# A Descriptive Study of Gendered Discourse in Teacherstudent Interaction in Egyptian ESL Secondary Classrooms

أ/ فاطمة هاني مصطفى طالبة دكتوراه

#### **Abstract:**

This study is centered on describing gender differences in the discourse of teacher-student interaction in an Egyptian mixed ESL classroom. The study addresses teacher solicits to male and female students to see whether there is any differential teacher treatment. Through an analysis of teacher solicits, it attempts to find out whether teacher attention is directed more to male or female students. Moreover, the type of feedback directed to each gender along with the responses of the teacher to the students' solicits is being analyzed. There are three dimensions to the study: gender, gender in relation to foreign language classroom, and foreign language classroom research. Further, gender as related to Second Language (SL) classroom is dealt with as evident in classroom interaction, namely teacher-student interaction. In order to achieve the objectives of this research, six English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom sessions in a mixed Egyptian secondary school are audio-taped and transcribed. The transcribed data are coded to find out the length and frequency of utterances for each gender. The study has both a quantitative and qualitative research design. Its importance lies in its attempt to highlight the linguistic aspect of gender differences in mixed English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom. The results of the study reveal that teachers pay more attention to male students in the form of directing more solicits, more feedback, and more responses to them.

*Keywords:* gender differentiation, teacher-student interaction, foreign language research.

#### المستخلص

تتركزالدراسة في وصف الاختلافات في الخطاب بين المعلمة و الطلاب من كلا الجنسين في تدريس اللغة الانجليزية كلغة ثانية في مدارس اللغات المختلطة المصرية وتتناول الدراسة كيفية وكم التعبيرات التي تستخدمها المعلمة وما اذا كانت هناك فروق في التفاعلات مع الطلاب الذكور و الاناث. و تستهدف الدراسة معرفة ما اذا كانت المعلمة توجه "البدء" في الحديث الي

الطلاب أكثرمن الطالبات - من يستحوذ على الكلام أكثرالاناث أم الذكور في فصول تدريس اللغة الانجليزية كلغة ثانية - كم التقييم و المتابعة الى كلا من الجنسين. و هناك ثلاثة أبعاد لهذه الدراسة على الوجه التالي أولا التمييز اللغوي الجنسي ، ثانيا التمييز اللغوي الجنسي وعلاقته بتدريس اللغة الانجليزية كلغة ثانية وثالثا الأبحاث المتعلقة بكيفية تدريس اللغة.

ومن أجل تحقيق أهداف هذا البحث فقد تم تسجيل صوتي لستة فصول دراسية في احدي مدارس اللغات الثانوية المختلطة وعن طريق تفريغ هذه التسجيلات ونقلها كتابيا و تقنيها تم التحقق من الاختلافات في التفاعل بين المعلمة و الطلاب الاناث والطلاب الذكور سالفة الذكروتم الحصول علي بيانات أمكن ترميزها لمعرفة طول وتواتر الاقوال من قبل كل من الجنسين. أخيرا فان هذه الدراسة هي دراسة كمية وكيفية قامت بابراز جوانب الفروق اللغوية بين الجنسين في فصول تدربس اللغة الانجليزية كلغة ثانية في المرحلة الثانوية.

وقد أظهرت نتائج الدراسة أن المدرسات يوجهن اهتمام أكبر للطلاب الذكور و الذي اتضح في توجيه المعلمة "البدء" في الحديث الي الطلاب وتوجيه كم أكبر من التقييم و المتابعة على ردود الطلاب الذكور.

# الكلمات الدالة:

الخطاب داخل الفصول - تحليل الخطاب - تمييز الجنس في الخطاب - التفاعلات - المادرات - الردود التقيمية

#### **Introduction:**

Regardless of the teacher's gender, it is observed that teachers of English as a second language display different behaviors towards male and female students (Christie, 2005; Swann & Graddol, 1988; Zhang, 2010). It is also observed that there are differences between male and female students when addressing the teacher during ESL classes (Farooq, 2009; French & French, 1984; Sadker et al., 1984; Sunderland, 1996). This raises the question of whether these differences could be attributed to individual differences between the students or gender differences in mixed classrooms. This brings the need to describe the linguistic aspects of gender differences of teacher talk in an Egyptian ESL classroom.

Studies focusing on gender differences in classroom talk only highlight the religious perspective of mixed education along with the behavioral impact on the students while ignoring the linguistic differences in the teachers' and students' discourse in the ESL classroom (cf. EL Attar, 2005; Khedr, 2010; Yagoot, 2007). Arabic studies related to the history of co-education in Egypt show that the focus was mainly on the religious point of view and the moral repercussions of having male and female students in the same classroom. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no research is conducted in the Egyptian ESL context from a linguistic perspective to give statistical results in connection with the number of the teachers' solicits directed to male students in comparison with those directed to female students, the type of feedback given to each gender, and the number of teachers' responses directed to each gender. Apart from Fairley (2010) that focused on silence in mixed ESL classrooms among Egyptian university students no research has tackled Egyptian ESL context. Hence, this study tackles the linguistic perspective and attempts to fill the gap in the literature.

An analysis of the differences in the teachers talk to male and female students inside the classroom is examined. There are three aspects of teacher-student talk that are analyzed in the current study; teacher's solicits, teacher's responses to each gender's solicits, and teacher's feedback to boys' and girls' responses.

The primary focus of this study is on gendered discourse in Egyptian ESL Secondary schools. The main objective is to analyze teacher-student talk to trace features of gendered classroom discourse as follows.

- 1. The number of teacher- initiated interactions to male students and female students (i.e. solicits).
- 2. The type of feedback given by the teacher to male and female students.
- 3. Differences between the responses of teacher(s) directed to male students as compared to those directed to female students.

