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Relaciones de posicionamiento de género evidenciado en el discurso de los alumnos de octavo grado en una institución pública.

Gender positioning relationships evidenced in the discourse of eighth graders at a public institution¹

Les relations de positionnement de genre évaluées dans le discours des élèves du huitième dans une institution publique

Relações de posicionamento de gênero evocadas no discurso de oitava graders em uma instituição pública.

Luis Albey Lopez-Lopez²

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El estudio describe los resultados de una experiencia orientada al análisis de los discursos de estudiantes de 8º grado de EFL, buscando patrones de posicionamiento de género y su posible influencia en el proceso de aprendizaje del inglés en la institución pública Santa Cruz, Motavita. Grabaciones de audio y video, y entrevistas fueron utilizadas con el fin de recolectar y validar la información. Luego, se analizó bajo las lentes del Análisis Feminista y Post-estructuralista del Discurso (FPDA). Así, se establecieron tres categorías: Discursos de exclusión del mismo género, discurso de competencia entre géneros, y discurso de los apodos y el establecimiento de Buenas Relaciones, utilizados por los adolescentes para relacionarse entre sí. Finalmente, se determinan algunas conclusiones e implicaciones para los docentes y la institución.

Palabras clave: FPDA, exclusión, posicionamiento de género, aprendizaje de lenguas, apodos.

Abstract

The study describes the results of an experiment oriented towards analyzing 8th grade EFL students' discourses, seeking gender positioning patterns and their possible influence on English learning processes at the Santa Cruz public school, Motavita. Audio, video recordings and interviews were used in order to gather and make sense of the data. Then, it was analyzed under the lens of the Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA). Thus, three categories were established: Same Gender Exclusion Discourse, Gender Competition Discourse, and Nicknames and Rapport Establishment Discourse, used by teens to relate to each other. Finally, some conclusions and implications were determined for teachers and the institution.

Key words: FPDA, exclusion, gender positioning, language learning, nicknames.

Résumé

L'étude décrit les résultats d'une expérience orientée vers l'analyse des discours des élèves de 8eme année qui étudient l'anglais langue étrangère, en cherchant des modèles de positionnement de genre et leur possible influence sur le processus d'apprentissage de l'anglais dans l'institution publique Santa Cruz, à Motavita. Des enregistrements audio et vidéo ainsi que des entretiens ont été utilisés pour collecter et valider l'information. Ensuite, celle-ci a été examinée sous l'angle de l'Analyse du Discours Féministe et Poststructuraliste (ADFP). Ainsi, trois catégories ont été établies : discours d'exclusion du même genre ; discours de compétition entre genres, et discours des surnoms et établissement de bonnes relations, utilisés par les adolescents pour se rapprocher les uns des autres. Finalement,

certaines conclusions et implications pour les enseignants et l'institution ont été déterminées.

Mots-clés : ADFP, exclusion, positionnement du genre, apprentissage de langues, surnoms.

Resumo

O estudo descreve os resultados de uma experiência orientada para a análise dos discursos dos alunos da 8a série da EFL, procurando padrões de posicionamento de gênero e sua possível influência no processo de aprendizagem de inglês na instituição pública Santa Cruz, Motavita. Gravações de áudio e vídeo, e as entrevistas foram usadas para colecionar e validar a informação. Então, foi analisado sob as lentes da Análise Feminista e Pós-estruturalista do Discurso (FPDA). Assim, Foram estabelecidas três categorias: discursos de exclusão do mesmo gênero, discurso de competição entre gêneros e discurso de apelidos e estabelecimento de boas relações, usado pelos adolescentes para se relacionar um com o outro. Finalmente, algumas conclusões e implicações para os professores e a instituição são determinadas.

Palavras-chave: FPDA, exclusão posicionamento de gênero, aprendizagem de línguas, apelidos.

Introduction

Gender studies are almost new in the education field in Colombia. Gender and language researchers such as Castañeda, H. 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010; Cabezas, L., Camacho, M., and Florez, L., 2012; Camargo, D., 2013, Gonzalez, L., 2013 have worked in this challenging and still unexplored topic, contributing with some interesting findings and insights that help, but are not enough, to understand particular gender situations that take place in EFL classrooms not only in the public but in the private sectors as well (Mojica, C. P., & Castañeda-Peña, H., 2017).

English Foreign Language teachers (EFLT) do not realize that some cases of misbehavior and mistreatment between boys and girls could be the product of gender power relations that are already established or that form in each learning interaction, particularly in the middle school EFL settings where behaviors and attitudes are even more complex than we believe and expect them to be (Mendez, T., & Garcia, A., 2012). Thus, EFL teachers must be aware of their students' gender discourses and of issues related to power during class interaction, as this may help or hinder learning opportunities, language access and meanings..." (Mojica & Castañeda, 2017, p. 140).

