## **CHAPTER 4**

# TEACHERS AND STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN A STATE HIGH SCHOOL LOCATED IN ANTAKYA

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#### INTRODUCTION

Each society places its members into specified categories known as "status" in the socialization process, as pointed out by Fichter (1994, p.177). People achieve this status either by their efforts or are born directly into the necessary status. Sometimes, people can occupy more than one status like; mother, doctor, sister, patient, or passenger, which constitutes a social stratum. All these statuses require specific roles in society in order to be a part of the socialization process and universality of the culturally vital roles. The problem with this kind of perspective, according to Fichter (1994), is that it is a judgment that can be applied to the roles of gender within the society and culture, which assumes that being a woman and a man are universal statuses people are born with. In this socialization process, the attitudes equated with gender and the internalization of these attitudes as expected from the "girls" and "boys" are taught mainly through family, schools, and other similar institutions.

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According to earlier studies, girls often perform better in school than boys. According to a recent survey by Hartley and Sutton (2013), gender stereotypes about girls' academic superiority in terms of drive, aptitude, performance, and selfcontrol are more prevalent among boys. However, prior research on gender inequalities in several areas of academic attainment produced somewhat contradictory findings. This study illustrates how teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and classroom practices change dramatically with what Giddens (1984) refers to as "discursive consciousness", particularly in the gendered school discourses. On the other hand, the study argues the attributions of gender (male/ female) in the students' adolescent relationships through everyday classroom study. This study analyses the case in a state Anatolian High School in Antakya, Turkey. Additionally, some concepts and generalizations that have become stereotypes uttered by the students and teachers of the high school will be shown in detailed analyses.

We first presented the school's profile that this study was conducted in terms of its status as academic performance and its typical mission as a regulatory unit. Secondly, one of the issues emphasized was to explore the construction of schoolgirl and schoolboy gender, referring to the results and suggestions in the study conducted by Gidden's (1984). The research does not attempt to conceptualize school as a place where students practice gendered relations or perspectives but, as Giddens (1984) calls it, a hegemonic site where gender is reconstructed within the context of education rather than instruction. The gendered nature of school has various and complex dimensions, including teachers and management's perception of successful male and female students. On the other hand, many factors influence students' perceptions of their teachers and friends. Finally, we focus on the differences between the gender perceptions of female and male students and female and male teachers.

The ultimate purpose of this study is to investigate the perceptions of both male and female students and teachers regarding their academic achievement, personal characteristics, and behaviors by their teachers and peers. In an attempt to examine the different perceptions between male and female students in the school system, the following research questions were developed:

- 1. How do teachers perceive male and female students' academic achievement and personal characteristics?
- 2. How do students perceive male and female students regarding their academic achievement and personal characteristics?
- 3. Is there any relationship between gender and students' academic achievement and personal characteristics?

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Because of their enormous impact on academic motivation and utilization for boosting academic success, factors impacting academic performance have been accepted as one of the most crucial elements to analyze. For example, one of the personal factors linked to variations in academic achievement is gender. Various studies have shown that boys and girls have different attribution patterns, with boys placing more emphasis on talent and luck as the reasons for their academic success and girls tending to emphasize work when explaining their accomplishments (Georgiou, 1999; Burgner & Hewstone, 1993).

Gender discourses have taken center stage in many types of research. Many scholars have wondered why male and female students are perceived differently in society. Tannen (1991) claimed that women belong to a different cultural-linguistic community because of their language. However, Hyde (2005) contended that males and females are alike regarding some psychological variables. Hyde (2005) also dismissed as unfounded many popular notions that girls are more in tune with learning

roles and simple tasks while boys have a higher cognitive ability to learn more complex tasks. This, therefore, suggests that there is no suitable position regarding the psychological differences in gender, including the beliefs that girls are more social than boys; and boys are bolder than girls. This position seems to contradict Maccolay and Jacklin's (as cited in Hyde, 2005) findings which established that there are four differences between boys and girls. These areas are identified as "verbal ability, visual/ spatial ability, mathematical ability, and aggression" (Hyde, 2005, p. 581).

