian EFL textbooks. The cross-gender conversations in the two series were the targets of the study. They were

marked and the ratio of the cross gender to total conversations was found. Each word, including articles, prepositions and interjections were counted as one word. Discursive features including conversation initiation and ending, number of pauses or hesitations by each gender, depicted in the scripts by “...” or “Um...,” and number of apologies by each gender, as a sign of subordination, were studied in the conversations. There were 22 cross gender conversations in the first series and 76 cross gender conversations in the second series.

Yaghoubi-Notash and Kooshaver (2013) did not find any significant difference between the mean word count for females and males. There were also no differences between the mean of pauses or hesitations for females and males or with the mean of apologies for males and females. There were also no differences between the number of times that females or males initiated the conversations or ended the conversations. When looking at the relationships, however, the authors note a stereotypical presentation of women being presented as wives or a customer shopping which they considered to be a cultural bias. This was consistent with other textbooks studied by other authors. Yaghoubi-Notash and Kooshaver (2013) also administered a questionnaire to a group of 15 female and 15 male Iranian English teachers on the topic of gender representation. The questionnaire had 30 questions that were Likert scale items on a 1-5 scale. They found that female teachers are more knowledgeable about issues surrounding gender representation in textbooks and so they may be better positioned to impact gender bias in textbooks when teaching a class. They recommended that both male and female teachers learn more about gender bias in textbooks and change their attitude and practice on the topic.

Synthesis of Research Findings

All of the international studies and the majority of the studies in Iran showed gender bias through various methods of evaluation. The majority of studies were conducted on EFL textbooks, that is, textbooks meant to teach English as a foreign language, both internationally and in Iran. The international studies covered Indonesia, Pakistan, UAE, and Syria. Collectively, they seem to indicate that gender bias is present over a range of grade levels and when measured in various ways. For example, the study in Indonesia looked specifically at the representation of pictures (Sudwardi et al., 2018) while the study in Pakistan looked intently at the lesson plans, lesson questions, and poems in each of the textbooks, in addition to the picture of humans (Qasim, 2018). There were also multiple methods used to investigate the verbiage in each of the textbooks. Multiple studies used some form of content analysis. Qasim (2018) and Blumberg (2007) used both quantitative and qualitative analysis. They found deep levels of gender bias in the text that go beyond a simple counting of the number of words representing each gender. These authors looked for themes representing the derogation of women and for evidence of a patriarchal society.

The studies within Iran offered a similar breadth of study. The vast majority of the literature on the topic focuses on English as a Foreign Language - as it did in the international studies. In fact, one of the studies, the one by Foroutan (2012) included an analysis of books not written in English. The study by Foroutan (2012) was the most in depth study reviewed as it included all the way from the primary through high school levels and it included the three languages taught: Persian, Arabic, and English. Interestingly, several of the findings from the study of 35 books were quite similar to the findings from the other smaller studies. That is, many more images are male than female and many more

names, pronouns, and keywords are male than female. Additional contributions that Foroutan (2012) made include the finding that the Persian language books had the most dominance, by far, and that the intensity of male dominance appears to go up as the educational level increases. Foroutan found that a considerable number of names are allocated to females in the early primary years and this decreases substantially as the grade level increases so that women have all but disappeared from textbooks for adolescents. In my study, I am looking at the primary grades, so consistent with Foroutan's observations, the amount of gender bias is likely to be less than if I were looking at the high school or pre-university levels. However, I am also looking at the language books, which suggests there will be much more male dominance than the EFL textbooks studied in the majority of the studies. The study by Foroutan (2012) found the most male dominance in the Persian language textbooks, followed by Arabic language textbooks, then English language textbooks.

Critique of the Previous Research Methods

All studies involved comparing male words or images to female words or images in some form or fashion. Studies varied in the ways these were measured. The most common methodologies include content analysis, linguistic analysis, critical discourse analysis, and analytic quantitative comparison. Most studies found at least some evidence of gender bias, all studies that looked at illustrations found that males were overrepresented. Some of the studies looking at conversations found more egalitarian relationships in the cross-gender conversations. Parham (2013) only looked at conversations that included both males and females, she did not consider how many conversations were only male or only female. This resulted in finding no gender bias on

several measures, except for the illustrations (which were bias towards males). In other publications, the gender bias was observed when comparing the number of conversations that were male-only with the cross-gender conversations. For example, in the Pakistan study, Qasim (2018) noted that 67% of the conversations were male-only whereas only 1% of the conversations were female-only. This disparity would not have been noted if only looking at the 32% of the conversations that were cross-gender. We do not know what this proportion is for Parham. Therefore, in my present study I will be sure to include both cross-gender and same-gender conversations in the analysis.

Summary

In summary, the vast majority of the studies surveyed showed gender bias, both the international studies and the ones in Iran. The EFL textbooks seem to indicate that gender bias is present from the primary grades through the pre-university levels and whether it is measured through content analytic methods or through critical discourse analysis. Further, gender bias was present whether looking at the pictures portrayed in the texts or whether analyzing the verbiage used in the textbooks themselves. Books written in the Persian language had the most extreme gender bias. Books written for higher-grade levels also had a high amount of gender bias. Persian textbooks for the high school and pre-university years examined by Foroutan (2012) in this one study had almost no female names mentioned in them at all. Findings in the Arabic books were more extreme than those found in the English books but less extreme than those found in the Persian books (Foroutan, 2012).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes how the research study was carried out. The step-by-step methods and procedures will be described in a way that enables future researchers to replicate the study. First the purpose and the research question will be reiterated, with an eye to considering the research hypotheses and alternative hypotheses for this quantitative study. Then, the relative advantages of content analysis will be considered, followed by a detailed discussion of reliability and validity. The target population is considered. The procedures section is where you will find the detailed step-by-step process of how the study was carried out from start to finish. This is followed by some ethical considerations.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study, explained in Chapter 1, is to determine whether there is a change in gender bias in a first grade Persian textbook published in 2018 than one published in 1983 as determined by the proportion of female illustrations, proportion of female-related keywords, proportion of female names, and relative diversity of women in employment roles. This research is different from previous studies in that it is the first study to compare the most recent Persian textbook with the first Persian textbook introduced after the Revolution.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Is the 2018 8th edition of the grade one Persian textbook less gender biased than the 1983 edition textbook?

From the main focus question a number of other guiding questions arise. These include, along with the following alternative (null) hypotheses:

Q1. What are the proportions of male/female illustrations in the 2018 textbook?

H1. There are a greater proportion of female illustrations in the 2018 textbook.

A1. The proportion of female illustration in the 2018 textbook are the same as the 1980 textbook.

Q2. How does the number of female-related keywords in the 2018 textbook compare to previous versions?

H2. There are a greater proportion of female-related keywords in the 20178 textbook.

A2. The proportion of female-related keywords in the 2018 textbook is the same as the 1983 textbook.

Q3. Are the proportions of female names in the 2018 textbook improved, remained the same or diminished in numbers?

H3. There are a greater proportion of female names in the 2018 textbook.

A3. The proportion of female names in the 2018 textbook is the same as the proportion of female names in the 1983 textbook.

Q4. Are women's employment roles in the 2018 version different from previous editions?

H4. There are a greater number of diverse employment roles for women in the 2018 textbook.

A4. There are the same number of diverse employment roles for women in the 2018 textbook as there were in the 1983 textbook.

Research Design

The research method of content analysis, which was utilized by a number of studies discussed in the literature review, is also being used in this study. It allows the researcher to make valid inferences from text (in this case two textbooks) about the sender of the

message, the message itself, or the audience of the message (Weber, 1990). Content analysis can be used for many purposes, including to reflect the cultural patterns of groups, institutions, or societies (Weber, 1990). There are several advantages to using content analysis compared to other data-generating and analysis techniques. One advantage is that communication is a central aspect of social interaction and content analytic procedures operate directly on text. For example, this study is investigating the gender bias present in textbooks by analysing the text and images.

A second advantage is that documents last over a long time period and culture indicators that are created from these documents are reliable data that can span centuries (Weber, 1990). More recently, with other types of reliable data in existence, culture indicators can be used to assess quantitatively the relationships among economic, social, political, and cultural change (Weber, 1990). Finally, compared with techniques such as interviews, content analysis allows for observations in which neither the sender or receiver of the message realizes they are being observed. This means that the act of measurement will not cause a change that confounds the data (Weber, 1990).