Since the end of 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of gender has evolved throughout history from the feminism trend (Mills, S., & Mullany, L., 2011). Therefore, three waves have been determined so far: Ruling women to suffrage, end of sex discrimination and promotion of equal opportunities for women and men and the deconstruction "of gender identities and relations within specific communities of practice" (Baxter, J., 2004, p.4). The latter wave is the focus of this research.

Even though, the teacher researcher (TR), views gender from different gender researchers' studies, is inclined to the sociocultural definition. As Mojica and Castañeda (2017), stated "gender as a category constructed through interaction with others" (p.141). Hence, gender is not a fixed entity, it evolves and transforms in the dynamics of the human interactions and is re-shaped by the mediation of language as forms of discourses, and teens use to position themselves when learning the language. These discourses are analyzed under the Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA) lens, seeking "the unresolved tensions, competing perspectives, shifts of power, ambiguities and contradictions inherent in all texts" (Baxter, 2004, p.2).

Two research questions guided the study: How do EFL 8th graders' discourses reveal gender positioning in group work activities?, and what implications in English learning might gender positioning have when doing group work activities?. Likewise, its aims attended to analyze students' behaviors, attitudes and conversations seeking gender-positioning patterns and to determine whether gender positioning has any influence or not in students' EFL learning processes.

1. Research methodology

In terms of understanding human issues produced in their own context, this study used the FPDA to analyze and interpret students' interactions. The spoken discourse is analyzed in two levels: denotative and connotative. The first, the denotative level seeks to describe the verbal and non-verbal interactions of the group and the second; the connotative level looks at gender power relationships among the discourse (Baxter, 2004). Moreover, FPDA approach "gives space to multiple and competing voices by aiming to identify and represent sites of struggle in stretches of spoken or textual interaction" (Baxter, 2004, p.187).

Particularly, in the educational context, students struggle for positioning themselves exerting power over other and vice versa, through their competing discourses to create meaning inside their complex interaction. Those discourses place them in a position of powerful or powerless moments. Moreover, FPDA pretends "to

promote a greater plurality, openness, and richness of perspectives as the basis for insightful action" (Baxter, 2004, p.191) in specific EFL settings.

1.1. Context and participants

The research was conducted at a public high school of Boyacá, Colombia. The school offers a Technical Instruction with emphases on Computer Science and Technology. The academic establishment offers from kindergarten to high school education programs. Most of the students who take class there come from rural areas and are ranked as one and two Sisben's social levels (National program). The academic schedule goes from 7:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.

The chosen group was 8th graders, comprised of 24 students, 14 girls and 11 boys, the average age is 13. The majority live in the outskirts and a few live in the urban area. Some of them live with their parents, mothers only, grandparents and stepmothers. 4 boys and 4 girls are the sample (manifest gender issues). They take three hours of English (vocabulary and grammar tenses structure are taught), per week. Both the principal and parents signed up a consent form to get their permission to avoid legal issues caused because of the nature of the data instruments used, specifically, video recordings.

1.2. Data gathering instruments

Three methods of data collection were used to collect students' discourses: First, video recordings to get students' conversations records to identify their repetitive behaviors and attitudes such as gestures, facial expressions and movements (Yoon, J., 2007); second, audio-recordings were applied to record much of their interaction by groups of teens to get in depth insight of what was happening in each gender group. TR used them as a complement to characterized students' discourses and third, informal conversational interviews where students were asked about some issues observed and recorded in class to witness from alive participants' voices their opinions, concerns, ideas and thoughts (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). In addition to this, attention to their emotional and psychological responses was paid as well (Yoon, 2007). The interviews were voiced.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Discourse

It is every form of language in use that expresses something and this kind of linguistic material could be studied and analyzed, and as Baxter (2004) stated, "refers to stretches of texts, spoken or written, monologic or dialogic, which are open to the analysis of patterns" (p.7); it has meaning and feeds the relationships of each human being experienced in the multisocio-cultural contexts available for humanistic expressions. It evolves, based on the speakers' circumstances and

needs. It changes and is dynamic. Speakers do not say the same thing, in the same way each time they speak. Then, "discourses must be continually shaped and are renegotiated by how people live and act in their daily lives" (Biklen, 1995, as cited in Allard, 2004, p.349).

Discourse as a form of language expression, according to Giroux (1991), as cited in, Allard (2004), is not a "transparent medium for transmitting ideas and meaning" (p. 348), but a vehicle through which the 'truth' of an event is called into play. There is always a hidden agenda which is transmitted through discourse as Fairclough (1992), as cited in, Baxter (2004) declared, "is a form of social/ideological practice" (p.7). Speakers usually have an intention to communicate, a will to accomplish and a power to execute and maintain and, they do it through their discourses in the context where they interact.