In addition, Reynolds et al. (2015) pointed out that academic differences between male and female students are not static. Generally, girls seem to show more academic achievement in reading and writing, while boys are significantly more successful in mathematical concepts and problem-solving. However, our investigation is concerned with how institutions like schools contribute to entrenching these beliefs and perceptions because there is clear evidence in scholarly research (Foucault, 2006; Hyde, 2005) that suggests that girls are equally mathematically brilliant and successful as boys.

#### METHODOLOGY

## **Research Design**

The current study is a descriptive and interpretive case study that is analyzed through quantitative and qualitative methods. Descriptive research, according to Calderon (2006), is a purposeful process of gathering, analyzing, classifying, and tabulating data about current conditions, practices, trends, and cause-and-effect relationships and then providing an adequate and accurate interpretation of the data, sometimes with little or no help from statistical methods. Additionally, this method establishes the facts in a group being studied and yields results that can be qualitative, quantitative, or both in terms of descriptions of the overall features of the group.

### **Context of the study and Participants**

The study was conducted in a state high school located in the city of Antakya. The school was selected for the following reasons: (1) it is one of the best schools in Antakya regarding students' performance in the national examination; (2) most students are from middle-class families; (3) its spectrum differs from the other state schools as it is well-disciplined and still uses mostly classical teaching models; (4) the majority of the students and teachers are from the same ethnic community.

The study participants were 50 male and female students and 25 male and female teachers. Of the 50 students, 25 male and 25 female students were administered questionnaires. Of the 25 teachers, 15 are male teachers, and 10 are female teachers who were administered questionnaires as well. We also interviewed 8 teachers; 4 of them are male teachers while 4 are female teachers. We collected the result of an examination conducted in the school to assess the percentages of male and female students' success levels. To understand teachers' perceptions of students, the questionnaires were designed to actively investigate how gender differences are constructed in the classroom by the teachers and the students as well.

#### Data collection tools

The curiosity about gender differences in academic achievement resulted from the researchers' desire to be both teachers and teacher trainers in a society where there seems to be a dichotomy between the male and female gender. This curiosity paved the way to research gender differences to determine if gender differences are constructed by various institutions, especially in schools, and why these differences are so built. To accomplish this task, two different questionnaires were designed and administered to 50 male and female students and 25 male and female teachers. Of the 50 students, 25 male and 25 female students were administered

questionnaires. Of the 25 teachers, 15 are male teachers, and 10 are female teachers who also responded to the questions in the questionnaire. We also interviewed 8 teachers; 4 of them are male teachers while 4 of them are female teachers.

Additionally, we collected the result of an examination conducted in the school to assess the percentages of male and female students' achievement levels. In order to understand teachers' perceptions of students, the questionnaires were designed to actively investigate how gender differences are constructed in the classroom by the teachers and the students. These questionnaires were aimed at revealing students' interaction among themselves and by trying to understand the insights of teachers' "gender" perceptions in terms of how the school can be described as an active maker of a range of gender roles. Firstly, in the questionnaires and interviews, we tried to explore gender effects, roles, identities, and responsibilities internalized by students by the regulatory motive of the school. Secondly, we attempted to figure out the teachers' approaches in the context of "gender differences" and the teachers' perceptions of the discursive construction between femininity/masculinity and academic achievement, discipline, attitudes, and some distinct personal characteristics.

#### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

School as an institutional setting: regulation and control

The school is the only place in society where so many different young people come together for an extended period daily. The classroom is typically much more challenging when it is assumed as a basic unit in the school. Therefore, teacher-student relationships may have a considerable amount of influence on the male and female learners' lives more than predicted (Fredriksen, 2004). On the other hand, schools have a significant role in

disposing of social norms besides reaching traditional outcomes. The school has been widely discussed, and education systems can be re-evaluated considering many variables when analyzed in a historical context. However, the point that cannot be ignored is the functional perspectives of the school as an institution in shaping its identity. Concerning this function of school, Foucault (2006) claimed that school could produce some kinds of subjects. Foucault (2006) also denoted that it aims to achieve bodily and psychological discipline by controlling the mind. She referred to this as "conscious and permanent visibility" (Foucault 2006, p. 201). In other words, perpetual surveillance is internalized by individuals to produce self-awareness.