This study aims at answering one overarching question:

"How gendered is the nature of classroom discourse in Egyptian ESL Secondary Schools?"

This overarching question addressing teacher discourse comprises three subsets:

- 1. Who does the teacher pay more attention to, male or female students?
  - 1.1. To whom does the teacher direct more solicits in the ESL classroom, male or female students?
  - 1.2. How does the teacher's feedback to male and female students differ?
  - 1.3. Which gender do the teachers respond to more: male or female students?

#### Literature Review:

Reviewing the literature of gender differences in EFL/ESL classroom interaction in many contexts is important to see whether

the obtained results from all previous research are similar or different to the findings of this study. In order to do so, a comprehensive account of the three waves of feminism is provided in addition to other new approaches. The reason behind viewing feminism is that it triggered the study of gender in education in general and in EFL/ESL classroom in particular. Further, gender in relation to ESL classroom and foreign language classroom research is reviewed. First, a comprehensive view of the three waves of gender or the three gender movements is given. Second, previous research on gender and education is reviewed. Then follows gender differences in the teachers' and student's discourse in American, British, Australian, and Middle Eastern contexts respectively. Finally, a reexamination of the literature of gender differences in EFL/ESL classroom interaction in Western and Middle Eastern contexts, studies in other settings like Sweden, Nigeria, Colombia, Finland, Indonesia, Mumbai is highlighted. Ignoring other settings could result in a distorted account of gender practices in foreign language classrooms.

#### The Three Gender Movements:

Language, whether L1 or L2, is the medium through which gendered practices are expressed. In fact gender and language are related. This relation is best portrayed in the three waves that described the development of biases against females in relation to politics, society, and language. The first wave emerged in the United States and Europe earlier in the twentieth century and it was mainly motivated by women's demand of the right to vote. To describe the first wave is to say that it was characterized by the rise of women to demand the eradication of the social inequities and the most important achievement was the reform of higher education. They gained the right to speak in public and persuade the whole society of their cause which was considered to be an 'unwomanly' act at that time. There was no difference between 'sex' and

'gender' in the first wave movement yet the biological differences were acknowledged to be the essence of distinct social roles played by each gender. Consequently, this was what paved the way for doing much research in 'the women issue' (Sunderland, 2006).

The second wave started in the 1960s and the 1970s to the 1990s with the women's liberation movement to expose what is termed as 'women's oppression' and it was accompanied by students' protests. The main objection of the callers for this movement was to beauty contests and sexism. The most relevant incident to education was the allowance of mixed sex schools. Much opposition was directed to gendered practices in society such as sexism in children's books. What most characterized this wave was the shift from calling for the equality of the two sexes to the call for 'difference feminism' or the contemporary term 'identity politics'. In this context, gender was equated to culture. This wave started to identify 'sex' and 'gender' as two different terms in both the biological and the sociological sense.

The third wave or neo - feminism or what the Americans term 'grrl feminism' started from the mid of the 1990s till present. It is worth noting that the exact start of this third stage of feminism is not largely agreed upon. The feature of rejecting the use of derogatory terms and sexist language is what distinguishes this phase of feminism. This is done through the women's use of the derogatory terms which they denounce themselves. According to Butler (1988), gender in this third wave is understood as 'a discursive practice that is both hegemonic, social matrix and a 'performative gesture' with the power to disturb the chain of social repetition and open up new realities, (p. 521). The distinctions between 'sex' and 'gender are changing. This is clearly explicated through the freedom of each individual to shape his/her gender practices. 'Performance turn' is the key word of this current wave of feminism.

#### Literature on Gender and Education:

The topic of language, gender and education has been extensively dealt with from a wide range of areas. As Sunderland (1996) purveys, these areas comprise educational policy, gender differences in relation to achievement and proficiency, gendered curriculum, the gendered nature of testing materials, gendered behavior out of class and gender in relation to social class and race (p.38).

Recently focus has been on the construction of femininity and masculinity in schools using the views of post-structuralism (Jones, 1993).

Studies have investigated gender differences in relation to language learning proficiency (Burstall, 1975; Murphy, 1980), gender differences in student attitudes to FL as taught in the classroom (Batters, 1986, 1987), and gender differences and learning styles. The topic has also been studied from the viewpoint of recall and how it is affected by gender of the speaker (Markham, 1988).

# Gender in EFL Classroom Interaction in America, Australia and the UK: A short note.

Regarding the research sites, Howe (1997) noted that the United States along with Australia had the lion's share in these studies and Britain had the least. The advantage of the conducted researches in both the United States and Australia is that the obtained results depend on large number of students and thus the results are trustworthy. This is not the case with classroom observations in Britain because there, the studies are restricted to less numbers or case studies. In other words, the results of the American and Australian observations are more reliable than those observations in Britain. Another downside in British research is that all research done on secondary schools concentrates more on

science and mathematics, thus overlooking foreign language classrooms. Concerning data collection methods, classroom observations were used to collect data until the mid of the 1980s. Such observations did not focus on gender issues as much as on the IRF model such as Stake & Katz' (1982) study cited in Howe (1997, 9). By the mid of the 1980s, video or audio recording started to be used to collect the needed data.

Sunderland (1996) conducted a study in relation to gender and classroom interaction to investigate gender and classroom interaction in a secondary school in which German was the foreign language studied. The scope of the study was teacher talk and student talk regarding both teacher solicits and student solicits and responses to each other. The effect of a majority group and a minority group was avoided by choosing a classroom that combines fourteen boys and thirteen girls. Their ages were eleven and twelve. The study of a foreign language was obligatory in the class where Sunderland collected data. One of the major findings is that boys are found to dominate verbal interactions relative to girls. Yet girls prove to be more academic than boys. Another finding is that student talk was found to be more gendered than teacher talk in general and in this particular classroom.