Moreover, Baxter (2004) defined discourses as "systematic ways of making sense of the world by inscribing and shaping power relations...including spoken interaction" (p.7). In the educational setting, there might be different types of discourses but there are some which are the most common: teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction discourses (Sunderland, 1992) which are quite similar to Baxter's approval, collaborative talk and gender differentiation discourses (2004), where students' power relationships are negotiated, co-constructed, reinforced or denied by peers' and teachers' approval discourses.

In addition, Reay (2001) claimed, "each discourse contracts complex relation of complicity, tension and opposition with other discourses (p.156). In addition, Norton (2000), considered language-discourse- as "the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and ...political consequences are defined and contested... the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed" (p.9). Through discourses, EFL leaners exert power to position themselves as language learners and gender beings and, are placed within different and competing discourses in their conversational contexts.

Finally, Kumaravadivelu (2006) defined that, discourse "includes not only what is actually thought and articulated but also determines what can be said or heard and what is silenced, what is acceptable and what is tabooed" (p.13). Hence, it could be said that discourse is everything that underpins human activity interaction. Thus, FPDA allows TR to study students' talk to analyze the significance of gender in relation to the competing and intertextualized ways in which speakers construct their identities and their relationships through talk.

2.2 Positioning

Harré and Moghaddam (2003), as cited in, Montenegro (2012), referred to positioning as "the cluster of rights and duties to perform specific actions" (p.130). People position themselves or are positioned by others because they have a particular need or special personal characteristics, identified inside their own communities and revealed through their discourses. In a conversation, positioning

Likewise, Hollway (1984), as cited in, Cabezas et al. (2012) referred, "to the subjectivities women and men are involved in as the product of their history of positioning in discourses" (p.64). Moreover, Castañeda (2008) indicated, that positioning is "the discursive process whereby selves are located" (p.327). This positioning occurs in the divergence of other discourses. In addition, Davies (1994), as cited in, Yoon (2007) argued, that positioning "recognizes the constitutive force of discourse to make/fabricate the stories or narratives through which meaningful lives are made" (p.50).

In the EFL setting, conversations evolve, changing the discursive practices and positions because of storylines and learners' roles (Cabezas et al., 2012). In a classroom, leaners shift positions and roles (clowns, clever, doer-translator, cheater, and gossiper) in a conversation during group work activities; these positions can be negotiated, rejected, accepted or changed in the classroom interactions.

2.3 Feminist Post-structuralist discourse analysis (FPDA)

FPDA is a new feminist approach as a supplementary tool to analyze the spoken discourse. Talk is analyzed in two levels: denotative and connotative. The first, the denotative level seeks to describe the verbal and non-verbal interactions of the group and the second; the connotative level looks at gender power relationships among the discourse (Baxter, 2004). Thus, FPDA also allows TR to reveal the most troublesome issues of a particular context to be analyzed through extracts of conversations, particularizing "the unresolved tensions, competing perspectives, shifts of power, ambiguities and contradictions inherent in all texts" (Baxter, 2004, p.2).

Furthermore, Baxter (2004) pointed out, it allows TR to see "the way in which speakers negotiate their identities, relationships and positions in their world according to the ways in which they are located by competing yet interwoven discourses" (p.1). Besides, she demonstrated it in the research, carried out in two particular settings: a whole class discussion with a high school mixed-sex group and two business meetings with male and female managing teams; in both experiences she discovered how participants shifted their positions within the course of a conversation (Baxter, 2004).

2.4 Gender positioning

Gender positioning in EFL settings refers to how teens as gender beings struggle to gain a place in a conversation through their discourses. Hence, boys and girls have powerful or powerless moments in a conversation (Baxter, 2004). Girls are not seen as weak speakers nor boys as strong speakers anymore. When teens post (positioning) their story lines (thoughts, beliefs, plans, meanings, etc.) in the EFL setting, they are not only communicating ideas but they are expressing their most

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inner intentions, wishes, desires and allow others see their weaknesses, constrains and secret agendas coded in their discourses as well.

In EFL setting, teens construct their identities not only as gender individuals but as language learners as well through gender positioning; owning and dwelling a space where they shape and reshape their identities, in a constant social interaction process. Then, it is pretty common to see a nonstop competing discourses dynamic in the conversations held between boys-boys, boys-girls, and girls-girls when learning the foreign language (Castañeda, 2008). These gendered discourses seem to have two characteristics: First, they look rough in form, revealing teens' gender differences (Nikitina & Furuoka, 2007, as cited in, Camargo, 2013) and is a means to construct gender identity which always comes from home and continues shaping in the different educational settings and stages (kindergarten, elementary, middle school, high school and so on) where teachers seem to have a fixed position in the formation of teens' gender identities (Allard, 2004). Second, they are vehicles - transport gender power - enacted in each battle - conversation - which might have a winner at the end. The winner is generally positioned as a powerful teen because he has the knowledge of English to exert power and make decision within his group to subjugate his classmates as revealed in the same gender exclusion discourse.