This changing perspective brings to the fore the position of Myhill (2006), which agrees with Wiener's (1997) view that feminists have argued that, while biology creates sex differences, femininity is culturally constructed. Myhill's (2006) view regarding masculinity also agrees with Ghaill's (1994), where masculinity is described as socially and discursively constructed. This is not to say that people are passively shaped by society, in line with sex-role socialization theory, but rather that everyone is active in taking up the discourses through which they are shaped. Hence, as the schools cannot be discussed without thinking about them in power discourses and policies, gender policies or constructions in the schools might not be considered independent from the state policies. That is why the binary gender system can be transmitted through schools successfully or education policies enforced or conducted through the binary gender system within the constructed status of gender.

The school has a function of producing gender or sex paradoxically as it is a means to construct femininity and masculinity but also another agent that improves pre-given sex accepted by schooling as a juridical conception (Butler, 1990). For instance, teachers of the high school we interviewed gave various answers to the problematic nature of gender as a cultural interpretation of sex. When asked, they stated that gender is what we already have. In adolescence, teenagers learn and characterize their sexes as part of society and culture. From this point, Butler (1990) has posed fundamental thought-provoking questions. These questions are related to whether gender is an attribute that a person has or claims to have, especially in the context of the question, 'what gender are you?'. The issue of gender becomes even more complicated if we look at the claim by feminists regarding gender as being constructed culturally. Butler (1990), therefore, questioned the mechanism and manner of this construction. This is because the feminist view presupposes that gender can be built differently. This equally raises questions about the agency of the construction and tends to suggest a form of determinism. In addition, schools constitute a part of our lives that cannot be underestimated, which means that if the school has a masculine and gendered regime, it is pedagogically complicated to deconstruct. So, to speak, the source of the problem may lie at the very beginning of the regulation process itself.

# Teacher-student interaction: Does it contribute to the construction of the masculine and the feminine gender?

Students' relationships with their teachers can influence and affect their academic performance, motivation, and psychosocial well-being. Students spend a great deal of time at school, and the classroom is the source of many relationships and activities. Initially, we will try to argue the school context and teachers' perceptions of various factors, students' academic performance, and personal characteristics in the sense of gender differences. Moreover, the second argument is on classroom practices, mostly teachers' attitudes towards students without a clear awareness of girls' and boys' distinctions. In my observations and interviews, we realized that teachers have already presumed certain

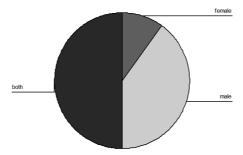
prejudices that are culturally imposed. we attempted to address some questions such as 'How does gender influence teacher-student interaction?', 'What are the internalized gender roles of the students who disrupt the discipline in the classroom?' and 'Do the students learn their gender roles in school life or not?'

Firstly, the school is where the discursive construction of tension between femininity and academic achievement or/and intelligence makes it a particular site for constructing femininity. As is going to be suggested in the results of the questionnaire applied, schoolgirls are expected to be "successful", well-mannered and disciplined; the principal contradiction is that they should be both feminine and successful. The criteria teachers consider while identifying success according to girls and boys, it is not difficult to understand that they generalize students' attitudes and tolerate their masculine traits thinking of "being a girl or a boy". The most common criterion while assessing students is their tendency to obey the school's rules. For instance, students' dressing (especially girls) shows resistance to being educated as they are culturally expected to get dressed in a given way.

Dressing has always been a problematic issue in schools. However, it is valid primarily for girls consistently criticized for their low-cut skirts or make-up. When asked, teachers state that these girls dress indecently, whereas schoolgirls respond to it quite differently. Teachers believe that girls wearing make-up cannot be seen as socially ideal women even if they have high academic performance as they are classified as "whores". Girls who behave respectfully towards their teachers and friends, who are not very talkative or aggressive, and always obey the rules, are appreciated by the management and teachers. Inside the masculine culture, there may be multiple femininities in the eyes of the teachers.

On the other hand, girls are usually assumed not to have problems until they reveal themselves, which is rarely seen. In

contrast to the visibility of the boys and masculine girls, girls display different behaviors, such as hesitating to participate in class which the teachers overlook. This may negatively affect students' learning by affecting the level of discipline in the classroom. Consequently, the contradictory answers to the questions make gender identity stereotypes very clear, exposing how school femininities are constructed within a masculine culture and dominant masculinity. According to the teacher participants in the questionnaire and our interviews, a prominent issue is that teachers often complain about the "babbler" students, whether they are girls or boys, in classroom interactions.