The main point of content analysis is that all of the words in a text document are reduced into categories where each category may consist of just one word, or many words (Weber, 1990). Words found in the same categories are all assumed to mean similar things. Depending on the purpose of the researcher, these categories may be based off of words that are synonyms, for example, or they may be based off of words that share similar connotations (such as concern with a certain concept like femininity or masculinity).

The main problem to solve in content analysis is that of data reduction (Weber, 1990). Starting with so many words, these words must be classified into categories. The

problem of reliability emerges when you consider the ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, or ambiguity of other coding rules. Using multiple coders allows for the assessment of reliability and the use of a computer provides perfect coder reliability. Once the code is correctly defined, the coding rules are always applied the same way (Weber, 1990).

There are three types of reliability in content analysis: stability, reproducibility, and accuracy (Weber, 1990). Stability refers to “the extent to which the results of content classification are invariant over time” (Weber, 1990, p. 3). This can be determined when the same content is coded more than once by the same coder. Reproducibility refers to consistency when the same content is coded by different coders. This usually results from cognitive differences in the coders, ambiguous coding instructions, or from random coding errors (Weber, 1990). High reproducibility is a minimum standard in content analysis (Weber, 1990). Whereas stability measures a coder’s private understanding of the coding scheme, reproducibility measures the shared understanding of the coding scheme. Accuracy refers to the extent that the classification of text corresponds to the standard or the norm (Weber, 1990). It is the strongest form of reliability (Weber, 1990). It is sometimes used to test the performance of human coders but is seldom used for texts, except for training purposes. Accuracy is rarely used in reliability assessment.

Another important problem to consider is validity in content analysis. This refers to the extent that a variable measures the construct that the researcher intends for it to measure (Weber, 1990). There are actually several types of validity - you can have validity as correspondence between two sets of things, such as concepts, variables, and data, or you can have validity as generalizability of results (Weber, 1990). You can also have validity

of the classification scheme, or variables derived from it, and the validity of the interpretation relating content variables to their causes or consequences (Weber, 1990). To say that a category or variable is valid, such as FEMALE, for example, is to say that there is a correspondence between the category and the abstract concept it represents (concern with feminine matters). To say that a research result based on content analysis is valid is to assert that the finding does not depend upon or is generalizable beyond the specific data, methods, or measurements of a particular study.

The weakest form of validity is face validity, because all it claims is that a category has face validity to the extent that it appears to measure the construct it is intended to measure. Even if several expert judges agree, however, it is still a weak claim because it rests on a single variable (Weber, 1990). Stronger forms of validity involve more than one variable (Weber, 1990). Content analysis, however, often relies heavily on face validity (Weber, 1990). This has led other social scientists to view their results sceptically.

Construct validity is a stronger form of validity in which the measure is correlated with some other measures of the same construct (Weber, 1990). There are two forms of construct validity: convergent and discriminant validity. A measure has high construct validity when it correlates with other measures of the same construct (convergent) and does not correlate with measures of different constructs (discriminant).

Content analysis methods create quantitative indicators that measure the amount of attention given to cultural units such as themes, categories, or issues (Weber, 1990). The researcher then interprets and explains these indicators using theories. In content analysis, measurement refers to the counting of occurrences of words, phrases, or themes. Whether coded by humans or the computer, two measurement practices include: (a) using the

percentage (or proportion) transformation, or (b) counting each occurrence of a word equally. Each option has specific problems associated with it. The percentage transformation has limited range and is asymptotic so the resulting measurement is not linear. That means a change from 5% to 10% is not the same as a change from 50% to 55% (Weber, 1990).

Target Population and Participant Selection

The target population of this study is limited to two grade one Persian textbooks, one from 1983 and the other from 2018. The selection of textbooks was related to the purpose of the study, which as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is to determine whether there is less gender bias in a first grade Persian textbook published in 2018 than one published in 1983 as determined by the proportion of female illustrations, proportion of female-related keywords, proportion of female names, and relative diversity of women in employment roles. The specific selection of the years 1983 and 2018 was based on availability of texts. The Persian language was chosen because the majority of studies have been done on the English texts and gender bias may be more pronounced in the Persian texts. Therefore, there may be a greater difference in the 1983 and 2018 texts.

Procedures

The Persian textbooks used for analysis were published in 1983 and 2018. The word counts for the analysis of keywords and names were done in Persian for better accuracy. The translation was only done for other, non-Persian speaking readers to review the work. For accuracy, the data was inputted into excel in order to eliminate the possibility of human

errors in calculations. To further ensure accuracy, the images, keywords and names were counted 5 times for each textbook to make sure the results were accurate.

Analysis of Images

Only human images were included in the analysis and only if enough of the body was shown to determine gender. For example, on page 1 of the 1983 text a hand and arm is shown pouring water. This was not included in the analysis because gender could not be determined on the basis of the hand and arm alone. When there were multiple images on a page, images were counted sequentially from top to bottom and left to right, counting male images first and female images next. After taking note of the number of each gender, observations were made about the role each gender was playing in the images. When multiple roles were played, multiple notes were taken. Notes were taken in a sheet in Google Sheets, with one column each for the page number, number of male images, number of female images, and roles played. This was an important part of the process because it informed the analysis of gender bias. Formulas were used to calculate whether this page was a case of “All M”, “All F” or “Both”. In the case that both male and female images were included, formulas calculated whether the page was a case of “M<F”, “M=F” or “M>F”. For the 1983 textbook, there were 109 pages that were evaluated. For the 2018 textbook there were 120 pages evaluated.

Analysis of Keywords

Keywords were logged on a separate spreadsheet in the same Google Sheets document as the images, with one column each for the page number, keyword, a column for a tally mark in case the keyword was male, and a column for a tally mark in case the

keyword was female. A “1” was used as a tally mark under either the “male” or “female” column for each keyword. If a keyword was used more than once on the page, it was listed more than once, on separate rows. The 1983 and 2018 textbooks were analysed on separate spreadsheets.

Analysis of Names

Names were logged on a separate spread sheet in the same Google Sheets document as the keywords, with one column each for the page number, name, a column for a tally mark in case the name was male, and a column for a tally mark in case the name was female. A “1” was used as a tally mark under either the “male” or “female” column for each name. If a name was used more than once on the page, it was listed more than once, on separate rows. The 1983 and 2018 textbooks were analysed on separate spreadsheets.

Ethical Considerations and Limitations

The present study considered only one textbook each for 1983 and for 2018, so caution must be used when generalizing the findings to all books for that era (i.e. “pre-revolution” or “post-revolution”). In fact, it should be said that more textbooks must be analysed, or a meta-analysis of analysed books should be completed, before making final claims about the status of gender discrimination in textbooks used for education in Iran. These findings should be considered on a preliminary basis.

Another consideration is the limitation that performing the analysis after translating the books into English causes. As much as the translation was not a word-for-word literal translation, then the analysis may be inaccurate. For example, the grammar structure between Persian and English is different and this may result in a different amount of male

or female keywords or names being used. In Persian language pronouns are gender neutral. To minimize the problems that translation would cause, pronouns were not used in the English translation of the textbooks. Instead of saying “he planted the seed” the translation would say “the man planted the seed” and instead of saying “she wrote her name” the translation would say “the women wrote the name of the woman” to avoid pronoun use. This resulted in a more grammatically similar translation.

There are certain ethical problems to consider when one is completing a cross cultural study like this one. Matsumoto and Jones (2009) suggest that one of the most important considerations in cross cultural research is whether the research will vindicate powerful stereotypes about cultural groups. In their view, this means being ignorant of stereotypes and having a lack of awareness of how stereotypes might impact the researcher’s decisions about the research unconsciously. It is therefore important that researchers understand that stereotypes exist and that they do impact everyone exposed to them. The best we can do is be aware of their existence and use our knowledge to remain informed about how they may impact our research decisions (Matsumoto & Jones, 2009).