2.5 Language and gender

Since the 1970s linguists began to study the relation between language and gender in a scientific way from a feminist trend. Cameron (2006a:3), an outstanding feminist researcher, as cited in, Mills and Mullany (2011) pointed out, that "language enters into sexual politics in two main ways" (p.10). First, language is the medium to reveal the conflicting relationships between men and women, pursuing the construction of their gender identities as more feminine or masculine, straight or gay; second, it is the medium in which the aim is redressing gender inequalities. The latter has a specific political purpose on gender as a social, political and ideological category.

Men and women use language as the medium not only to signify, to relate and to interact with the world but to construct their gender identities as well. Language shapes, affirms and consolidates gender identities in specific social context where it is performed as Baxter (2004) argued, in relation to the views of language from the FPDA and social constructionist feminism tendencies "both conceive language as a culturally constructed system of meanings...suggest... our identities are performed through language"(p.10). Thus, people are gender identified, characterized and empowered by their language.

Likewise, Norton (2000) meant, through language people "negotiate a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time" (p.5). This negotiation could be accepted or rejected to interplay within the powerful social networks that feed any kind of human interaction, particularly, in the classroom. Similarly, Butler (1990) and Foucault (1992), as cited in Mojica and Castañeda

(2017) defined gender, "as a sociocultural category" (p.142). Likewise, Reay (2001) viewed it, as a "set of related social practices and social identities" (p.155).

Therefore, gender is not only related to the biological aspect of human beings but something that mankind does in interaction; in a non-stop process of social relations that entails an incessant activity of constituting and reconstituting gender acts over and over to characterize gender. It is also not a done or finished entity. On the contrary, it changes, evolves and re-shapes, Butler as cited in, Mills and Mullany (2011) highlighted, that an "individual chooses what sort of identity they would like to have and simply performs that role (p.43), if it is necessary due to the circumstances.

Gender cannot be created in isolation but in an endless process of social interaction. Consequently, multiple masculine and feminine discourses could be enacted by teens (Castañeda, 2008). Therefore, girls can reach or transpass boys' gender boundaries at performing certain male discourses because they are forced to do it by the social interaction pressure and vice versa. However, Reay (2001) argued that girls still keep performing conformist gender behaviors rather than transgressive or transformative ones in our educational settings.

3. Interpreting data through the FPDA approach

The data was gathered by video recording 11 entries of EFL classes, the camera was set on top of a hardware computer in one of the corners of the room; TR recorded 30 minutes of each class and some audio recordings, the recorder was put on a table and then moved to another one. TR lost some audio recordings at the end of the recording time because, one of the students, who was told not to touch the device, did it and deleted some files. Therefore, some audio information was lost.

After gathering the information, TR started getting the transcripts by playing the CDS on the video camera many times as needed, to turn and make audiovisual information into written data. Then, this data was compared with the audio recording information to ensure the reliability and validity of the data. When the final data was polished and defined, TR numbered the data by putting a number (001-2083) in front of each participant's statement in order to get one set of linguistic corpus and to make it readable material to facilitate the analysis process. In front of each student's written utterance, there is a brief comment between brackets that describes the circumstances in which they were produced.

To do the data analysis, TR began highlighting words and phrases by coloring them with different colors that became codes. After, codes were established because of the repetitiveness of students' practices and the stability of his thinking (Johnson & Christensen, 2004) seeking for special features that could answer the research question; some patterns were identified. When the patterns were defined, TR carried out some interviews with some students to validate them, that turned

categories at the end. The interview data helped TR to confirm his ideas in regards to some issues of gender positioning presented in his EFL classes.

FPDA was the approach used to analyze and interpret the data, applying its levels of analysis allowed TR to describe in detail every single student's interaction. He paid special attention to identify students' discourses and to understand their use; what their discourses expressed in terms of negotiation of power, gender relations and identity, seeking for gender positioning patterns.

3.1 Findings

To do the analysis of the data, is important to bear in mind the research question which is, how do 8th EFL graders' discourses reveal gender positioning in group work activities? The answer helps to identify gender dominant discourses and to determine to some extent whether this gender positioning has any influence in the development and learning process of the foreign language in this educational setting. The main objective stated as: to identify and describe discourse strategies used by students for positioning when interacting in group work activities, also bring light to comprehend the complex gender relationships of this group.

Under a careful reading process of contrasting and comparing the written data, gathered from the video and audio recordings, with the interview data; three categories of gender positioning were established, the first, Same Gender Exclusion; second, Gender Competition and the third, Nicknames and Rapport Establishment discourses. All of them will be depicted in the following lines. Some conventions will appear in the conversations to do the analysis section. Actual names were changed to protect students' identities.