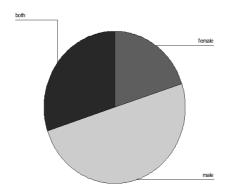


Margin 1: "Babbler" students

Teachers think it is natural for boys to talk so much in the classroom because they are teenagers ignoring the girls' silence. When asked, the answer is typical: "girls are more compatible and obedient. They support authoritarian practices and adapt to school more easily." Teachers perceive the "good girl" image as passive and controllable to measure good student behavior. It might be helpful to remind us of Najmabadi's (1998) example about a little Iranian girl, Kawkab, whom a majority of people dislike because she is undisciplined and shameless and laughs a great deal for no reason

In contrast, the exemplary four-year-old girl, Khawrshid Khanum, is impeccably obedient and well-mannered. Everyone likes her. She spends her whole day doing only good things (p. 97).

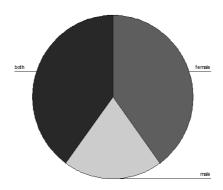
This approach represents the moral construction and desirable moral traits for girls in high school. Furthermore, teachers are asked if their interaction style changes according to the sex of the student or not. Teachers principally claim that they give importance to equality in terms of using language or metaphors. However, as Duffy (2001) stated, teachers' attitudes change according to the sex of the student, even if they cannot notice it (Duffy, Warren, Walsh, 2001, p. 583). The girls are accepted as hardworking students, and when they have high marks, it is seen as the result of their hard work, but when the boys get high marks, it is because they are intelligent; if they are not successful, they most probably, it stems from their laziness. In the interview with the teachers at Başarı State Anatolian High School (pseudo name), five of eight teachers said boys, two of them said both sexes, and one said girls when given some concepts to categorize according to sexes.



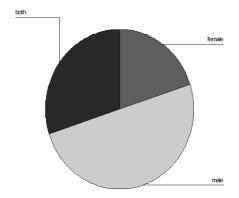
Margin 2: Intelligent (students) portions

For instance, Sevi is a 14-year-old girl in Class-A who is very successful. On the other hand, Murat is a 14-year-old boy in Class-B who is again very successful. However, even if these two students have the same success stories, teachers believe that Murat is a brilliant boy, yet Sevi is a very hardworking, responsible, and obedient girl. The clear distinction made is not only wholly subjective but also the statements of teachers serve directly to culturally constructed gender roles or stereotypes. This unconscious process is the social belief that women should have intellectual and cultural knowledge as they are expected to achieve a proper societal position. On the other hand, the intellectual capacity of men is accepted as prestigious and necessary since philosophical elements peculiar to men construct the pillars of society.

Another determinant factor of the gender differences for teachers is "violence", which is widely equated with masculinity. Teachers respond similarly to concepts such as "aggressiveness" and "disobedience". The point to be paid attention to is that. In contrast, teachers correlate the concept of aggressiveness with boys, the idea of being rebellious or disobedient is accommodated by girls, as seen in the pie graphs below. The contradictory point in girls' disobedience is that, since girls are expected to be respectful of teachers' authority and better behaved, the girls resisting management or control are labeled as "rebellious". A comparative analysis is given below, including teachers' answers to the questions about the sexes of students who "aggressive and rebellious" students are.



Margin 3: The rebellious-disobedient sex



Margin 4: The aggressive sex

If a girl is aggressive, teachers ascribe her to having too many "masculine" features. To illustrate, Berna is a 14-year-old girl who eavesdrops on others' conversations, pays no attention to others, swears, and becomes violent when angry. Teachers warn her frequently by stating, "you are just like a boy, behave like a girl...." Butler (1990) suggested analyzing the sex-gender distinction based on its performances. Gender is performative, and institutionalized discourses support these performances.

School as a disciplining and regulatory institution contributes to the concept of gender. In the quotation below, Butler (1990) problematized the "binary gender system".

Assuming for the moment the stability of binary sex, it does not follow that the construction of "men" will accrue exclusively to the bodies of males or that "women" will interpret only female bodies. Further, even if the sexes appear to be binary in an unproblematic way, in their morphology and constitution, there is no reason to assume that genders ought also to remain as two. The presumption of a binary gender system implicitly retains the belief in a mimetic relation of gender to sex whereby gender mirrors sex or is otherwise restricted by it. When the constructed status of gender is theorized as radically independent of sex, gender itself becomes a free-floating artifice, with the consequence that man and masculine might just as quickly signify a female body as a male one, and woman and feminine a male body as soon as a female one (p. 6).