The choice a researcher makes about how to operationalize culture can have important consequences (Matsumoto & Jones, 2009). This is because when researchers make a choice about how to operationalize a certain group, they often make the assumption that certain differences exist between those groups. In the present study, culture is operationalized by country. Therefore, textbooks used in Iran are being used in the study group and this has been compared to how gender bias is experienced in other countries. It is being suggested that gender bias is quite prevalent in Iran and the culture of Iran has been suggested as a source of this gender bias. It is important, however, to not

overgeneralize the findings to all members of the group, essentially pigeonholing individuals into the social categories and applying those findings to them (Matsumoto & Jones, 2009). That is, the incorrect application of cross-cultural research findings can be used to ignore a large degree of individual differences that exist in human behaviour and researchers must remain aware of this when designing their studies.

It is also important to realize that the textbooks are part of the ideological platform of the regime. The values espoused therein are not necessarily in-line with how individual Iranians think or how gender plays out in their lives. That said, the regime does not only dictate school curriculum but it also shapes society through employment, social and legal policies, all of which constrain women's activities and relegate them, at best, to the status of second class citizens in terms of their actual legal rights (Burkova, 2017). Moreover, the concern with this study is not how the behaviour of individual Iranians themselves may or may not conform to gendered stereotypes but rather how the theocratic authorities of Iran attempt to propagate gendered stereotypes through educational materials directed at young children.

The findings from cross cultural studies can also be viewed in negative ways to oppress members of certain groups (Matsumoto & Jones, 2009). Researchers must be aware of how their findings can be used and must take active steps to avoid the misuse of their data. This requires the tempered and nuanced interpretation of findings in their own writings, incorporating information about between and also within group differences in their data. They are also obligated to correct misinterpretations of their findings by other researchers who cite their work. As the researcher in this study, I am also committed to not suppress, falsify, or invent findings to meet my or my audience's needs. Those are

fraudulent practices that are not accepted in professional research communities and constitute scientific misconduct (Creswell, 2009).

The research will not use language or words that are biased against people because of gender, sexual orientation, racial or ethnic group, disability, or age (Creswell, 2009). The APA (2001) Publication Manual suggests three guidelines. First, present unbiased language at an appropriate level of specificity. This means, instead of using language such as “the participant’s behaviour was typically male” state that “the participant’s behaviour was [specific behaviour]”. This will not apply much in a content analysis because our “participants” are not humans. The second given by the Publication Manual is to use language that is sensitive to labels. For example, instead of saying “400 Hispanics” say “400 Mexicans, Spaniards, and Puerto Ricans” (Creswell, 2009). The third guideline was to acknowledge participants in a study (rather than use the word “subject” use the word “participant”).

Summary

This chapter first reviewed the purpose of the study and it discussed the hypothesis and alternative hypotheses for each of the research questions. The method of content analysis was then discussed, beginning with a mention of the advantages of using content analysis over other methods of data analysis and then a discussion of how reliability and validity is determined in content analysis. The procedures were discussed, which included the translation of both textbooks, the analysis of the images in both textbooks, and the analysis of keywords and of names. Following the procedures there was a discussion of ethics, including considerations specific to analysing data from a foreign country.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter will discuss the results content analysis comparing the 1983 textbook to the 2018 eighth edition textbook. The PDF for the 1983 textbook has 109 separate pages. There are 115 separate pages in the 2018 textbook. The results will be discussed for the image analysis, text analysis, and for the diversity of roles represented in each of the images.

Image Analysis

Each “image” was evaluated per page. That is, all male and female figures were considered as part of one image on the same page. Therefore, if there were three male and two female figures on the whole page, then the image for that page was considered a “combined” image where “male > female”. Each image was evaluated as being either “all male”, “all female” or “combined”. The combined images were further evaluated to be “equal”, “more male” or “more female”. Separately, all male and female figures were counted to come up with a total count in the document.

1983 Textbook

There were n=138 (63%) male figures and n=81(37%) female figures in the entire 1983 textbook. Of the 109pages in the textbook, 58 pages (53%) had human figures on them that were included in the analysis and51 pages (47%) did not have human figures on them. On average there were 2 human figures per image evaluated.

Of all the images, 38% included all males, 26%included all females, and 36%were combined male and female figures. Of the combined images, more than half (57%) were

equally divided among male and female figures, 19% had more male figures, and 24% had more female figures.

2018 8th edition Textbook

There are n=335 (59.7%) male figures and n=226 (40.3%) female figures in the entire 2018 textbook. Of the 120 pages in the textbook, 88 pages (73.3%) had human figures on them that were included in the analysis. On average there were 6.4 human figures per image evaluated - meaning that the 2018 textbook is over twice as dense with human images as the 1983 textbook. Of all the images, 29.5% were all male, 17% were all female, and 53.4% were combined male and female figures. Of the combined images, 36.2% had equal numbers of male and female figures, 42.6% had more male figures, and 21.3% had more female figures.

Text Analysis

Like English, Persian does not have gender pronouns. With the exception of specific gender-specific nouns such as ‘woman,’ ‘man,’ ‘sister,’ ‘daughter,’ Persian does not ascribe gender to nouns or pronouns. The text was analysed by extracting names and keywords and determining the gender of each. The Persian textbook was analysed in Persian by this author because wanted to make sure that the meaning of the words would not be lost in translation. Every instance of a name or keyword was listed separately.

Analysis of Names

The 1983 textbook had 23 unique names of which 15 were male (65.2%) and 8 were female (34.8%), exhibiting a gap of 30.4% between male names and female names.

Names were listed 166 times in the textbook. Of these, 50.6% of the mentions were male names and 49.4% of the mentions were female names, demonstrating a gap of 1.2% between male and female names in which male names were more common. The most common name for female was Akram 60 out of 166 (36.1%) and the most repeated male name was Amin 48 out of 166 (28.9%). Out of 15 unique male names, 13 of them were Arabic (86.7%), two of them were Persian (13.3%). Out of 8 unique female names, 3 of them were Arabic names (37.5%), two of the names were from Hebrew (25%) and three of them were from Persian (37.5%). In the 1983 textbook 69.6% of the unique names used were Arabic names, not Persian names, which repeated 145 times (87.3%) in the textbook.

The 2018 8th edition textbook had 28 unique names of which 14 were male (50%) and 14 were female (50%). Names were listed 68 times in the textbook, of which 50% of the mentions were female and 50% of the mentions were male names. The most common name for a female was Azadeh, used 7 out of 68 (10.3%) times and the most repeated male name was Amin, used 6 out of 68 (8.8%) times. Interestingly, out of the 14 unique names for males, 13 (92.8%) of them were Arabic religious names and only Khomeini was Persian. Of the 14 female names, 5 were Arabic names (35.7%), 1 was from another language or than Arabic or Persian (7.1%) and the rest 8 (57.1%) of them were Persian. In the 2018 textbook 64.3% of unique names used were Arabic names, which were repeated 40 times (58.8%) in the textbook.

Analysis of Keywords

The 1983 textbook used 13 unique keywords, including 9 male keywords (boy, brother, father, daddy, grandfather, prophet, man, cousin, king) and 4 female keywords (girl, sister, mother, woman). The most common male keyword was “father” and it was

used 20 out of 68 times a male keyword was used. The most common female keyword was “mother” and it was used 19 out of 24 times a female keyword was used. There was an overwhelming male gender bias, with 74% of the keywords being male and 26% of the keywords being female. Word for men In Islamic notion (Prophet, Imam) (0.07%).

The 2018 textbook used 17 unique keywords, including 10 male keywords (mister, brother, father, daddy, grandfather, groom, man, prophet, Imam, king) and 7 female keywords (girl, sister, mother, grandmother, bride, woman teacher, woman). The most common male keyword was “father” and it was used 18 out of 42 times a male keyword was used. The most common female keyword was “mother” and it was used 28 out of 38 times a female keyword was used 73.7%. There was a slight gender bias towards males, with 52.5% of the keywords being male and 47.5% of the keywords being female. The keywords overwhelmingly were used to place women in caretaking or familial roles, with 94.7 % of the keywords being mother, grandmother, sister, or bride. This may be why the keywords favoured females. The analogous words for men (father, daddy, grandfather, brother, groom) made up 66.7% of the male keywords as well. Word for men in Islamic notion (Prophet, Imam) 10 out of 42 times (23.8%).

Diversity of Roles

Textbooks are a socialization tool for children in any culture and looking at the roles portrayed in the pictures of the textbooks offers a clue about the messages being directed to children just before the cultural revolution at the time of the 1983 textbook and well after the cultural revolution at the time of the 2018 8th edition textbook.