#### Gender in EFL Classrooms in the East:

To date, many recent studies tried to find an answer to the crucial question of whether boys and girls reacted differently in an EFL classroom and to what extent the teacher treated boys and girls equally or differently. Fairley (2010) is a study in which gendered participation was explored in order to signal out gender inequity in Egyptian foreign language classroom. The site for this study was chosen to be an Egyptian university where 51 participants were observed to show how gender differences played a role in the amount of participation inside the classroom. Based on the assumptions that male students dominate the class and participate

more than females and are allowed longer turns than females, Fairley reported that teachers' gendered differential treatment contributed to male students' monopoly of classroom interaction. Furthermore, she suggested that teachers' silencing policy of female students was a salient feature of Egyptian classroom. Accordingly, the results proved that the teacher controlled the amount of participation of each gender in classroom interaction and also affected the nature of discourse practiced by students and teachers.

One further factor that affected gender differences was the topic. The choice of topics affected the nature of gendered discourse. Fairley pointed out that topics of interest to males triggered more participation on their side and consequently more interaction with the teacher, resulting in more teachers' interaction with boys and less interaction with girls. Another striking fact about the findings of this study (see also French & French, 1984; Kelly, 1988) is in connection with the teachers' reaction to unsolicited call- outs from students. There was a tendency that the teacher liked unsolicited call- outs from male students more than those from female students.

Hu (2012), in a Chinese secondary school, investigated both teacher talk and student talk in a foreign language classroom. This study is considered to be one of the first studies in the Chinese context to target secondary school students. Following the behavioral approach to gender, Hu focused on gender differences among a number of high school students in a classroom in China and their teacher. Based on ethnographic classroom observation, he proved that the teacher dealt with the boys and the girls inside the classroom in a different way based on students' gender. The classroom contained 47 students who were grouped to attend their English class from two different classes: class A and class B. There were 25 girls and 22 boys whose ages were the same namely fifteen years old. English was a mandatory course for these students.

After the transcription and the analysis of six lectures, Hu came up with the following findings. The quantitative analysis of both of the teacher's solicits and feedback to the students showed that the teacher directed more questions to girls. As for the amount of negative or positive feedback directed to students, Hu stated that girls received more positive and negative feedback than the boys. Moving to the second part of the analysis which is concerned with the analysis of two aspects of students' talk, namely students' responses to the teacher's questions or the questions students directed to their teacher, the study showed that the average girl provided answers to the teacher's questions three times more than the number of the answers provided by the average boy. Furthermore, the number of the academic questions directed by girls was more than the number of academic questions directed by boys. Finally, this study made it clear that the classroom atmosphere had an effect on gender differences as some classes were more encouraging to girls, whereas other classes provided good conditions for boys.

One last interesting observation about the quantitative analysis included in this study is that one of its findings confirmed that of Sunderland (1996); girls proved to be more academic than boys. There were opposing results regarding who 'called out' more for answers. In Sunderland's research (1998, p. 29) boys tended to call out more for answers in contrast to Hu (2012) where girls called out more. Another interesting point is related to self-image of the students as girls were reluctant to ask more questions because they did not want to sound silly in front of their peers, whereas one of the quiet boys in the class said he did not ask any questions because he did not want his teacher to believe he was not concentrating in class (Hu, 2012, p. 1823).

An Iranian study by Rashidi and Naderi (2012) aimed at highlighting the linguistic features of the gendered conversations taking place in the classes. They followed the IRF model to analyze the video- taped conversations. Through the observation of 24

Iranian classes and transcribing 42 hours of EFL classroom interaction, gender was found to shape classroom interactions. The gender of the teachers was a variable in this study. The number of discourse acts produced by the two classroom participants were counted and compared to each other to see how female teachers treated male students and female students differently from male teachers regarding the wait time they allow for students to give their answers to a question and the type of questions they (teachers) direct to each gender. Also the discourse acts that prevailed during the interaction directed by the students to the teacher were investigated.

The linguistic features were traced among 24 teachers (12 males and 12 females) and 358 students (172 male students and 168 female students) in Bahar Institute. The ages of the participants were between 16 and 48. This study differed from the previously mentioned studies in that its results were obtained by comparing single sex classes to mixed-sex classes. The 24 classes were divided like this: 8 single-sex classrooms for boys that were taught by 8 male teachers, 8 single-sex classrooms for girls that were taught by female teachers, and finally the other remaining 8 classes were mixed-sex classrooms taught by 4 female teachers and 4 male teachers.

Rashidi and Naderi (2012) came up with the following results. Most discourse acts that were used by female and male teachers were the same except for the elicitation act which tended to be used more by male teachers. In addition, the difference lied in the kinds of questions being asked by male and female teachers. Male teachers asked more display questions than female teachers and female teachers asked more referential questions. It was found that male teachers used more directives than female teachers. Complements were used more by female teachers towards their female students. Moreover, female teachers gave more wait time to their students especially female students. These results were obtained by comparing the results from both kinds of classes.

Concerning what was found about the students gendered discourse patterns, Rashidi and Naderi (2012) postulated that male students gave their teachers more feedback in the two forms of thanking and acknowledgements. Again, it was male students who criticized their teachers more than the female students, whereas female students never directed any criticism to their teachers in either single-sex classrooms or mixed-sex classrooms. In mixed-sex classes, it was found that male students initiated conversations more than female students. Finally, female students tended to use their L1 more than male students.

