THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY AT SCHOOL FROM THE
PERSPECTIVE OF HIGH SCHOOL MALE STUDENTS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY AT SCHOOL FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HIGH SCHOOL MALE STUDENTS

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This study aims to investigate the construction of high school boys' masculinities in school setting and to reveal what side the school takes and how it positions itself in the process of fictionalizing masculinities. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews with male students and observations at various parts of the two schools. In depth interviews were conducted with 15 male students. Observations were conducted in classroom settings in different courses and the other parts of the school such as canteen, schoolyard and corridors. The interviews and observations were realized within a period of 4 months. Content analysis was employed through Nvivo 10 software that is used to analyze the qualitative data collected. The findings indicated that school environment and practices mostly support hegemonic masculinity. As the superior masculinity model among other masculinities, hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the indication of superior position of males in society. It was also revealed that both the hegemonic masculinity model that is supported by school and the other masculinity types existing in school setting come forth through body and meanings attributed to the actions of body.

ÖZ

LİSELİ ERKEK ÖĞRENCİLERİN BAKIŞ AÇISINDAN OKULDA ERKEKLİĞİN İNŞASI

Yüksek Lisans, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Bölümü

Kırıkışla, Esra

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Bu çalışma, liseli erkek çocukların okul ortamında erkekliklerinin inşasını araştırmayı ve okulun erkeklikleri kurgulama sürecinde kendini nasıl konumlandırdığını ve tarafını nasıl belirlediğini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Veriler erkek öğrencilerle yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve iki farklı okulun çeşitli bölümlerinde gerçekleştirilen gözlemler aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında 15 erkek öğrenci ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Gözlemler farklı sınıf ortamlarındaki farklı derslerin yanı sıra okulun kantin, okul bahçesi ve koridorlar gibi diğer bölümlerinde yürütülmüştür. Mülakatlar ve gözlemler 4 aylık bir süre içinde yapılmıştır. İçerik analizi, toplanan nitel verilerin analizinde kullanılan Nvivo 10 yazılımı ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bulgular, okul ortamının ve uygulamalarının çoğunlukla hegemonik erkekliği desteklediğini göstermektedir. Hegemonik erkeklik, farklı erkeklikler arasındaki üstün erkeklik modeli olarak erkeklerin toplumdaki üstün konumunun göstergesi olarak tanımlanabilir. Aynı zamanda hem okul tarafından desteklenen hegemonik erkeklik modelinin hem de okul ortamında var olan diğer erkeklik türlerinin beden ve bedenin hareketlerine atfedilen anlamlar ile ortaya çıktığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erkeklik Çalışmaları, Erkeklikler, Okulda Erkekliğin İnşası, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Eğitim.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview of the Chapter

This chapter provides an introductory background information of the study, statement of the problem together with the significance, organization, assumptions and limitation of the study as well as the research questions investigated by the researcher.

1.2. Background of the Study

The roles assigned to women within the framework of stereotyped gender roles and their relationship with femininity have been a matter of discussion for many years. Woman, who has been pushed to a secondary position in social hierarchy, is exposed to a substantial hegemony both in public and private spheres. What about the issue of masculinity? Questions of masculinity have been swept under the carpet while it enjoys the victory gained against women in a glorified position in the patriarchal order. While feminists have been defending their rights against men for many years, they have pioneered the questioning of men's issues through the domino effect of the second wave feminist movement that began in the 1960s. From this point on, masculinity started to be discussed and questioned both in the household and in other social, cultural, economic, political etc. fields and institutions. The feminist perspectives on education, school and academia have also arisen from the driving force of the second wave women's movement that emerged in this period. Educational sciences and school as an educational institution that constitutes the content of this research has emerged as an important field in which important inquiries have been made regarding masculinity in recent years.