1983 Textbook

The images that contained all females portrayed the following roles: preparing food, eating, personal hygiene, caretaking, student, school teacher, and sewing. The images that contained all males portrayed the following roles: outdoor work, student, building houses, farming, pilot, sheep herding, baking, important government leaders, and fixing a bike. The images that contained both males and females portrayed the following roles: eating with family, family time, completing homework, looking at the night sky, reading a book, feeding an animal, farming, playing outdoors, and caretaking.

2018 8th edition Textbook

The images that contained all females portrayed the following roles: student, teacher, homemaker, playing outdoors, gardening, sewing, and caretaking. The images that contained all males portrayed the following roles: student, teacher, garbage collector, farming, at the mosque, playing, artist, soldier, farming, sheep herding, perform wudu, prayer, sailing, and outdoor work. For the images that contained both male and female figures, the ones that had more male figures portrayed the roles: worker at bakery store, worker at pottery store, caretaker, farming, at the zoo, at the mosque, family time, playing outdoors, baker, physical education participation, builder, patriotic celebration, and farming. The images that contained an equal number of male and female figures portrayed the roles: family time, playing outside, at school, gardening, farming, caretaking, and shopping. The images that contained more females than males portrayed the following roles: family time, shopping, caretaking, male guard, outdoor activity, walking to school, and playing outside.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of the representation of images by gender

	Images*			Combined Images			Total Frequency**			
	All Male	All Female	Combined	Equal	More Male	More Female	Male	Female	% Male	% Female
Old Textbook	38%	26%	36%	57%	19%	24%	138	81	63%	37%
New Textbook	29.5%	17.0%	53.4%	36.2%	42.6%	21.3%	335	226	59.7%	40.3%
*Each "image" was evaluated as total male/female figures per page of text										
**Total individual male and female figures										

Table 2: Percentage distribution of the representation of characteristics by gender

<i>Images</i>	Old Textbook	New Textbook
Male	38%	29.5%
Female	26%	17.0%
Combined	36%	53.4%
<i>Names</i>		
Male	65.2%	50%
Female	34.8%	50%
<i>Keywords</i>		
Male	74%	52.5%
Female	26%	47.5%

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will begin with a brief review of the results from Chapter 4 and will continue to discuss the meaning of the results in more detail. The 1983 textbook, page 1 to page 12 had just image and Alphabetic practice, however the 2018 8th edition Persian grade one textbook did not have any page to practice alphabet for grades one. The alphabet is the building block of literacy and grade one students must learn to recognise and name the letters. The most important way to learn is by images. However, if we look at the 2018 Persian grade one textbook it starts with words starting page 1, the authors of the textbook are assuming that children must know Alphabet before going to grade one.

The 1983 textbook, as expected, was quite prevalent with gender bias. 38% of images were all male and only 26 % all female. Looking at the text, there were more male names mentioned (65.2%) and many more male keywords used (74%). A slightly different picture emerges in the 2018 8th edition textbook. There were still more all male pictures than all female pictures (29.5% vs. 17%) but over half the images had both male and female figures in them. Of the combined images, most had more males in them (42.6%) demonstrating a male gender bias, although there were some that were equal (36.2%) or had more females (21.3%). Over all, both the 1983 textbook and 2018 textbook had approximately the same number of overrepresented male figures (44.8% and 59.7%, respectively). The 2018 textbook had the same number of male and female names. That is, instead of a severe gender bias in the 1983 textbook (26% female keywords) there were slightly more mentions of female keywords (47.5%), notably with the word “mother”.

A possible explanation for why there were more female keywords even in the presence of obvious male gender bias points to the purpose of the keywords. As briefly

mentioned in the results, the majority of the keywords serve the purpose of creating familial relationships in the 2018 textbook. The most common male keyword in the 2018 textbook is “father” and the most common female keyword in the 2018 textbook is “mother”. Pointing to a familial relationship is consistent with Islamist ideology because the Islamist faith dictates that women belong in the home caring for their families.

Overall the 2018 text focuses much more on family themes, which is consistent with the Islamist ideology present after the cultural revolution and the new governmental policies to promote birth rates, marriage, and families. Iran is a theocracy based on Islamist ideology and the central government is responsible for the financing and administration of the primary and secondary education through the Ministry of Education (World Education Services, 2017). The basis of Islamist ideology is obvious when comparing the 2018 textbook to the 1983 textbook. The 1983 textbook was used at a time when the education in Iran was emerging from secular control and the regime was attempting to promote Islamic values in education (Metz, 1989). The 2018 textbook has many images of people in mosques, of women and men segregated in the mosques and in schools, and of women in caretaking roles (i.e. serving or preparing food, caring for children, helping children cross the street, etc.). These are themes that are consistent with teachings of Islam and with the new policies and concerns about families.

One of the first actions of the government after the Revolution in 1979 was the de-secularization of the public-school system. This occurred in three ways: (a) purging courses and textbooks that were not aligned with the way of Islam, (b) purging teachers so that only those who “understood the true meaning of Islam” remained in the schools, and (c) regulating the behaviour and dress of students (Metz, 1987). It is possible to see the ways

both textbooks align with Islam by looking at the roles depicted in the pictures. For example, the pictures that are all female are restricted to themes involving caretaking, homemaking, and school. This is consistent with Islamist beliefs that the women's place is in the home caring for the family. Even in the pictures that included both male and female figures, the female figures were seen caretaking, homemaking, and completing school-related activities. Only when men outnumbered women were women observed doing things such as participating in a patriotic celebration, playing outdoors, shopping, or visiting the zoo. Men had more varied roles within the textbook, including such roles as being a garbage collector, artist, soldier, farmer, sailing, builder, painter, bakery man, guard, and grocery store clerk.

A second point from the 2018 textbook consistent with the de-secularization of the public-school system deal with the specific pictures that are present in the books. Women and men are segregated in many places in the book, women are wearing hijabs even inside of the home and even very young girls, and men predominate in the mosques. There are places for women to pray in the mosques, but the majority of the religious-type pictures are shown of men praying with the Koran. In fact, there are pictures of men praying without a section for women, but there are no pictures of women praying without a section for men.

These findings are consistent with the theoretical framework for this project. As outlined in Chapter 2, Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction states that the educational institution perpetuates social class such that lower class children grow up to be lower class adults, upper class children grow up to be upper class adults, and so on. This is because children are socialized through their families to have certain types of social capital that they bring with them to school. This social capital results in the achievement of certain

grades and awards that are valued and praised (or not valued and not praised) and therefore reinforced throughout the years. Although Bourdieu focused on social class, the same can be said for propagating Iran's political agenda. Given the fact that the Iranian authorities created textbooks to conform to particular sets of values, it is clear that they view these materials as a way of indoctrinating children into gender norms and religious values, which they hope that children will perpetuate as adults. Indeed, it is significant that the textbooks don't just depict children engaged in children's activities, but they also depict adult men and women in highly gendered adult roles, in an effort to socialize children into these prescribed roles. For example, many of the roles in the 2018 8th edition textbook demonstrated females in caretaking and subordinate roles and demonstrated males in occupational or religious roles. These are ways to socialize the children through the use of textbooks and, in Bourdieu's terms, equate family life and child rearing with social capital.

Chapter 2 discussed how Bourdieu's work lay bare the relationship between education and reproduction by examining the degree of congruence between the culture prevailing in the home and milieu with the culture prevailing in the school (Dalal, 2016). Consider the reflection of that – the culture that the government creates in the school with the intention of creating the same culture in the home. Bourdieu's main idea is that of reproduction. Take a social phenomenon and create it over and over. Iran wants to indoctrinate all of its people with its propaganda and it is doing so through its educational system. In Bourdieu's words, they are creating the "fish in water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). In other words, they are creating a society with the ideology they see fit. This includes having textbooks that perpetuate the propaganda and communicate the gender norms of having the mother stay at home and tend to the house and care for the

children. Textbooks are powerful socialization tools at all grade levels. In this way, the government becomes the dominant group, and everyone becomes the dominated (see Chapter 2). The school exercises a symbolic violence on the dominated group because the school curricula, examination system, and pedagogic practices reflect and reinforce the ideology of the dominant group (Dalal, 2016). Hence, the school becomes a space of “ideological production which contributes to the reproduction of inequalities in society whilst simultaneously concealing its own role in processes of social reproduction by masquerading as neutral and universal” (Gerwitz & Cribb, 2009, p. 114). That said, as also discussed in Chapter 2, individuals, even children and youth, have agency and can resist various forms of social control. The Green Movement, and the continued urban uprisings in Iran, demonstrate that some young people are deeply dissatisfied with the economic and social status quo and that they are actively resisting the regime and at least some of its values. In this respect, the Iranian education authorities have not succeeded in their efforts to impose their narrow ideological worldview on Iranian youth through gendered propaganda in educational materials. In particular, the protests of young women, who are bravely resisting government-mandated veiling and other limitations on their freedoms, indicates that the regime has failed to impose its conservative patriarchal values on at least some of the nation’s young women, who are risking imprisonment for their resistance (Kenyon, 2013). It should be remembered, however, that the activities of urban activists are not necessarily representative of all of Iranian youth. Iranian youth are not a monolith. Young people outside of affluent pockets of large urban centres may be more conservative in their views and their values or then again they may not be. The research is currently not available to help us make that determination. For now, all we can do is

exercise caution in drawing conclusions about what Iranians youth think based on the activities of people in large urban centres.