The Iranian context was further explored in a very comprehensive study by Hassaskhah and Roshan Zamir (2013). The researchers chose an Iranian college to be the site of the study. This study differed from Hu's (2012) in that it analyzed the gender aspects in teacher-student interaction only of 20 teachers and 500 students during the English language classroom. To realize the research objectives, 20 classes were observed. The focus of this study was limited to the teachers' gendered discourse. In fact the researchers stated that gender bias in EFL classroom was inevitable. In congruence with Kelly (1988), they discovered that male students' favoritism, apparent in teachers directing more questions to them along with more feedback, led to improvement of their second language. This also indicated that teachers appreciated more the way of thinking of boys than that of girls.

According to Hassaskhah and Roshan Zamir (2013) the role of interaction inside the foreign language classroom is stressed as a crucial factor in improving the language. Contrary to other studies like (Yepez, 1994), gendered or ungendered classroom interaction is useful to boys and girls alike. So students who do not interact with their teachers at all are deprived of an opportunity to acquire the second language. In short, it is not just gendered interaction that 'obstructs' language acquisition but also lack of interaction is a factor that hinders it (p. 2). The findings of this study revealed that

more interaction was directed to male students and consequently they received more feedback than girls.

Focusing on teacher's attention in a foreign language classroom, Farooq (2009) adopted Sinclair and Coulthard's IRF model to analyze teacher-student discourse. The reason for choosing the IRF model as stated by the researcher was that the model is a comprehensive one in analyzing both teacher-student talk and student-student talk. This research was based on the assumption that male and female teachers in non-language classrooms addressed boys and girls differently and that this must be the case in language classrooms. By focusing on two aspects of teachers' talk; feedback and corrections of students, the study aimed at measuring to what extent the teachers were biased in their interactions in mixed sex classrooms (p. 45).

The sole question raised by Farooq (2009) that sheds some light on the scope of the current study is related to how the male teacher's attention would be divided between male and female students. The students were Japanese whose ages were 15 and who studied English as a foreign language in a mixed sex high school. The total number of students was 21 comprising 11 boys and 10 girls in a general conversational English course. Through the textual analysis of the transcripts of seven audio taped classes, he found that male students received more of the teacher's attention than girls.

In the following reviewed study focus is on college students as the participants. In Sadeghi et al. (2011), a classroom of 22 EFL learners (12 girls and 10 boys) was observed during semester 8 of English Translation at Technology University of Isfahan, Iran. The participants were given five comprehension questions on different topics to encourage them elaborate their answers and discuss their opinions freely. Their proficiency levels ranged from upper-intermediate to advanced. Sixteen sessions of classroom interaction were recorded and through data transcription the researchers came

with the following results. There may be other factors that may contribute to what is being observed about classroom discourse. First, rather than gender, how much the learners know about the target language under study may result in shaping the different male and female interactions and behaviors in class. Again, the result was that gender issues can be reflected in the use of a foreign language.

I end the review of literature by the most important and comprehensive studies of Sadker & Sadker (1991, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2002). Their studies are comprehensive as they investigated the three aspects of gender differences of classroom interaction; textbooks or materials, teachers talk, and students talk. Moreover, their research was carried out in more than 100 classrooms investigating thoroughly the conditions that prevailed in elementary schools. They reached the finding that boys received much of the teacher's attention in the classroom:

"The classroom consists of two worlds: one of boys in action, the other of girls inaction. Male students control classroom conversation. They ask and answer more questions. They receive more praise for the intellectual quality of their ideas. They get criticized. They get help when they're confused. They are the heart and center of the interaction." (Sadker & Sadker, 1994, p. 42)

They also proposed that boys got most of the teacher's feedback and instruction. Boys received more praise than girls and more than just an 'ok' as a response. It would not be unfair to say that girls are sometimes marginalized in the classroom especially in math and science classrooms.

It is worth noting that the research of the Sadkers investigated both language classrooms and non-language classrooms. In Sadker, Sadker, and Klein (1991) there was an inclusive account of the issue of gender in relation to education which started from the

1960s and earlier in American and British schools. In sum, it is clear that boys dominated the floor in Australian, American, and British schools, ranging from elementary to secondary schools. The most important conclusion from most previous studies is that students behaviors and solicits are the main trigger for teachers' gender biases.

The above reviewed studies are chosen from different contexts or countries to show how similar and different were the findings as well as how each researcher handled the topic of gender differences according to the prevailing conditions in his/ her country. In addition, the previous research made it clear that gender biases take place in all types of countries; developed or developing countries (Ifegbesan, 2010; White & White, 2006). Similarly, the students in the above reviewed studies were selected from diverse ages to be able to detect whether gender differences are to be found among different groups of different ages. Despite the opposing results of previous research of who gets more attention in class boys or girls, reviewed research fails to provide solutions for how to avoid such practices and this necessarily implies that most studies were of the descriptive type.

# Data and Methodology The analytical framework

Any study of classroom interaction cannot but take into account Sinclair & Coulthards' model which was first published in 1975 in the now most famous *Towards an analysis of discourse: The English used by Pupils and Teachers*. This model is well known for the description of interaction inside the classroom in terms of three-phase IRF pattern of exchange (Teacher Initiation, Student Response and Teacher Follow up or Feedback). The IRF model includes two classes of exchanges: boundary and teaching exchanges. The former indicates the beginning or end of a transaction in a lesson. They are realized by two moves: framing and focusing moves. The framing move signals the end of one stage

in the lesson and the start of another. The focusing move follows and stresses students' attention on lesson progress. Teaching exchanges which reflect the actual classroom discourse consist of three moves: the initiation or opening, answering or responding and follow-up or feedback.

Although the Sinclair and Coulthard model (1975) is deeply entrenched as a framework of analysis in numerous classroom interaction research (French & French, 1984; Swann & Graddol, 1988) and in gendered classrooms in particular (Farooq, 2009; Hassaskhah & Roshan Zamir, 2013; Sunderland, 1996), a decision has been made in this study to steer clear of this traditional model. This does not mean totally dispensing with it. The acts and some of the moves of teaching exchanges, which are adopted, still remain the underlying foundational bedrock of the analysis. Yet the researcher has found it more appropriate to device gender oriented categories to serve the purpose of this study.