31.1 Same Gender Exclusion Discourse

Two excerpts from different classes are posted on this section to do the analysis; they were produced in different contexts and situations. Boys' and girls' interactions were used to describe and interpret this type of exclusion. The exclusion has different reasons in both gender teams: boys are excluded because they are good language competitive leaners, do not have good sense of humor, are not helpful and playful, and girls are not reliable and do not know the topics of their conversations. Moreover, in each gender group, members struggle to get the leadership role but at the end, there is one member who becomes the visible leader of the teams that makes decisions in regards to exclusion. Briefly, each excerpt is going to be described.

Before going over the transcripts, it is important to mention that some conventions are going to appear in this transcript sample and the other interactions during the analysis section. Actual names were changed to protect students' identities.

T = Teacher Ss = students [] =overlapping ... =brief pause when speaking (wp) = wrong pronunciation

Letters in capital and in bold= raising voice to emphasize something. The following excerpts reveal boys' exclusion.

Excerpt 1

This excerpt was produced during a class where students had to sort out different word cards to make negative sentences, appropriately, in present perfect tense during a word card contest. Three boys who were seated at the same table (Carl, Brad and Bristol) and one girl (Lein) intervened in this interaction.

349. T: Reciben todos...un has. Haga el favor, mire Brad entréguelos...un has a cada persona. (Everyone receives... a has. Do the favor, Brad give a... has to each one)*(He was standing up by his table)

12 turns skipped

361. T: Esos...que los está entregando Carl, también los dividen. (Those... which are being delivered by Carl, divide them please)*3.

362. Lein: Profe...; hay gue cortarlas? (Teacher...Do we have to cut them out?)*

363. T: Si, si, si señor. Me avisan todos cuando ya estén cortados sus distintos elementos. Me guardan todo lo que no sea de la clase, por favor. (Yes, yes, yes, sr. everyone let me know when your word cards are ready. Put away things that are not going to be used for the class, please)*

364. Brad: (He is holding a card up if someone needs it) Aquí está mai. (wp) (Here is my)*.

365. Carl: (He goes back to his table and he is bothered because of a new table's mate) y ¿por qué los desparpajó...¡Eso, eso no es suyo! !(Why did you mess them up?...that , that is not yours!)*

366. Bristol: ¿Qué? (What)*

367. Carl: (taking a Bristol's card away from his hands) ¿Esto?(this?)*

368. Bristol: Qué sí. Que me dejaron aquí. (What if yes, I was assigned here?)*

369. Carl: Que NO (What if not)*

^{3 *} Translated for publication purposes.

370. Bristol: Que sí....que a mí me, me dejaron acá. (What if yes...I was assigned here)*

380. Carl: ¿Cómo va a ser así de largo...**MIRE**? Aquí hay dos...**MIJO** (Look...How could it be so long? Here are two...buddy)*

381. Bristol: Sia bobó. (You are a fool)*.

382. Carl: (He gets up, reaches and takes a card away from the teacher's desk) No ve que yo le dí uno de éstos (don't you realize I gave you one of those)* Yo le dí éste...(I gave you this one)* y usted tiene uno igual, **MIRE**, **MIRE**, Bristol.(and you have the same one, **LOOK**, **LOOK**, Bristol)*

Excerpt 2

It came from an interaction where students had to ask yes/no questions in present perfect tense to their classmates in oral way using some action cards after practicing yes/no questions formats. Vera, Ludy and Monica are seated at the same table. Ana is sitting in a different table.

720. T: to whom la pregunta ¿Para quién es la pregunta? (To whom is the question)*

721. Ana: para Vera...Have you drink...drunk milk? (To Vera...)*

34 turns skipped

757. Ludy: Profe, yo tengo una pregunta: cómo se dice leche condesa en Inglés? (Teacher, I a have question: How do you say condensed milk in English)*

758. Mike: [Leche fría]. [(Cold milk)]*

759. T: why do you need to know that?

760. Vera: Para hacer una oración. (To do a sentence)*

5 turns skipped

766. T: so the question Vera? ... Have you....?

767. Vera: Have you ...ea (wp)?

768. T: Choose anyone

769. Vera: ah...mmm...

770. T: Shhh. Pongan atención. (Please, pay attention)*.

771. Vera: a Mónica. (To Mónica)*

In excerpt 1, Brad and Carl are the leaders; the teacher legitimizes Brad's leadership (349) and Carl gets it in a permanent fight (350). In this first situation, Carl came back to his table a little bit aggressive towards Bristol after fishing the assigned task because, he finds his word cards messed up on the table (365-382). That event got him get crazy, his sense of humor changed suddenly against Bristol either because he thinks Bristol messed up the material or because he does not want Bristol to work with him.