Conclusion

The purpose of this project was to see if and how the gender representation has changed in a first grade Persian grade one textbook published in 2018 edition when compared to the first one published in 1983 as determined by the proportion of female illustrations, proportion of female-related keywords, proportion of female names, and relative diversity of women in employment roles. It was determined there is at least the same amount of gender bias present in the 2018 textbook as the 1983 textbook. This is evident through a high proportion of images having more male figures than female figures and overall having more male figures. In addition, there are more mentions of male names than female names. When looking at keywords that point to familial relationships, there are more female keywords, mainly the word “mother”.

Both the 1983 and 2018 textbooks clearly express the fundamentalist values that Iran’s religious leaders wish to uphold. Both textbooks contain similar amounts of gender bias, but the 2018 textbook places a lot more emphasis on family themes, which are entirely consistent with the patriarchal values of the ruling regime and recent pronouncements made by Iran’s Supreme Leader. In 2016, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, issued a 16 point declaration in which he demanded that governmental authorities introduce policies and regulations which would make Iran a family-centred society, in which there is a clear division of labour between women as wives, mothers and homemakers and fathers as economic providers (Esfandiari, 2016). As Esfandiari (2016) emphasizes, the Ayatollah’s declaration is not a collection of idle words, it is “almost certain to lead to a flurry of fresh

laws and regulations stressing the importance of marriage, family, and homemaking. Officials at all levels will announce programs to realize the leader's 'sage advice'" (p. 9).

The 2018 textbook clearly aligns with the Supreme Leader's stated goal of making Iran a family-centred society beholden to a strict interpretation of Islamic and patriarchal values. It remains to be determined, however, to what extent his goal will be achieved. Currently, the actual situation of women in Iran is complex and somewhat contradictory. Although Iranian women enjoy relatively high levels of educational attainment, with over 50% of university graduates being women, Iran ranks 141 out of 145 among countries for gender equality, including equality in economic participation (Burkova, 2017). At every level of the economic hierarchy, women are subject to widespread and even state-sponsored discriminatory employment practices, which are aimed at limiting their participation in the job market (Burkova, 2017). As a result, their participation in the labour force was only 17% in 2015, with women's unemployment figures being twice as high as men's (Burkova, 2017). Even by the standards of other Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries where female labour participation averages out to 20%, Iranian women are falling behind (Burkova, 2017).

Aside from educational attainment, another bright spot for Iranian women had been the country's progressive family policies introduced in the 1990s, which had reduced the birth rate from 6.5 children per woman to 2 (Zaynab, 2018). In line with Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei's directive to promote his version of Islamic family life and to increase the birth rate, the Iranian parliament has greatly reduced women's access to birth control and the job market. According to Amnesty International (2015), these two pieces of legislation have the potential to "entrench discriminatory practices and set the rights of women and

girls in Iran back by decades” (p. 24). Rather than as human beings with fundamental rights to control their own bodies and lives, Iranian women are being reduced to the status of baby-making machines.

The participation of women in Iran’s protest movements signals their displeasure with the current regime and speaks to their agency. In particular, women’s participation in protests against mandatory hijabs suggest that many Iranian women are not content to have their lives constrained by strict Islamic values. That said, it has to be acknowledged that the Iranian regime generally answers such resistance with violence and more oppressive measures. For example, in response to women’s protests against the hijab, the Iranian regime increased video surveillance and hired 2000 new female morality police, whose purpose is to enforce Iran’s strict Islamic dress code (Vahdat, 2019). It is important to also note that many members of the morality police are women. Not all Iranian women, therefore, are engaged in a culture of resistance. Many are engaged in a culture of acceptance, compliance, and even enforcement, that conforms exactly to the values, beliefs, and roles depicted in children’s educational materials. Given the highly oppressive political and social climate in Iran, we need to be realistic about the extent to which Iranian women can actually exercise their agency in the public sphere and even in the private sphere given the fact that 66% of Iranian women experience domestic violence (Hajnasiri et al, 2016). Given the ever harsher and more restrictive restraints placed on women in terms of their personal and economic freedoms, the 2018 textbook could be seen as an attempt to prepare women for the future that the ruling regime of Iran envisions for them.

If the goal of Iran’s religious and secular authorities is to produce modest and house-bound baby machines, the 2018 textbook could be seen as an attempt on the part of

the regime to prepare women for these roles. Given women's participation in protests movements, we can certainly conclude that there is resistance to the roles and values described in the textbook, but this study has not specifically sought to understand women's reactions to either textbook or even to the social values promoted therein. Both questions are beyond the scope of this study. Similarly, this study has not sought to understand what is going through the minds of the Iranian children who encounter these textbooks or how they might actively embrace or resist the messages that they encounter in their educational materials. That is important and valid research, but it too is beyond the scope of this quantitative study which was primarily focused on how the Iranian authorities use educational materials to promote a particular political and social agenda through gender stereotypes. Currently, there is not any available research which examines the attitudes of Iranian children towards gender stereotypes. Given the political situation in Iran, it is unlikely that such research will be conducted in the near future. One possible way of gleaning this information would be to interview Iranian children who have recently immigrated from Iran. Another approach might be to conduct interviews with diaspora teenage or twenty-something Iranians about their educational experiences growing up in Iran.

Future research should look at more textbooks at the primary level to verify that these findings, that the gender bias is prevalent and that it is evidence of Iranian propaganda, is valid and reliable. This study was restricted to textbooks of Persian language. Other textbooks, teaching English and teaching Arabic, may offer additional insight. There is a wealth of knowledge on gender bias in English as a Foreign Language textbooks, which was briefly reviewed in the literature review in this study. The idea that

the gender bias is evidence of the communication of Iranian propaganda should be further explored. A limitation of this study is that there is no way to differentiate gender bias caused by Iranian propaganda from any other gender bias typically present in language textbooks. The finding that keywords are actually higher for females might offer a unique perspective and insight into this phenomenon but requires further investigation.

Additionally, textbooks from before and after the cultural revolution for other grade levels should be analyzed in an effort to understand the roles that are communicated to students at different ages. For example, the occupations expressed to secondary students or high school students are likely to be more complicated than the simple occupations expressed to primary level students. This would interact with the messages expressed to students, such as the message that women are to remain at home and be caretakers.