The school setting in which individuals have the most socialization process after the family environment over the course of childhood and adolescence has an undeniable influence on the construction of masculinity. As a social creature, human beings constantly realizes their existence with the identity that they build in the processes of socialization. Individuals shape their gender identity by adopting the norms and cultural characteristics of the group and society in which they are involved and by defining both themselves and their environment within the framework of these characteristics (Kramer, 2014; Mora, 2014). In this sense, male students define both their and others' masculinities within the framework of the peculiar school culture. At this point, school emerges as a very experiential field as claimed in this study. School is the most important area where the relations of education and power are put into practice. In this case, education is depicted as the most important tool in imposition and reproduction of the dominant ideology (Althusser, 1989; Freire, 2005). That is, it comes to the fore as a domain of power. In addition, for adolescents' identity development, it is one of the most influential grounds in which sexual identities are established both through national and political discourses (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). Therefore, school is not only a place that reproduces gender relations outside of itself; but also a 'hegemonic ground' where traditional gender roles are regenerated in the context of its particular culture and 'gender regime' (Özkazanç & Sayılan, 2008Reay, 2001; Connell, 1998; 2005).

The changing paradigms heading towards critical perspectives in social sciences have had a considerable influence on the field of education especially in terms of understanding school as a gendered scope as from 1970s (Apple, 1995). Thus, the radical critical movement based on an emancipatory perspective has enabled us to reevaluate the relationship between education and masculinities. In this context, it has been possible to look at how the relations between the family, the capitalist division of labor and the ground for the reproduction of patriarchal structures are mediated in the concrete cultural environment of school through a gendered pedagogy (Stromquist, 2002; 2006; Apple, 1995). The official culture of the school, which operates through the assumption of 'neutral to differences' in its formal discourse, in fact, has both an open and concealed sexual regime where

gender discrimination is everywhere based on the private-public distinction (Connell, 1998; Stromquist, 2006; Arnot, 1982). Life experiences and different viewpoints brought to school medium by its members combine with the official culture of the institution and lead to the emergence of a culture that is unique to that setting. As a result of this, every school setting constitutes a "gender regime" specific to it (Kessler et al., 1985).

All educational activities practiced in a school are employed according to a specific plan within the framework of the formal educational program called official curriculum. Each educational operation and practice carried out according to this program is clearly indicated in a written form in the official curricula. However, rather than this written document, 'hidden curriculum', which includes non-written and extracurricular activities, is much more important in determining school environment, atmosphere, the perceptions and way of behaving of its members. In the most general sense, it includes behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, value judgements, school atmosphere, the dominant way of interaction among the members of the school and many other cultural factors developing in school through "unofficial expectation, or implicit, but hidden messages" generated in hidden curriculum (Ahwee et.al, 2004:26; Hemmings, 2000). In fact, all these values that come into being as a "by-product are deeply embedded in the community but rarely brought to the surface and articulated" (Ahwee et.al, 2004:34). Thus, hidden curriculum provide us a significant set of knowledge as one of the main constituents in the way of understanding school's cultural establishment and its positioning itself in the construction of masculinities of male students.

As Dewey argues, "we are what we learn" (Dewey, 1963; cited in Czajkowski & Melon, 1975:280). However, the learnt things at present are not free from the previous life experiences and acquired traditional values gained in family environment. Thus, in order to understand how masculinity is constructed in school, we should find out what kind of acquired experiences pertaining to the masculinity are transferred from familial life to school setting. For this reason, dominant perception of masculinity in the household was also tried to be explored

in the interviews conducted with male students. The findings obtained in this sense made it easy to understand how male students reflect their masculine experiences they gain in family life to school area and in what way this situation shapes the cultural foundations and masculine culture of educational institutions.