In excerpt 2, Ana who has the turn and has developed a good language level and metalinguistic skill so far, corrects the question herself, picks up Vera to make a question; albeit, Vera is far away from her (721). To wrap up this interaction, Vera has a turn to talk and her teacher usually helps her giving some prompts to construct her question again but she hesitates a lot at choosing a mate (767, 769) and ends up picking Monica, her table's classmate (771).

The FPDA approach reveals how same gender exclusion discourses take place and shape themselves within female and male's competing interactions while learning the language. We can see that same gender exclusion is more visible and harder among boys than among girls. The boys' power relationships are determined by the competence of language learning and accomplishing certain requirements to belong to the same gender teams.

For boys, for example, to have a good sense humor, to be helpful and playful as declared in the interview held with boys and girls separately, "T: ¿por qué le gusta reunirse con gente que es chistosa? (Why do you like to hang out with funny people?), Carl: porque es agradable uno siempre estar feliz, (Because it's always pleasant to be happy); T: ¿qué pasa cuando otro muchacho quiere pertenecer al grupo? (What happens when a boy wants to belong to the group?); Carl: pues a veces a Bristol lo dejamos ahí... a veces es envidioso y toca sacarlo (Bristol is sometimes allowed to be there...He is sometimes envious and we have to take him out)*".Then," learners tried to maintain control over certain situations depending on their interests or motivations with regard to specific issues". (Mendez and Garcia, 2012, p.173).

Likewise, for girls is paramount to be empathetic to address their conversation topics, to be reliable and confident to keep their conversations secret as stated in the interview: "T: ¿Por qué Monica, Ludy y usted no permiten que otra niña se siente con ustedes? (Why don't Monica, Ludy and you allow another to sit with you?)*, Vera: De pronto porque somos amigas ...con Mónica desde cuarto y Ludy desde séptimo (Because we are friends...with Monica since 6th and with Ludy since 7th grade)*

T: ¿ sobre qué hablan? (what do you talk about?)*, Vera: ... sobre el que le gusta a una...queremos hablar con otros grupos y no podemos porque ellas no entienden lo que hablamos... (... The one we like... we want to talk to other groups but we

cannot because they do not understand what we talk about)*". As regards, Mendez and Garcia (2012) stated," Girls' voices are "also used by students to establish connections with their peers, especially with friends, to share opinions about the classroom topic or their own experiences...to talk about things which they felt a special interest".

Finally, same gender exclusion discourse characterizes these mixed-sex EFL setting daily interactions because boys and girls want to position themselves not only as English learners but as social beings as well, generating gender tensions and competitions along EFL learning process. Therefore, "the construction of EFL learning occurs in the social construction of gendered friendship networks where there is an egalitarian ethos for both masculinities and femininities" (Castañeda, 2008, p. 321).

3.1.2 Gender Competition Discourse

The discourse analysis allows us to understand the complexity of gendered power relations. Both genders compete among them to get a winning position in every single teacher's lesson activities. The winner of the races has to have excellent language grammar structure knowledge, good vocabulary competences and an outstanding cultural knowledge to succeed over the rest of the students in the class.

Excerpt 3

This interaction is characterized because each student presents his arguments in regard to bird knowledge and whose statements are convincing and overwhelming gains the competition.

492. T: Listen up I brought you some animals (he is showing them some animal flash cards). This is a woodpecker, this is a cat, and this is a horse...so the question is, ah for Fab, have you seen a woodpecker in real life? Have you seen a woodpecker? Yes, I have or No, I haven't

493. Fab: [Yes, I have]

494. Vera: [Yes, I have]

495. T: Vera, Have you seen a woodpecker? Vera, yes, I have or No, I haven't

496. Brad: Ni lo conoce (You do not know it)*

497. Vera: No, en la vida real no (No, I do not know it in real life)*.

107 turns skipped

604. T: Layla, have you seen an owl? Yes, I have or No, I haven't?

8 turns skipped

612. Carl: ¡Esas aves solo salen de noche! (¡Those birds only come out at night!)*

613. Ana: No, yo los ví en el partido y son así de chiquitos (No, I saw them in the soccer match and are like this small)* (She is indicating the size of an owl with her hands)

614. Vera: Era así de chiquito (They were like this small)* (She uses her hands to help her construct the meaning).

615. Carl: ¡esas aves solo salen de noche! (¡Those birds only come out at night!)*

616. Vera: yo he visto cuando se lanza (I saw them when they were flying)*

617. T: ok, very good.

618. Carl: por ahí sería un pájaro y dirá que era un búho (It might be a bird and now, you say it is an owl)* (he and his table's peers start laughing at Vera)