Additionally, Bellack's et al. (1966) term 'solicit' was used in the categorization of the utterances and not Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) initiation as the researcher found solicit to be more comprehensive than initiation. As proposed by Sunderland, a solicit:

is normally a teacher-student (but not teacher-whole class) or student-teacher utterance which requires and/or results in a verbal response or which results in or requires a behavioral one from the student or teacher respectively very soon after the uttering of the solicit. (1996, p. 151)

A solicit triggers a response with an utterance or an action whether it be mental such as paying more attention or focusing or physical to carry out an action (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, p. 17). In this study, solicits initiated by the teachers were only counted. In order to derive the final results easily, this study took 'transcript

analysis' approach as its analytical framework. Thus, the recorded lessons were converted to written data to be coded and analysed.

Regarding the teacher's feedback, it indicates the teacher's given evaluation of the student's provided response or answer to her solicits. It is provided by the teacher for both correct and incorrect responses given by the male and female students. In addition, the responses of the teacher to the students' solicits formed the focus of the study. A teacher's response meant an answer that was provided directly after a solicit (Sunderland, 1996, p.151 and p. 395). Thus, the teacher provided a response to the student's solicit in one of two ways; a flat response or another solicit. First, the flat response meant that the teacher replied to the student's solicit with an answer that was clear and which did not need any further question from the side of the student. Second, a teacher responded to a student's solicit using a solicit in the form of an interrogative. It was also considered as a response and counted to answer the sub question of 'which gender do the teachers respond to more: male or female students'.

The codes used in the analysis were as follows:

- 1. Male and female student are indicated by G for girl and B for boy. If more than one girl /boy are involved, this has been indicated by using a superscript number G group or B group.
- 2. T is used to indicate the teacher.
- 3. S<sup>n</sup> is used when a number of students produce an utterance.

# **Data and Participants**

Two sessions for three teachers have been recorded and analyzed. Every session lasted 40 minutes. The current study necessitated the need of audio recording mixed classes in which English is taught as a second language. The recorded data was derived from the curriculum taught in Egyptian language schools. Three classes of the secondary educational level have been observed. The students in the three classes belong to the same

social class and the same Egyptian nationality. The native language of the teacher and the students is Arabic. The students started learning English as SL at the kindergarten stage. Their ages were 15 or 16.

Since the gender of the teachers is crucial to deriving the results, the three teachers are chosen to be of the same gender, namely female teachers who are in their thirties. The reason for selecting female teachers and not male teachers is that former studies (e.g., Chafez, 2000; Kelly, 1988) revealed female teachers to be more interactive with the students, encouraging them to participate in class more, and hence the rich data offered by the observations to be analyzed. For example, female teachers in EFL classrooms ask their students more referential questions, which necessitate giving them feedback on their answers and responding to them (Rashidi & Naderi, 2012). The three observed female teachers hold bachelor degrees in teaching English and are referred to as T1, T2, and T3. Moreover, the names of the students are not mentioned, but in order to specify the gender of the students, they are referred to as B and G.

It has also been crucial to this research that the number of both male and female students be almost equal because this would necessarily affect the obtained results. The unequal number of male and female students would result in *gender effect* (Sunderland, 1996, p. 122). In other words, the gendered interaction of the teacher in the observed classrooms may be the result of the prevailing number of one gender or the other and not necessarily the gendered nature of the discourse. So, the ratio of teacher solicits to male students, for instance, would be greater due to their differences in number. In the three observed ESL classrooms, the numbers of both genders were approximately the same, as illustrated in Table 1:

#### Table 1

Total Number of Boys and Girls for Each Class

T	Number of boys and girls per lesson				
	Lesson 1		Lesson 2		
	В	G	В	G	
T1	7	7	7	7	
<b>T2</b>	13	10	13	10	
<b>T3</b>	17	14	17	14	

# **Design**

This study is a descriptive study of gendered discourse differences of teacher's talk in Egyptian second language classroom. It relies primarily on observation (using field notes and/or audio recordings). The study looks at academic interaction in L2.

Furthermore, this study has used the mixed-methods approach, the quantitative methods as well as qualitative methods. Hence, the number of solicits directed by the teacher to male and female students have been counted to be compared to see which gender receives more talk in Egyptian second language classroom.

#### **Results**

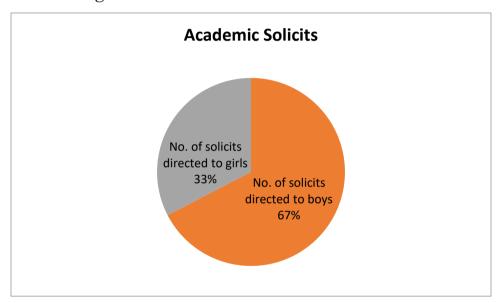
# **Quantitative Results**

The quantitative results are concerned with the results pertaining to teacher-student interactions in the three observed classrooms related to: first, teachers' solicits in the three observed ESL classes; second, teachers' feedback; and third, their responses to the students.

The amount of attention given to boys and girls by the teacher can be measured by the number of academic and non-academic solicits directed to each gender. The analysis of two class sessions for three different female teachers shows the following. In the three classes, the three teachers gave a total of 184 academic solicits to both boys and girls. The total number of academic solicits that boys

received from the three teachers was 124. Regarding the total number of academic solicits that girls received from the three teachers was 60. Figure 1 illustrates how girls received nearly half the number of academic solicits that boys received:

**Figure 1:** *No of academic solicits directed to boys compared to those directed to girls'* 



It has been crucial for this study to decide on which gender receives more of a particular type of the teacher's feedback as this indicates gender preference to either boys or girls. Seven types of feedback have been traced in the analyzed data. These are as follows:

- I.Exact repetition / part repetition,
- II.Praise,
- III.Exact repetition / part repetition and praise,
- IV.Improved repetition (expansion) / explanation of answer,
- V.Repetition / expansion / explanation of answer and praise,
- VI.Acceptance, and
- VII.Try again (feedback to a response which is seen as neither clearly right nor clearly wrong).