Before focusing on the construction of masculinity in school, it is necessary to look at various definitions and explanations on the concept. First of all, Connell, (2005, 2003, 1998), who is one of the leading names in the field and the most important reference source with her studies of masculinity and the theory she developed, states that there is not a single model of masculinity being valid everywhere, thus, the issue should be considered as 'masculinities' but not as 'masculinity' (Messerschmidt, 2005). According to Connell, each culture constructs its gender order in different ways in different historical periods. Likewise, Kimmel (2004) mentions that gender is a matter of perception, therefore masculinity cannot be evaluated in limited and accurate characteristics. This demonstrates that although being born male biologically is significant, it is not enough to achieve masculinity at all. At this point, the issue of masculinities emerges as a cultural construction. As emphasized by Connell (2005, 1998) and Kimmel (2004) approach to masculinity changes as cultures, places and times change. However, they also underline that even if the definition of masculinity is open to changes in this way, there has always been a dominant perception of masculinity in societies. This model, which Connell put forward as "hegemonic masculinity" in her theory, is taken as the main reference point in the definition and description of all other masculinities their relations to each other. This dominant masculinity has a close relationship with patriarchy and it shows the dominant position of men over women as well as the ideal masculinity form that all men want to achieve, but in fact, few can (Sancar, 2009; Connell, 1998; 2005). Through this concept, Connell did not only reveal the relationship between masculinity and patriarchy, but also contributed to the inquiry of other types of masculinity that are marginalized, thus, invisible in the society (Kandiyoti, 1997).

In this sense, the field of education has emerged as one of the areas in which the questioning regarding various masculinities has started. The educational materials

that constitute the most requirement of the educational settings have also subjected to this questioning. There are various materials used by teachers during the courses. Textbooks are the most common teaching tools used in classroom setting. Textbooks are revealed as instruments through which various explicit and implicit messages about gender roles are transmitted to students (Tietz, 2007; Delamont, 1990; Gümüşoğlu, 2013). Studies on textbooks mostly focus on how boys and girls are represented in textbooks. These studies mostly reveal men's image with characteristics such as strong, authoritarian, durable, warrior, brave, virtuous, family father etc. However, the hegemony that these traits impose on male students on the way of achieving masculinity is ignored in these studies. Any study that examines the issue of masculinity in textbooks with an in-depth analysis has not been coincided during the literature review. Studies on this subject mostly investigate the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity'. The studies investigating masculinity in textbooks skip diverse nature of masculinity. As a result, this situation provides the normalization of 'hegemony' over other masculinities in researches and academic studies.

Furthermore, classroom setting stands out as a significant factor in the construction of gender identities in school in literature. Studies indicate that teachers have stereotyped notions and judgements against male and female students (Abbott and Wallace, 1997; Burr, 1998; Francis and Skelton, 2001; Swain, 2001). In their studies, Francis and Skelton (2001) demonstrated that both male and female teachers contribute to the perpetuation of traditional masculine roles by the reinforcement realized through the language and behaviors they use during the interaction with students. In addition, although it was argued that both male and female teachers reinforce stereotyped masculinity roles, Francis & Skelton (2001) found out that male teachers contribute more to this system and support patriarchal based school culture formation more than female teachers. Moreover, Francis & Skelton (2001) mentioned that male teachers reprove their masculinity as proper to the accepted societal norms while guiding the identity construction of male students in this way. Besides, it is demonstrated that when compared to female teachers, male teachers are argued to be demonstrating much more statements reflecting "compulsory heterosexuality" (Francis & Skelton, 2001:10).

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Furthermore, some studies find out that teachers mostly determine classroom management according to male students, as they are perceived as more active, energetic and subverter (Burr, 1998; Streitmatter, 1993; Lundeberg, 1997). These studies were conducted by comparing male and female students in classroom in a dual aspect. That is, the roles attributed to male students in the classroom setting actually emphasize a single aspect of masculinities. What about different masculinity models existing in the classroom? How do they experience the process of interaction with teachers and classroom mates? This issue, which is left missing in the literature, was tried to be answered in the analysis and discussion chapters by taking into consideration the observation results of this study.

Another important area where masculinity is defined and a hierarchy among masculinities is formed is sports fields in school setting. The hierarchical "gender order" defined by Connell (1998, 2006) in the context of masculinities theory emerges as a cultural practice reproduced during sport activities and in playing grounds as well. The fact that the body, physical strength and performance are very important in sportive activities makes the environments in which these activities are realized an effective scope for structuring and reproduction of the hierarchy among masculinities (Koca, 2006:83). Physical education courses and sports fields in school are mentioned as one of the most important areas leading to the 'normalization' of the subordination of some masculinities other than the domination of idealized form within the framework of traditional roles and norms (Flintoff, 1990).