References

- Adkins, L. (2005). Introduction: Feminism, Bourdieu and after. *Sociological Review* Monograph, 53(1), 2–18.
- Afary, J., & Anderson, K. B. (2010). *Foucault and the Iranian revolution: Gender and the seductions of Islamism*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Al-Qatawneh, S., & Al Rawashdeh, A. (2019). Gender representation in the Arabic language textbook for the ninth grade approved by the Ministry of Education for use in schools in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 60,90-98.
- Arjmand, R. (2004). Education and empowerment of the religious elite in Iran. In Daun, H., & Walford (Eds.). *Educational strategies among Muslims in the context of globalization: Some national case studies*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Baghdadi, M. (2012). A comparison of gender representation in English (EFL) and Arabic (AFL) textbooks in Iran: A critical discourse analysis (Order No. 1521573). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (1223498762).
- Baha'i International Community. (2019). Current Situation. <https://www.bic.org/focus-areas/situation-iranian-bahais/current-situation>
- Blumberg, R. L. (2007). Gender bias in textbooks: A hidden obstacle on the road to gender equality in education. Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO.
- Blumberg, R. L. (2008). The invisible obstacle to educational equality: gender bias in textbooks. *Prospects* (00331538), 38(3), 345–361.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Cambridge: Polity Press

- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Burkova, R. (2017). “‘It’s a Men’s club’: Discrimination Against Women in Iran’s Job Market.” *Human Rights Watch*. Retrieved from: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/05/25/its-mens-club/discrimination-against-women-irans-job-market>
- Center for Human Rights in Iran. (2015, February 23). Women’s education. Retrieved from <https://www.iranhumanrights.org/2015/02/womenreport-womens-education/>
- Content analysis. (2004). In Payne, G., & Payne, J. *Sage key Concepts: Key concepts in social research* (pp. 51-55). London: SAGE Publications, Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781849209397
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches*. (3rded). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Dalal, J. (2016). Pierre Bourdieu: The sociologist of education. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 13(2), 231-250.
- Dehghan, S.K. (2015, Mar. 11). “Iran aims to ban vasectomies and cut access to contraceptives to boost births.” *The Guardian*. Retrieved from:
- Derayeh, Mino (2006). Gender equality in Iranian history: From pre-Islamic times to the present, Portland: Ringgold, Inc.
- Derayeh, Mino (2014). De-hyphenate, and De-theorize my voice: “I act, therefore, I am.” *IJHSS*, Vol. 2 No. 3, pp 99-108.
- Derayeh, Mino (2011). “The Myths of Creation and Hijab: Iranian Women, Liberated or Oppressed?” *Pakistan Journal of Women Studies*, University of Karachi Publication, 21 pages.

- Derayeh, Mino (2010). "Depiction of Women in Iranian Cinema, 1970 to Present." *Women Studies International Forum*, 151-158.
- Droogers, A. (2005). Syncretism and Fundamentalism: A Comparison. *Social Compass* 52, 463–471.
- Edgerton, J. D., & Roberts, L. W. (2014). Cultural capital or habitus? Bourdieu and beyond in the explanation of enduring educational inequality. *Theory and Research in Education*, 12(2), 193–220. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878514530231>
- Esfandiari, H. (2016, Sept. 8). Beneath Iranian Supreme Leader's New Plan for Women, Social Structures of the Past. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from: <https://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2016/09/08/beneath-iranian-supreme-leaders-new-plan-for-women-social-structures-of-the-past/>
- Farooqi, S. (2010, July 02). Homely Homemaking Homebodies? Why the Quran Commands Muslim Women: "Stay in Your Homes". Retrieved from: <https://muslimmatters.org/2010/06/30/homely-homemaking-homebodies-why-the-quran-commands-muslim-women-stay-in-your-homes/>
- Foroutan, Y. (2012). Gender representation in school textbooks in Iran: The place of languages. *Current Sociology*, 60(6), 771-787.
- Freydooni, M. (2008). Negahi be naghsh-e Zanan dar kotobe doreye ebte'daiy, sale tahsiliye 1385-1386 [A Look to Women's Role in Elementary School Textbooks, School Year 2006-2007]. University of Guilan (Unpublished M.A Dissertation), Rasht
- Ghajarieh, A., & Salami, A. (2016). Gendered Representations of Male and Female Social Actors in Iranian Educational Materials. *Gender Issues*, 33(3), 258–270.

- Gewirtz, S., & Cribb, A. (2009). *Understanding education: A sociological perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Hajnasiri, H., Ghanei Gheshlagh, R., Sayehmiri, K., Moafi, F., & Farajzadeh, M. (2016). Domestic Violence Among Iranian Women: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *Iranian Red Crescent medical journal*, 18(6), e34971. doi:10.5812/ircmj.34971
- Hall, M. (2014). Gender representation in current EFL textbooks in Iranian secondary schools. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 5(2), 253-261.
- Humm, M. (1995). *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory* (Nooshin Ahmadi Khorasani and Firoozeh Mohajer and Farrokh GHarachedaghi, Translation in Persian), Harvester Wheatsheaf/Ohio State University Press
- Human Rights Watch. (n.d.). The legal framework. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/iran/Iran-04.htm>
- Kar, M. (2005) Iran. *Encyclopedia of women and Islamic cultures*. (Volume 2: Family, Law and Politics, pp. 467- 469). Boston: Brill.
- Kar, M. (1999). Rafe tabiz az zanan, Moghayeseye konvansiyone rafe tabiz az zanan ba ghavanine dakheliye Iran [Discrimination Obviation, Comparing Discrimination Obviation Convention With Iranian Domestic Rules]. Tehran: Entesharate Parvin.
- Kazemi, A. V. (2019). Appropriating the Past: The Green Movement in Iran. *Global Dialogue*. Retrieved from: <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1sO7TWEgK8jIpmXIDeEO9ooz-fhwT-bmSi6K41dN4lag/edit>

- Kenyon, P. (2018, Aug. 3) "In Iran Protests, Women Stand Up, Lift Their Hijab, For Their Rights." *NPR*. Retrieved from: <https://www.npr.org/2018/08/03/631784518/in-iran-protests-women-stand-up-lift-their-hijab-for-their-rights>
- Laslett, B., & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender and Social Reproduction: Historical Perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15, 381-404. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/2083231
- Leirvik, O. (2004). Religious education, communal identity and national politics in the Muslim world. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 26(3), 223-236.
doi:10.1080/0141620042000232283
- Lewis, D. (2001). *Reading Contemporary Picturebooks. Picturing Text*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Matsumoto, D. & Jones, C. (2009). Ethical issues in cross-cultural psychology. In Mertens, D. M., & Ginsberg, P. E. *The handbook of social research ethics* (pp. 323-336). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781483348971
- Mernissi, F. (1987). *Beyond the veil: Male-female dynamics in modern Muslim society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mohseni, N., & SanagooRad, F. (1976). *Tasvire Zan Dar Kotobe Farsi-ye- Doreye Ebtedaiy* [The Image of Women in Elementary Level School Subjects]. Tehran: Enteshrate Sazmane Zanan-e- Iran.
- Mottaghi, S. (2015). The Historical Relationship between Women's Education and Women's Activism in Iran. *Asian Women*, 31(1).
- Parham, F. (2013). Gender Representation in Children's EFL Textbooks. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies*, 3(9), 1674-1679.

- Pasha, N., & Ahmad, Z. (2014). Fundamentalism or pluralism: Iranian youth's orientation. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 36(3), 298–314.
- Pitsoe, V. J. & Mahlangu, V. P. (2014). Teaching Values in Education as a Political Act for Social Change. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 40,1, 141-149.
doi:10.1080/09718923.2014.11893310
- Olson, M., & Raffanti, M. (2006). Leverage points, paradigms, and grounded action: Intervening in educational systems. *World Futures*, 62, 533-541.
- Organisation for educational research and planning. (2018). Farsi Aval-e Dabestan-1 [Farsi First grade primary school-1] (8th ed.). Tehran, Iran: Offset.
- Rassool, N. (1995). Theorizing literacy, politics and social process: Revisiting maktab literacy in Iran in search of a critical paradigm. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 15(4), 423- 436. doi:10.1016/0738-0593(95)00025-X
- Review Group of Ministry of Education. (1983). Farsi Aval-e Dabestan [Farsi First grade primary school]. Tehran, Iran: Offset.
- Sahraei, F. (2012, September 22). Iranian university bans on women causes consternation. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19665615>
- Salami, A., & Ghajarieh, A. (2016). Culture and Gender Representation in Iranian School Textbooks. *Sexuality and Culture*, (1), 69.
- Salime, Z. (2016). Remembering Fatema Mernissi: A Pioneering Arab Muslim Feminist. *Against the Current*, 31(182), 13–14.
- Scantlebury, K. (2009). Gender bias in teachers. Retrieved from, <http://www.education.com/reference/article/gender-bias-in-teaching/#D>