Table 2 shows the frequencies of each type as well as its order in relation to the other types with girls and boys for the three teachers. Feedbacks are ranked for the teachers from the most frequently occurring with each gender to the least occurring.

Table 2

Feedback directed to boys and girls in the three observed classrooms

Type of Feedback	Rank for Boys	Frequency of type for Boys	Percentage of type for Boys 162 274	Type of Feedback	Rank for Girls	Freque ncy of type for Girls	Percentage of type for Girls 112 274
I. Exact or part repetition	1	73	45% 26.6%	I. Exact or part repetit ion	1	42	37.5% 15.3%
II. Praise	5	6	3.7% 2.1%	II. Praise	7	1	0.8% 0.4%
III.Exact or part repetition with praise	6	1	0.6% 0.3%	III. Exact or part repetit ion with praise	5	7	6.25% 2.5%
IV. Impr oved repetition /Expansion / Explanatio n of answer	2	30	18.5%10.9%	IV. Impro ved repetit ion /Expan sion/ Explan ation of answer	2	39	34.8% 14.2%
V. Repet ition/ Expansion/ Explanatio n with praise	5	6	3.7% 2.1%	V. Repeti tion/ Expan sion/E xplana tion with praise	6	2	1.7% 0.7%

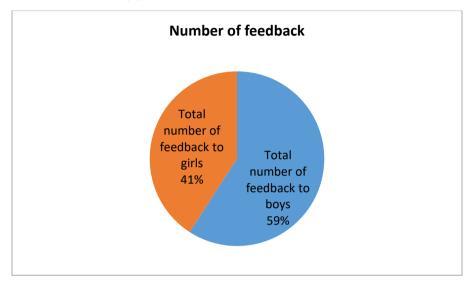
VI.	Accep	3	27	16.6% 9.8%	VI. Accept	3	12	10.7%
tan	ce				ance			4.3%
VII.	Try	4	19	11.7% 6.9%	VII. Try	4	9	8%
Aga	ain				Again			3.2%

The results in table 2 show that boys received higher number of feedback than did girls. Both boys and girls received the highest rank of the same type 'exact or part repetition'. Moreover, the second rank for boys and girls is the same namely 'Improved repetition /Expansion/ Explanation of answer'. However, girls seem to attract slightly more attention from teachers by receiving (14.2%) in comparison to boys who received 10.9%. Further, both boys and girls receive little praise from their teachers. This may be the result of the teachers' policy not to praise. However, praise addressed to boys (13 times) is slightly more than girls (10 times). In addition, the teachers' acceptance of an answer or encouragement to boys and girls to try again is the same in rank for both genders.

The total number of feedback in the whole data was 274 addressed by the three teachers to boys' and girls' responses. The results showed that the total number of boys' receiving feedback from the three teachers during the recorded classes is 162, whereas, girls received the total number of 112 as figure 2 illustrates:

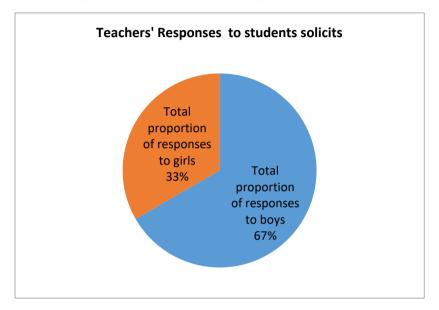
Figure 2

Total number of feedback in the whole data



Regarding the proportion of responses that boys and girls receive, the total number of responses given by the three teachers to students in the whole data is 63 responses in the three observed classrooms. Boys got 42 (66.7%) responses to their solicits to the teachers and girls received 21 responses (33.3%). It is clear that boys received double the amount of responses from teachers. Both boys and girls received similar type of response to their solicits from their female teachers that is flat response. In the three observed classrooms, it never occurred that any of the teachers responded to a student's solicit with another solicit thus giving him/her more chance to speak.

**Figure 3**Total proportion of teachers' responses to boys and girls



# **Qualitative Implications**

In order for the results to be comprehensive in revealing gender differences in Egyptian ESL secondary classrooms, further analyses of some extracts from the three observed classrooms are made to reflect on the quantitative results. Further extracts are included to show how more attention is given to boys in explanations, how the teachers ignore the girls' volunteer to answer and nominate boys to answer even in Arabic. Finally, some instances show how the teachers nominate boys first in answering exercises.

The quality or kind of attention may be as important as the quantity of attention. It has been proved above that the teachers addressed more solicits to boys. They also probe more into the responses of boys giving them a detailed explanation of their answers. This is not the case with girls as in the following extracts. In extract (1) T1 offers to repeat an explanation to a boy upon not recollecting the information:

Extract (1):

B: miss ?ana mesh faker keda=

T1:= ?enta betehfaz samm+ once more + the mining company takes a part from the miner's wage (.) this part is given to who, is given to the doctor they choose and this doctor gives a fair part to his assistant +

With T2, when the boys ask the teacher to repeat an answer to a question, the teacher provides a detailed explanation of how to answer. However, with a girl asking the teacher for a repetition all that she gets is a mere repetition of the answer from another classmate. This is illustrated in the two following extracts:

#### Extract (2):

G: to e:h,

B: to work

T2: say it again ya Khaled (.) Hossam say it again

B: ya miss

B: [to work

T2: [to work instead of working to work underline working (.) and write to work + **AbdelRahman** who has always enjoyed =

In the above extract the teacher does not even bother to repeat the answer when the girl asks. The male classmate offers help. Yet later on with another male solicit with 'ya miss' she starts to give a detailed explanation of how to answer the question. This is repeated by the same teacher in the following extract as well:

Extract (3):

B: [hateb?a e:h ya miss , +

T2: after enjoy we said ing it's a gerund after enjoy but cancel to read and write reading (0.2) ha ya **Youssef** eli bacdha ba?a ......