Derived from Butler's "performance" argument, another significant point is that the masculine power culture in society shapes the school experience of girls and boys inside the 'masculine culture. Patriarchal society requires specific responsibilities for the students and suppressive discourses in families and communities. Therefore, no matter how the male practices are applied in the schools, having masculinity qualifications is accepted as the only way to succeed. Education is essential to empowerment in the patriarchal system that suppresses girls first and dominates them consistently.

# Student-student interaction: a variety of gender perceptions of students

When analyzed carefully, the gendered power relations and gender perceptions of teenagers are much more complicated. Considering competing gender discourses, this study highlights the points that justify the construction of multiple femininities and masculinities in the school context. For example, it is observed that most students refer to generalized presuppositions at the center of patriarchal society. In this part, we will try to reveal how students perceive some "symbolic concepts" about "girls" and "boys" by giving statistical information. However, while analyzing the gendered thinking mechanism of the students, We will emphasize the most common and constructed points. First, we mainly examined how students attribute academic achievement, discipline, responsible, and hardworking besides symbolic attributions such as "independence", "management", and "home" based on biological sex division. Derived from these attributions, we will try to set out how gender perceptions in society are shaped during the school-age by the influences of the teachers and the students, oppositions, and categorizations constructed in a patriarchal society.

The first thing intended to reveal is the academic achievement and personal characteristics of girls and boys students. The questionnaire results were striking in their reflection of most generalizations in society. Students are asked twelve questions; each table in the appendix indicates the comparison of the answers given. The first table (app.table1) shows the comparative statistics about "undisciplined students and the most successful students in the class". Most students think that "boys" are undisciplined and not orderly. However, twenty-eight of them believe that these "undisciplined boys" are successful as well. Another interesting result is that both girls and boys believe that girls are more obedient and orderly. However, it can be said that girls are "mothers" of the future, assumed to be trimmer, disciplined, and organized, whereas it is not an element of success; however, even if boys are undisciplined, they can be successful thanks to their intelligence. Similarly, out of the 50 students, 17 students claim that female students are babblers, 27 students claim that male

#### Current Researches in Educational Sciences V

students are babblers, and only six students believe that both males and females are babblers. (Tables 1. and 2)

Table 1.				
Female students are:	more intelligent	more obedient	babblers	more aggressive
50 Students	18	42	17	13
25 Teachers	5	19	3	6

Table 2.				
Male students are:	more intelligent	more obedient	babblers	more aggressive
50 Students	28	8	27	35
25 Teachers	16	6	13	14

Table 3.					
Both are:	intelligent	obedient	babblers	aggressive	
50Students	4	0	6	2	
25 Teachers	4	0	9	5	

Regarding "being hardworking", most students believe girls are more hardworking than teachers. Nevertheless, being hardworking does not necessarily mean being successful academically; that is why the answer to the question of more successful sex of the students is not "girls", but "both". The matter of "physical appearance" has been proven by the results of the interview as an indicator of achievement. The majority of the students attribute girls as the ones who care very much about their physical appearance to be popular. In school, students have strong relations with these girls; nonetheless, they are not included in the respected friends or successful categories;

#### Current Researches in Educational Sciences V

instead, they have links so as not to be excluded or humiliated by the fame of these girls. This type of femininity means "having power", which is indeed "masculine" even if it is not performed; obviously, the schoolboys approve and support its practice. From another point of view, students were asked what the first sex they can say when they hear the concept of "independent". The answer was expected: "male" (Table 4). Nevertheless, when the word "home" was pronounced, most girls and boys said: "girls". Girls feel "dependent"; however, girls think that boys are independent as they are "boys", which means masculine. Without a doubt, in the hegemonic masculine culture, the answers are not surprising, yet the fact that it is a public high school and most of the students have non-conservative and liberal-minded families besides being in a moderate socioeconomic status makes the results directly to be related to boundaries of construction of gender.