- Seyedan, F. (1999). Negareshhaye kelisheiy dar omore zanan [Cliché Attitudes in Women's Affairs.], Proceedings of the Conference "Zan dar yaftehayeh novine pajoheshi" [Woman Conference in Modern Research Finding] (Tehran, December 1999). Tehran: Entesharate Pajoheshkadeh Zanan, university of Alzahra.
- Sheykhavandi, D. (2007). Baztabe Hoviyate Jensiyatie Dokhtaran Dar Ketabhayeh Darsi [Reflection of Girls' Gender Identity in School Subjects]. Retrieved December 6, 2007, from <http://www.fakouhi.com/nood/node/791>.
- Smith, S. (2017, September 8). Christian Students in Iran Forced to Study Islam or Leave School, Report Says. *The Chris* Retrieved from <https://www.christianpost.com/news/christian-students-iran-forced-study-islam-leave-school.html>
- Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality. (2018). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. Retrieved from <https://inequality.stanford.edu/publications/media/details/cultural-reproduction-and-social-reproduction>
- Suwardi, S., Sri, A. W., Muhammad, A., & Asrowi, A. (2018). Gender bias in Islamic textbooks for Muslim children in Indonesia. *Attarbiyah: Journal of Islamic Culture and Education* 2(2), 214-235. doi:10.18326/attarbiyah.v2i2.214-235
- Sykes, H. (2008, September 02). Iran rejects easing polygamy law. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7594997.stm
- Taleqani, M. (1989). Nahveyeh Moarrefiye Zan dar kotobe darsiye doreye ebtedaiy, qabl va bad az enqelab [Woman's Representation in Elementary Level School Subjects Before and

After Revolution]. Tehran: Entesharate Pajoheshgahe Olome Ensani va Motaleate Farhangi.)

Temple, C. A., Martinez, M., Yokota, J., & Freeman, E. B. (2006). *Children's books in children's hands: An introduction to their literature*. Boston: Pearson Allyn and Bacon.

Tibi, B. (2010). The Politicization of Islam into Islamism in the Context of Global Religious Fundamentalism. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 1(2), 153–170.

Theobald, S. (2018, August 22). Beyond Stereotypes: Success, failure, and the complexity of women's education in Iran. Retrieved from:

<https://thefamiliarstrange.com/2018/08/23/womens-education-in-iran/>

Thorpe, H. (2009). Bourdieu, feminism, and female physical culture: Gender reflexivity and the habitus-field complex. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 26, 491-516.

Thorius, K. (2010). Gender equity matters! Retrieved from, www.equityallianceatasu.org

Qasim, Z. (2018). Gender Representation in English Textbooks: A Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis. *Journal of Educational Sciences & Research*, 5(2), 1–19.

Weber, R. (1990). *Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences: Basic content analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412983488

Williams, R. "Iran's 'Twitter Revolution' -- Western Media's Flawed Coverage of the Green Movement. Retrieved from: <http://www.weavenews.org/stories/2018/4/20/irans-twitter-revolution-western-medias-flawed-coverage-of-the-green-movement>

World Bank (2019). Fertility rate, total (births per woman) - Iran, Islamic Republic. Retrieved from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN?locations=IR>

Yaghoubi-Notash, M., & Kooshavar, E. (2013). Adopted vs. Adapted EFL Textbooks in Iranian Context: Focusing on Gender Representation and Teacher Beliefs. *Journal of Language Teaching & Research*, 4(4), 791–800.

Vahdat, A. (2019, June 7). Iran introduces 2,000 new morality police units in response to women's hijab protests. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from:
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/06/07/iran-introduces-2000-new-morality-police-units-response-womens/>

Zaynab, H. (2018). Women's bodies have become a battleground in the fight for Iran's future. *Open Democracy*. Retrieved from:
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/womens-bodies-battleground-fight-for-iran-future/>

Appendix A: Analysis of Images from 1983 Textbook

Page	M	F	None	M<F	M=F	M>F	All M	All F	Both	Role Presented in Pictures
1	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school
2	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	12	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	Playing outside together
4	0	4	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	washing clothes
5	13	3	image	0	0	1	0	0	0	waking up-eating with family-at school
6	18	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at school
7	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
8	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
9	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
10	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
11	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
12	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
13	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
14	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
15	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	eating with family
16	4	4	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	eating with family
17	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
18	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	getting food to eat
19	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	getting food to eat
20	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
21	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
22	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	0	caretaking
23	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	outdoor work
24	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	boy pulling swing; woman gather food
25	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	woman eating
26	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
27	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	outside
28	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
29	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	getting food to eat
30	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	

31	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	preparing food
32	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
33	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	playing outdoors
34	5	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	men baking
35	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	outdoor work
36	2	1	image	0	0	1	0	0	0	playing outdoors
37	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
38	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	family time
39	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at school
40	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	completing homework
41	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	preparing food
42	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
43	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	0	family time
44	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	outdoor work
45	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
46	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	at home
47	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	fixing bike
48	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	eating with family
49	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	0	eating with family
50	3	1	image	0	0	1	0	0	0	farming
51	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	carrying goods on a donkey
52	0	3	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school
53	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
54	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	farming
55	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	looking at the sky
56	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at school
57	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
58	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
59	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
60	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
61	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	at home
62	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at garden
63	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at garden
64	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	building house

65	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	building house
66	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	teeth cleaning
67	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	caretaking
68	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
69	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	0	teeth cleaning
70	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	at home
71	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
72	0	7	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school
73	7	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at school
74	5	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	farming
75	2		image	0	0	0	1	0	0	farming
76	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
77	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	cleans her teeth
78	0	5	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	caretaking
79	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
80	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
81	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	picking fruits
82	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	0	preparing food
83	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
84	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
85	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
86	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
87	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
88	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
89	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
90	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
91	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
92	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
93	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
94	7	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	people from our country
95	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
96	4	3	image	0	0	1	0	0	0	eating with family
97	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
98	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
99	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	

100	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
101	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
102	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
103	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
104	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
105	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
106	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
107	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
108	7	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	Islamic revolution
109	10	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	important government leaders
Total	138	81		5	12	4	22	15	12	

Appendix B: Analysis of Images from 2018 Textbook

Page	M	F	None	M<F	M=F	M>F	All M	All F	Both	Roles
1	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	family
2	4	4	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	family
3	4	4	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	family
4	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	
5	2	3	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	family
6	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
7	10	13	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	female: shopping; caretaking. male: guard; caretaking
8	8	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	bakery store; pottery store
9	0	13	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school
10	0	9	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school
11	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	family
12	20	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at school
13	5	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
14	18	7	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	male: caretaking; playing. female: caretaking, playing
15	7	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	garbage collector
16	3	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	farming
17	7	3	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	farming
18	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	farming
19	20	4	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	at the zoo
20	10	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	at the zoo
21	25	20	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	at the mosque
22	7	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at the mosque
23	3	3	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	family
24	7	5	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	family
25	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
26	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	
27	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	
28	0	3	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school

29	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
30	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	playing
31	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
32	12	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	artist
33	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	family
34	4	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at school
35	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	at school
36	2	8	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	shopping; at school
37	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	homemaker
38	6	1	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	playing outdoors
39	0	20	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	playing outdoors
40	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	outdoors
41	6	1	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	baker
42	6	3	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	male: baker; grocer. female: shopping
43	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	gardening
44	15	4	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	Iranian social studies
45	5	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	soldier
46	3	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	soldier
47	3	3	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	Iranian social studies
48	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
49	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
50	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
51	4	1	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	family
52	1	4	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	family
53	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
54	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
55	10	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	physical activity
56	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
57	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	
58	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
59	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
60	1	10	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	female: playing outside. male: outdoor work
61	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	

62	3	3	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	playing outside
63	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	at school
64	1	2	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	
65	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	gardening
66	4	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	caring for animal
67	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	farming
68	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	farm animals
69	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
70	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
71	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	sheep herding
72	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
73	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
74	0	4	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	planting flowers
75	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	female: caretaking
76	4	4	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	female: caretaking
77	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	prayer
78	2	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	prayer
79	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	sailing
80	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	shopping
81	0	2	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	sewing
82	3	1	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	male: building. female: at school
83	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
84	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
85	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	outdoor work
86	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
87	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	sailing
88	4	3	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	
89	4	3	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	
90	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
91	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	
92	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
93	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
94	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
95	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	