G: hateb?a e:h, (.)

T2: running ya shaba:b

The girl here is just given the correct answer without any further explanation of how to answer.

There are some further examples in the data which show that the teacher ignores a girl's solicit refusing to give a direct answer to the girl's question. This is clear in extract (4), the girl solicits the teacher and she just goes on with the lesson.

#### Extract (4):

G: miss,

T3: why did we use it, (.) I am not teaching kgs (.)

The analysis of the data shows that teachers unintentionally sometimes ignore the girls' volunteer to answer a question. They may even silence the girls and tell them to wait. When a boy volunteers to say something, he is welcomed or encouraged to do so as extract (5) suggests:

Extract (5):

T3: okay why don't you come out and write it here ++ okay I were I were

B: was =

T3: =, okay thank you my dear okay let's see

G: miss Amira please I have a good one

T3: wait + e:h okay **Mariam** e:h our friend here although as I told you last week you should be helping your mother

says I was playing shame on you man + I was taking a nap what's the meaning of nap,

B: = ?elli howwa qayloola saghi:ra

G: qayloola =

T3: okay shame on you girl as well okay (.)

B: ya miss ha?ullik ha:ga

T3: ha yes **Mohammed** okay

B: I was eating

T3: I was eating,

The girl makes a bid to answer when she says 'miss Amira please I have a good one' but the teacher asks her to wait and after a few turns she tells her shame on you girl, whereas when a boy asks the teacher to say something with 'ya miss ha?ullik ha:ga', she immediately encourages him and listens attentively to what he says. Not only does the teacher ask the girl to wait, but she also ignores her question and goes on with the lesson as if nothing was said.

In extract (6) a girl volunteers to answer a teacher whole class solicit but the teacher does not pay attention to her answer and even starts to blame her for not raising her hand before answering. Then the teacher solicits two boys to give an answer even in L1, and she praises the boy who responds.

# Extract (6):

T3: = that's great okay e:h can anybody tell me why did I use the past continuous and the past simple (.) why (.) why did I use (0.2) the past continuous and the past simple=

G: = because something interrupted something else =

T3: = why don't you raise your hand girl, (.) okay I want someone new (.)

B: = la:zem new la:zem new =

T3: = yes la:zem new + **Araby** past continuous and the past simple why did I use the past simple , + give it a try + ha ++ okay what about you **Khaled** , (.) do you have an answer , (.) okay say it in Arabic =

B: = calasha:n heyya ha:ga ?aṭacet ha:ga =

T3: = okay very good something that was happening (.) and [remember when something else interrupted it

Such instances are found in the three classrooms as in extract (7):

#### Extract (7):

T2: [pay attention +

B: [? arrabt? akhallas

T2: read the dialogue =

G: = miss? and camalt? arbaca,

T2: **Marawan** you are going to read your dialogue I like it read it for me please +

The girl is informing the teacher of how much she accomplished in the given task yet the teacher asks a boy to read his dialogue out loud to the whole class.

Gender differences are also reflected in nominating boys first to respond to a solicit. Extracts from the data made it clear that the teacher, whether consciously or unconsciously, prefers to nominate a boy first to perform a task. In extract (8) the teacher addresses two boys first and then two girls to write two sentences in an exercise checking on whether the boys are answering the class exercise:

#### Extract (8):

T2: = give me two sentences on each one + try to figure it up five minutes and we are going to discuss it (0.2) five minutes and we'll discuss it just five minutes + **Marawan**, + **Mohammad Ayman** are you writing, where's your book, +++ okay continue the whole exercise we are going to do the whole exercises **Marawan** the whole exercise + stop talking and answer ++ girls at the back are you writing, (0.2) **Yara** work with **Waad** +++ do you like to start, ++ **Sohayla** ha, give me two sentences (.) I enjoy what, +

Also, in one of the observed classrooms, the teacher always nominates a boy first to respond. As in extract (9), the teacher addressed two boys to complete a sentence and, when they did not comply, she asks two girls:

#### Extract (9):

T3: = no I want someone new ha come on I can't hear you today what seems to be the problem, (.) okay I was studying when , + thank you I was studying when the light went out okay what about you **Mohammed**, + I was studying when e:h, ++ give me a break (.) I am writing (.) **Mohammad**, who can read it, okay **Hager** can you read the sentence, (.)

The same teacher in extract (10) does the same:

T3: the past perfect tense + how do you put a verb in the past perfect, (.) **Ali** (.) how do you put a verb in the past perfect, + da ?ehna ?olna da past perfect (.) the verb is in the past perfect **Ali** (.) why is the verb, (.) how do you put the verb in the past perfect, (.) instead of sleeping in my class why don't you try and think ha you were yawning my dear +

B: tetta:web,

T3: how do you put the verb in the past prefect, (.) ?aho da da past perfect beyethat ezzay, (.) zacla:na en ?ehna benragec, (.) I hate you girl =

G: = thank you +

T3: okay how do you put a verb in the past perfect, **Diana** (.) how do you put the verb in the past perfect, (.)