619. Vera: ¡No!, era un búho porque le ví cara (¡No! it was an owl because I saw its face)*.

620. Ana: ahí... Vera, no se complique con esos chinos (You what... Vera, do not be bothered by these boys)*

The teacher does an introduction to the topic of the class, chooses a boy (Fab), asks him a question and gives him prompts to respond it, using a short answer form (492-493), Vera overlaps Fabian's answer to seek her teacher's attention(494), achieving her intension at the end. The teacher gives Vera a turn, asks her the same question as Fab (495). Then, Brad understands the question and rejects Vera's talk, posting a negative statement, and is bothered because she is dominating the talk (496). Carl and Vera display their knowledge they have about birds, Vera supports her bird's habit with appropriate arguments but Carl does not accept them. On the contrary, he denies Versa's arguments with his and brings funny statements into the conversation to mock her and to position himself as the winner of the talk (612-619). However, Vera always has Ana's assistance by confronting Carl and letting him know that Vera is not alone in the classroom (620).

In excerpt 3, FPDA reveals that both genders compete again to get the teen's attention and to gain the popularity in the classroom in the moment, determined by the advanced cultural competence (Bird's habit) each gender has got to win cultural contest held among them. These lines of this excerpt also unveil how boys and girls weave the interaction, expressing their cultural competence about a topic in simultaneous and alternating gender discourses

where the winning gender is positioned as powerful and the losing one as powerless and vice versa, shifting positions within a non-stopping range of competing discourses (Baxter, 2004).

Therefore, the power does not dwell upon one gender (male and female); it goes back and forth between the two genders instead, as Baxter (2004) pointed out, in regards to power and powerfulness, "...the way in which individual speakers are often better placed than others to benefit from the experiences, interests and goals of a particular context" (p.8). Hence, being the English specialist in class for both genders, gives the gendered winner power and domain position to control the class as Cabezas, et al. (2012) pointed out, "Members of a social network are not accepted as experts unless they are respected by the other members and no one else is considered more expert" (p.71).

3.1.3 Nicknames and Rapport Establishment Discourse

Male teens use nicknames in two different ways: First, to establish a relationship of closeness among boys and among girls, respectively; second, as a mechanism of defense either girls towards boys or vice versa. The following extras reveal this interesting issue produced in different class situations.

Excerpt 4

001. Carl: Mike cabeza de coco (Mike coconut head)*.

002. Brad: Mike es una cabeza de coco, se lo va a llevar la... la... la...la...in-dustria de...de...supercocos (Mike is a coconut head, he is going to be taken by the... the... coconut insdustry). Se lo va a llevar el carro de supercocos ja, ja, ja, ja, ja, ja (The supercoconuts car is going to take him away ha, ha, ha).

Excerpt 5

658. Brad: ¿Entonces la mora, dónde está? (Then the blackberry, where is it?)*

659. Mike: Mírela ahí...(look at her...)* (Pointing out Ana, whose last name is Mora), la mora se despegó (The backberry fell off from the wall)* (everybody is laughing at her)

177 turns skipped

836. Fab: yo fui los llamé y...(I went there to call them and...)* antes (then)*, QUÉ-DESE (STAY HERE...)*... eso no vaya (...don't go there)*.

837. Lein: ¿si? (yes?)*

61

838. T: ¿Quién dijo eso? (T: Who said that?)*

839. Fab: Mónica Pacheco, profe. (Mónica pacheco, teacher)*

840. Brad: Pisca boba (Mónica's alias)

Along the class, Carl, Brad and Fab who seem to be the former group members of the male team start a bothering game towards Mike in excerpt 4, which is comprised of putting him down and calling him with nicknames (001,002) to kid him and have a laugh time. In excerpt 5, Brad and Mike get together to bother Ana and to call her with names. Moreover, another situation happens when some students are doing an English art project inside the classroom while others, particularly girls, are attending some school sport games in the school ground without teacher's permission. Fab, who has the role of teacher's spokesman in this situation, is out calling them to enter into the room but he returned, bothered and upset because he did not accomplish his teacher's order. In the contrary, his female classmates tried to persuade him to stay with them as declared by Fab (836). Then, Brad reacts aggressively towards one girl, by calling her out with a nickname, Pisca boba (840) to cover his friend's failure, to bother and to subjugate her and to control the attention of the class.

In excerpt 4, FPDA shows how Brad who is the leader and commander of the most popular male team uses the nickname discourse as a tool to test newcomers and to teach them how things work inside his group, at the beginning. Brad tries his technique on Mike who wants to belong to his team; Mike achieves it under a framework of mockery and derision that he is able to stand enough to that in the end, he accepts his nickname as relationship of closeness among their male peers. In addition to this, it is important to highlight the close relation that Brad, Fab and Carl have got; they use nicknames to tease themselves more than to offend each other. They use them to have a funny time and to strengthen the group's unity as well.