Table 4.						
Research Participants: (50 Students)	Administrator	Artist	Home	Baby	Independence	Protection
Female	13	22	31	38	17	15
Male	26	18	10	5	27	19
Both	11	10	9	7	6	16

Finally, two results are based on two concepts: "administrator" and "baby". These are symbolic representations of boys for the former and girls for the latter. Boys and girls believe that the status of administrator is the concept of masculinity, providing a position for boys. In patriarchal societies, the education given to women and occupations chosen for women is acceptable only if these occupations do not create problems in the private sphere of women's and men's lives (Gümüşoğlu, 1996). This analysis gives way to the "sexual division of labor" and its perception in

society. (app.Table-4) As Mohanty (2003) suggested that sexual division of labor means more than just a description. It shows the different importance that is placed on the work of men against that of women. Society has already determined the value since the administrator category has been assigned to the boys, but "house managers" cannot even be mentioned. Girls think boys are better at management, but when asked, the most responsible and hardworking students are girls who cannot be "administrators".

Secondly, "baby" is associated mainly with "girls" (app. Table: 4), which shows that "motherhood" is constructed within the "women" and "child" dichotomy. In parallel with these answers, girls are also associated with "home". Betül, a 15-year-old girl, said, "Is there any chance to think about men at home? I do not imagine my brothers and father sleeping at home incessantly." Students who agree with this idea have responded to "independence" as it is a concept belonging to "boys" as they are caged into the "house", which is perceived as a natural phenomenon. However, it is not paradoxical but "an inheritance". Historically, it started with the first father, "Adam". As a prolongation, social contract theorists predicated the doctrine that men were by nature free and equal which is seen as the "main foundation of popular sedition" (Pateman, 1992, p. 37).

In this part, we tried to bring up the most common matters in the reception of gender differences and roles. The other comparative analyses of these perceptions can also be seen in the appendixes. The results of the questionnaire applied and the interviews confirm the gendered school culture, although schools in Antakya are claimed to be modern and liberal. The issue of gender is not a simple problem within "modernity" or "society". Therefore, it is expected to be discussed in a historical context related to "subjectivity" and "power discourses", because of which, in this study, an institutional context has been provided.

To draw a line in the argument between who is more successful, the result of an examination was analyzed (Table 5). The results showed an unexpected outcome: Out of 162 students that sat for the study, 79 were girls, while 83 were boys. However, the result showed that 28 girls made it to the first fifty while only 22 boys were found in the first 50. In the last 50, there were 20 girls and 30 boys. Suppose the result of an examination is an indicator of academic achievement and intelligence. In that case, the female students in the collated results are more intelligent and academically successful than male students.

Table 5.			
Exam Participants: Total Number	Number of girls and boys	Within first fifty	Within last fifty
162 Students	79 girls	28	20
	83 boys	22	30

#### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There has always been a tendency to interpret academic performance, personality traits, and attitudes of schoolgirls and boys using gendered culture and dominant masculine everyday life practices. Even though teachers and students display relatively unconscious perspectives, it is almost impossible to say that they do not perform in a gendered stage. Gendered stereotypes that have been in use in social contexts become acceptable as gendered rules and roles. All these produced rules become internalized for each subject of society. No matter how these rules occur, they constrain individual behavior and reproduce the activities of each issue from top to bottom.

Consequently, all approved daily routines and interactions become "gendered", of which practices have been systematized in the schools as "institutional settings". Schools constitute the first step just before re-producing women-men dichotomies. Since schools are the institutions where this "binary system" is rooted, we must begin to address it from there. Therefore, in this study, it is emphasized that the *ordinary* practices in a state Anatolian High School have significant roles in constructing gender identity and stereotypes about the vital functions of the school as a regulatory setting.

The study presented noteworthy findings between gender and academic achievement. However, the study participants may not be representative of the population of interest, and they came from a relatively homogeneous middle-class socio-economic background. Thus, the results cannot be generalized to a greater population, and caution should be exercised when generalizing the study's conclusions to avoid misinterpretations. Finally, to generalize the results of the current study to broader populations, it would be advantageous for future research to use more extensive and diverse samples.

We recommend that the Ministry of National Education should organize conferences and workshops for teachers and administrators to educate them on the dangers of using perceived ideas regarding gender differences in assessing and analyzing students regarding their academic success, personal characteristics, and behaviors. Secondly, students should be encouraged to view other students as equals without prejudice against their gender. Finally, we believe that if this is done, the effect will trickle down to the home front, where gender differences are also constructed.

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