In the other classrooms, it is not different as the teacher asks a boy first to start reading from the novel and then afterwards she asks a girl to read as in extract (11):

#### Extract (11):

T1: doctor Bramwell was attending her brother and he was seriously ill (.) what was wrong with Emlyn they thought that he was crazy + was he crazy? this is what we will know today (.) start ya **Abdallah** page seventeen + ...... continue ya **Fatma** but raise your voice (.)

On the whole, results prove that female teachers direct more attention to boys. The female teachers' attention to boys takes three forms; soliciting boys more, giving them greater number of feedback along with certain types which show favoritism such as praise, and responding more to their solicits.

#### **Discussion**

Regarding the subsidiary research question addressing itself to the amount of attention directed by the teacher to boys and girls as reflected in the number of solicits directed to each gender. The results showed that boys received the highest amount of teacher attention academically. In other words, boys received greater number of the academic solicits initiated by the teachers. This agreed with the results of other studies (e.g. Bağ, et al. 2010; Durán, 2006; Farooq, 2009; French & French, 1984; Swann & Graddol, 1988). Further, Swann & Graddol (1988) explained that students

who raise up their hands so fast grab more attention from teachers and it is boys who do so even before the teacher asks the question. The study proves that teachers' attention to boys is more prominent.

It has to be noted that the results are derived through counting the number of solicits directed by the teacher to either boys or girls. However, some interesting observations about each teacher's reaction to soliciting the whole class and receiving no response are worth mentioning. The three teachers differ from each other. First, it is observed that whenever T1 receives no response from any students, she responds to her own solicit. Second, in receiving no response from any student, T2 and T3 start to nominate a boy to give a response.

As regards the amount of feedback that each gender receives from the teacher, which is the second research question in this study, the results prove that boys also receive the highest proportion of feedback. Further, it is boys who receive more praise than girls. This result confirms those of other studies for example (Durán, 2006; Farooq, 2009; Hassaskah & Roshan Zamir, 2013). Similarly, Durán (2006) proved that boys were more favored by teachers in the form of their getting more praise as feedback to their responses.

The highest rank of type of feedback for boys and girls is the same, that is, exact or part repetition of answer. It indicates two facts about the teachers and the classrooms. First, in the present study, teachers are less patient with boys as well as girls alike to give a long detailed evaluation of their responses. Both girls and boys receive this type of feedback as it does not need a long time to discuss the student's response. Second, due to the limited class time, teachers prefer this type in order not to waste much time on excessive explanation to students. This agrees with the finding of some studies (e.g. Männynsalo, 2008; Sunderland, 1996). In relation to the type of feedback, results reflect gender similarity

rather than gender difference. Similar to what this study proved, Sunderland (1996) when comparing the ranks of the type of feedback for boys and girls she also found that the highest rank of feedback for both was the same, namely exact or part repetition of answer. Both genders received the highest number of the same type of feedback.

It has to be noted that of the seven types, girls receive higher percentage of the type of feedback of 'improved repetition/ expansion/ explanation of answer' 34.8% in comparison to the boys who received 18.5%. This implies not only that teachers are less patient with the girls and that they do not wait for girls to give full or complete answers but that teachers underestimate the girls' answers as they always give incomplete answers and teachers have to expand them. This resulted in the less number of responses given by girls as well as discouraging them to respond more.

Further, boys getting higher percentage of type seven of feedback which is 'try again' shows that teachers are more patient with boys and that they tolerate their making mistakes more than they do with girls. In addition, the quantitative results make it clear that boys receive higher percentage of feedback of the type 'acceptance'. This indicates a gender differential treatment as well.

The three teachers' favorite type of feedback is exact or part repetition. Praise constitutes only 15% of the whole number of feedback to both boys and girls. Further, it is only natural that the number of solicits given to each gender would reflect the number of feedback. The expectation is that the gender receiving larger number of solicits also receives a higher percentage of feedback. In the current study, it is boys who are solicited more by the teachers and it is boys who receive greater amount of feedback.

The results of the current study are similar to those of Sadker & Sadker & Klein (1991) and Spender (1983). It reveals that in the whole data boys get more responses (67%) to their solicits than the girls do (33%). This is the result of the boys directing more solicits

to the teacher and in return they get more responses. It is not related to gender preference.

All the obtained results regarding teachers' responses to both boys' and girls' solicits are flat responses. In other words, teachers do not interact extensively with the students. Teachers do not provide students with many opportunities to use the target language since they hardly respond to students' solicits with a solicit.

Also, some extracts prove the quantitative results related to teachers' greater amount of attention directed to boys in responding to their solicits by giving detailed explanations of answers or instructions on how to answer a question. The teachers do this without the boys' request thus conforming to other studies' (e.g. Männynsalo, 2008; Rashidi & Naderi, 2012; Sadker & Sadker & Klein 1991; Sunderland, 1996) findings of male students' being bad achievers in languages.

In sum, the present study concerned with teacher – student talk in Egyptian ESL secondary classrooms, concludes that female teachers interact more with boys and provide them with more opportunities to interact in the class.

#### Conclusion

Gender differences in classroom interaction were studied in many contexts but very few studies were conducted in the Middle East in general and the Egyptian context in particular. This study was an attempt to investigate gender differences in Egyptian ESL secondary classrooms. Through observing three ESL classrooms, some tendencies about gender differences in teacher-student talk in the Egyptian context were revealed. Teacher-student talk displayed gender differences. Six sessions for three female teachers were audio recorded and constituted the corpus of the analyzed data.

Some results of the three observed classrooms confirmed the results of other studies and proved no difference in the Egyptian context. The three female teachers paid more attention to male

students. The teachers directed more academic solicits to male students. Also, the teachers gave male students more feedback in return for their responding more to their solicits. Results proved that much more praise was directed to male students. They responded more to male students' solicits as well. On the whole the quantitative results along with their implications show the female teachers' gendered talk in the observed Egyptian ESL secondary classrooms.

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