96	7	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	at the mosque
97	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
98	12	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
99	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	perform wudu
100	3	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	patriotic celebration
101	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
102	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
103	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
104	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
105	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	female: caretaking
106	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
107	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
108	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
109	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
110	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	
111	2	2	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	
112	7	2	image	0	0	1	0	0	1	male: farming, playing outside. female: caretaking, playing outside
113	5	9	image	1	0	0	0	0	1	male and female: walking to school, playing outside
114	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
115	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	
116	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
117	1	0	image	0	0	0	1	0	0	
118	0	1	image	0	0	0	0	1	0	
119	0	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	
120	1	1	image	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Total	335	226	32	10	17	20	26	15	47	

Appendix C: Analysis of Names from 1983 Textbook

Page	Names	Male	Female
24	Sara		1
25	Sara		1
29	Amin	1	
31	Akram		1
31	Akram		1
33	Pari		1
33	Pari		1
33	Pari		1
36	Akram		1
36	Parviz	1	
36	Parviz	1	
36	Parviz	1	
36	Amin	1	
39	Nader	1	
39	Amin	1	
39	Amin	1	
39	Amin	1	
40	Akram		1
41	Akram		1

41	Akram		1
41	Amin	1	
42	Akram		1
43	Akram		1
43	Amin	1	
44	Amin	1	
44	Amin	1	
44	Amin	1	
46	Amin	1	
46	Akram		1
47	Amin	1	
47	Amin	1	
48	Amin	1	
48	Amin	1	
48	Akram		1
48	Akram		1
49	Akram		1
49	Akram		1
49	Amin	1	
49	Amin	1	
50	Akram		1
50	Amin	1	
52	Maryam		1
52	Akram		1
52	Akram		1

54	Javad	1	
54	Amin	1	
54	Amin	1	
55	Akram		1
55	Akram		1
55	Akram		1
56	Amin	1	
56	Amin	1	
56	Jalal	1	
57	Amin	1	
57	Amin	1	
57	Amin	1	
57	Akram		1
57	Akram		1
57	Akram		1
61	Amin	1	
61	Amin	1	
61	Amin	1	
62	Jaleh		1
62	Jaleh		1
62	Akram		1
62	Akram		1
63	Jaleh		1
63	Jaleh		1
64	Akram		1
64	Amin	1	
64	Majid	1	
64	Majid	1	
64	Karim	1	

64	Karim	1	
64	Akbar	1	
65	Akbar	1	
66	Akram		1
66	Amin	1	
67	Amin	1	
67	Akram		1
68	Akram		1
68	Akram		1
68	Amin	1	
68	Amin	1	
69	Akram		1
70	Akram		1
70	Akram		1
70	Amin	1	
72	Tahereh		1
72	Fatemeh		1
72	Akram		1
77	Amin	1	
78	Tahereh		1
78	Tahereh		1
78	Tahereh		1
78	Akram		1
79	Tahereh		1
80	Asghar	1	
80	Akram		1

80	Amin	1	
80	Asghar	1	
82	Amin	1	
82	Amin	1	
82	Amin	1	
82	Akram		1
82	Akram		1
82	Akram		1
83	Reza	1	
83	Asghar	1	
83	Azar		1
84	Akram		1
84	Fatemeh		1
84	Asghar	1	
85	Amin	1	
85	Amin	1	
85	Akram		1
85	Akram		1
89	Mohammad	1	
91	Ali	1	
95	Mostafa	1	
107	Alireza	1	
108	Imam khomeini	1	
109	Imam khomeini	1	
109	Imam khomeini	1	
109	Imam khomeini	1	
	Total	82	84

Appendix D: Analysis of Keywords from 1983 Textbook

Page	Keyword	Male	Female
14	Daddy	1	
15	Daddy	1	
15	Daddy	1	
16	Daddy	1	
16	Daddy	1	
18	Brother	1	
18	Brother	1	
18	Daddy	1	
18	Daddy	1	
19	Brother	1	
19	Brother	1	
20	Daddy	1	
20	Brother	1	
20	Mother		1
21	Daddy	1	
21	Daddy	1	
21	Daddy	1	
21	Brother	1	
22	Mother		1
22	Mother		1
22	Brother	1	
22	Brother	1	
23	Man	1	
24	Daddy	1	
26	Man	1	

26	Mother		1
26	Daddy	1	
27	Mother		1
27	Mother		1
27	Mother		1
29	Daddy	1	
30	Woman		1
34	Man	1	
35	Man	1	
40	Mother		1
41	Mother		1
42	Brother	1	
42	Father	1	
42	Father	1	
42	Mother		1
44	Father	1	
44	Father	1	
44	Father	1	
48	Mother		1
49	Mother		1
49	Mother		1
50	Grandfather	1	
50	Grandfather	1	
51	Man	1	
54	Father	1	
61	Sister		1
61	Sister		1
61	Sister		1
61	Brother	1	
61	Brother	1	
61	Brother	1	
64	Father	1	
68	Father	1	
68	Father	1	
68	Mother		1

68	Mother		1
68	Father	1	
70	Father	1	
77	Girl		1
77	Boy	1	
79	Father	1	
79	Mother		1
80	Cousin male	1	
80	Father	1	
82	Mother		1
82	Mother		1
85	Father	1	
89	Prophet	1	
92	Father	1	
92	Mother		1
108	King	1	
109	King	1	
109	King	1	
	Total	68	24

Appendix E: Analysis of Names from 2018 Textbook

Page	Name	Male	Female
2	Amin	1	
2	Azadeh		1
4	Parvin		1
5	Azadeh		1
7	Azadeh		1
11	Afsaneh		1
18	Mahmood	1	
24	Amin	1	
24	Azadeh		1
25	Mostafa	1	
30	Amin	1	
33	Afsaneh		1
35	Azadeh		1
41	Amin	1	
42	Amin	1	
43	Mostafa	1	
44	Amin	1	
47	Asad Allah	1	
60	Farzaneh		1
60	Fereshteh		1
63	Abas	1	
64	Azadeh		1
68	Amir	1	
68	Amir	1	
73	Nasser	1	
74	Jaleh		1
74	Manijeh		1
74	Manijeh		1
74	Manijeh		1

74	Manijeh		1
75	Azadeh		1
76	Jaleh		1
77	ImamAli	1	
80	ImamSajaa d	1	
85	Azar		1
86	Azar		1
87	Jaafar	1	
88	Ali	1	
88	Ali	1	
88	Massoume h		1
88	Massoume h		1
90	Soraya		1
92	Ali	1	
92	Massomeh		1
96	Reza	1	
97	Imam khomeini	1	
97	khomeini	1	
98	Imam Khomeini	1	
98	Imam khomeini	1	
100	Kobra		1
105	Mohamad	1	
105	Ameneh		1
106	Mohamad	1	
107	Mohamad	1	
107	Ali asghar	1	
110	Imam Sajad	1	

111	Shokooh		1
114	Sara		1
	Total	34	34

Appendix F: Analysis of Keywords from 2018 Textbook

Page	Keyword	Male	Female
1	Mother		1
1	Father	1	
2	Daddy	1	
2	Mother		1
4	Daddy	1	
4	Mother		1
11	Father	1	
11	Mother		1
11	Mother		1
12	Imam	1	
13	Leader	1	
13	Imam	1	
13	Imam	1	
24	Grandfather	1	
24	Grandfather	1	
24	Grandmother		1
32	Mother		1
33	Daddy	1	
33	Mother		1
33	Mother		1
37	Mother		1
38	Daddy	1	
40	Mother		1
40	Mother		1

40	Mother		1
46	Mother		1
52	Grandmother		1
52	Grandmother		1
64	Father	1	
64	Mother		1
66	Mother		1
67	Man	1	
67	Woman		1
68	Grandfather	1	
73	Bride		1
73	Groom	1	
73	Mister	1	
75	Sister		1
75	Sister		1
76	Sister		1
78	Father	1	
78	Father	1	
78	Mother		1
78	Mother		1
81	Mother		1
81	Mother		1
82	Mother		1
82	Mother		1
83	Mother		1
83	Mother		1
83	Mother		1
85	Brother	1	
85	Brother	1	
85	Father	1	
85	Lady teacher		1
85	Mother		1
85	Mother		1
90	Father	1	
90	Father	1	

90	Father	1	
90	Daughter		1
96	Father	1	
97	Imam	1	
97	King	1	
97	King	1	
98	King	1	
105	Prophet	1	
105	Mother		
107	Prophet	1	1
108	Prophet	1	
108	Prophet	1	
115	Father	1	
115	Mother		1
	Total	42	38