Likewise, girls calls themselves under nicknames as a way of expressing affection as Vera declared in the interview:" a Andrea le decimos Wayuucita (we call Andrea Wayuucita)". Therefore, we can see that there is not a negative reaction among them when are called by their nicknames; it means, those nicknames express some sort of affection and a sense of affiliation within male or female friendship networks. Consequently, what Van Dijk (1993), as cited in Camargo (2013) stated, "Some members of dominant groups or organizations have a special role in planning, decision-making and control over the relations..." (p.161), making sense of the way each gender group relates each other.

Similarly, in the excerpt 5 Brad keeps using the nickname discourse to bother, offend and keep his opponents (Females) away and keep them, quiet and powerless to control the class. His contenders are the ones who represent an intellectual or leadership threat; Ana seems to be a challenging leader, because she is always participating and is an English knowledge threat for the male team.

In Monica's and Ludy's case (La Pisca boba & La Menudencias), he put those nicknames to ridicule, to annul and to minimize them to submit and manipulate them better since the beginning of the academic year as he expressed it in an interview: T: ¿Por qué usa apodos? (Why do you use nicknames?)* Brad: ...para offender (...to offend)*... si uno se la deja montar de todo el mundo, lo cogen a uno de bobo (...if I allow people to tease me, I will be their fool)**.

Moreover, girls play the boy's game and use nicknames as a mechanism of defense to respond to them as Vera confirmed it in an interview: "Ellos nos ponen apodos y nosotras también...(they calls us with nicknames, so do we...)* a Carl lo llamamos Turra por lo pequeño (We call Carl,Turra cause he is short)*; a Brad, Sisiri porque todo el tiempo está hablando (We call Brad Siriri because he talks all the time)* y Fab, Paleo por el papá (and Fab, Paleo because it is his father's nickname)". Then, nicknames have different precedence; it could be due to a physical condition, family identity or to a kindly way of relating each other. It is not know to what extent the ways how family members relate each other is transferred to their children at school.

To wrap up, nicknames have a purpose on both teams, to offend their opponents to control them and control the class. Nobody likes nicknames but both genders use them because it is form of exerting power over the other either to silence an EFL challenging girl or to respond an annoying boy to resist his attack. Thus, "There is a continuous struggle in which participants in academic spaces want to gain a privileged position and sometimes want to reject and set aside their peers due to the urgency to construct themselves as language learners" (Camargo, 2013, p.153).

Conclusions and Implications

Eighth grade students use different discourses for gender positioning: First, Same Gender Exclusion where boys are excluded because they are good language competitive leaners, do not have good sense of humor, are not helpful and playful and girls are not reliable and do not know the topics of some female teams' talk, still reproducing gender inequalities when learning the foreign language; second, Gender Competition, both genders compete among themselves to get a winning position in every single EFL lesson activities and finally, Nicknames and Rapport establishment, teens use nicknames to establish relationship of closeness among boys and among girls and as a mechanism of defense for either girls towards boys and vice versa (Long distance relationships).

There are more English learning benefits when both genders come together to work on a specific assignment (mixed-sex groups) rather than when they work together in an isolated same gender environment (same-sex groups). Girls and boys expressed agreement working each other: they can focus better on the topics, can be more proactive when doing EFL activities, and can cooperate with others' needs. Therefore, the tension for gaining the power to control the class

decreases among genders because there is not competitiveness but cooperation and support when learning the language, instead.

Even though, girls have a natural capacity to learn and dominate the territory of English as a foreign language for whatever reasons; they still struggle to have an appropriate learning context where they could foster their language skills to become English learners leaders because boys are on the defensive against them. Therefore, Gender Competition and nickname discourses come as a mechanism of defense by the genders. If girls make their natural ability available to help boys learn the language and boys start to self-control their rude male attitudes towards them, it would generate an enriching EFL learning environment where mutual learning transaction could circulate inside their interaction, stopping the struggle for gaining the power and reinforcing the cooperative learning strategy.

Both girls and boys must realize to some extent the damages and disadvantages that same gender competition (held among themselves), gender competition (held against the opposite gender) and nickname discourses produce when learning the foreign language. Thus, they must carry on a conscious process of self-regulation when interacting with same or different gender partners, and change their way of perceiving, addressing and relating with their opposites.

Male and female English learners must call themselves by their names and not by their alias or nickname. The latter, most of the times, has specific purposes such as to ridicule or to offend someone in a derogatory and pejorative manner. To wrap up this idea, students must call each other by their names to ensure and to strengthen their identities not only as gender beings but as English learners as well.

Identifying and analyzing gender positions in the classroom, allow teachers and school administrators to understand what happens in a particular learning setting, where the interaction of the genders are always complex and tough to perceive and to approach, to help them re-address their attitudes, behaviors and ways of relating through a declarative and formative process (telling them their weaknesses and acknowledging their strengths), seeking the cooperation of the genders to improve their English skills and reducing gender violence in the process, in this EFL context, particularly.

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