As gender identity develops in the context of socialization, peer group becomes a significant indicator of masculinity perception in school. Because, it is one of the most important social formation that give significant data about gender identity development in high school level that includes adolescence period. A peer group is generally described as a small group of friendships of adolescents that pass a lot of time together (Brown, 2004; cited in Birkett and Espelage, 2015). Studies reveals that feelings of "power", "sense of belonging" and "trust" are gained within peer groups. Great importance is given to peers as they provide advice, coexistence, building a behavior model, providing support and feedback as well as being a

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source of information on personal traits and skills (Demir, Baran, Ulusoy; 2005). During the observations, it was explored that male students act in-group much more in comparison to girls. Therefore, peer groups are among the most essential elements that need to be investigated in order to understand how different masculinities are established within different groups. Each peer group has its own culture and rules, which does not always have to be in harmony with the current culture of the school. Besides, they may also confront both the official rules of the school and other groups from time to time in search for achieving popularity and prestige (Swain, 2006:334). Peer groups define both their and other groups' masculine identity according to their own group dynamics.

According to the mentioned above, masculinity issue in school appears as a complex and multifactorial issue. This study aims to reveal construction of masculinities in a high school by regarding male students' experiences that they bring from family environment and gain in school setting. In this respect, the following research questions guided the data collection and the analysis of the study:

1. How do male students construct their masculinities in school?
2. What kind of masculinities are supported or subordinated within the identified cultural environment of school?
3. What are the factors influencing the construction of masculinities of male students in and out of school contexts?

1.3. Statement of the Problem

This thesis aims to investigate the construction of high school boys' masculinities in school setting and to reveal what side the school takes and how it positions itself in the process of fictionalizing masculinities. School is not an area where only teaching activities take place. However, it also ensures the socialization of individuals in a planned and systematic way and fulfill this purpose within the framework of social and cultural values. Even though as a formal place school appears to be a single structure and depends to a single formal curriculum, it can

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be clearly seen that each component of this institution is actually rather diverse which makes it a multidimensional scope rather than a unifactorial structure as each member of school brings their previous and unique experiences to school setting. For this reason, as one part of the study, what kind of masculinity models students have experienced in the household was tried to be clarified. It would be quite beneficial in understanding the patriarchal connection among different masculinities. Also, teacher-student interaction was indicated as a determinant factor in shaping male students' masculinity perceptions as teachers have a significant place as a role model rather than being a teaching person in the classroom. The materials used by the teachers in the classroom, the way they talk, behave and communicate with male students were observed through non-structured observations for 51 hours with a critical look and their influence on the construction of masculinities were tried to be understood. In this way, it was aimed to understand which behaviors of male students were approved or excluded during interactions with teachers on the way to gaining masculinity. In addition, how peer relations and friendship groups are established in school is one of the important elements showing the construction of masculinities. Therefore, this study also focused on how different masculinities are established in different friendship groups and whether there is a hierarchical order between them or not. In addition, it is explored how students reinforce the perception of masculinity through intra-group relations. Besides all these, other school practices and expectations from male students were revealed. Thus, the answer to the question of what kind of a masculinity is advocated by school was tried to be found out.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study might have contributions to both educational sciences and gender studies. Although masculinity studies have increased relatively in the last 10 years, there are still serious gaps in this area. Also, during the literature research it was seen that studies on school and gender mostly focused on the problems of female students in different school levels. Male students were not seen as a necessary research subject because they were seen as advantageous already. However, in recent year, through the critical approach towards masculinity and especially with

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the theory of masculinities put forward by Connell, this issue has been a subject of research to explore different masculinities and how they are constructed in different ways. Many theoretical studies on the construction of masculinities are available in the literature. However, any study on the issue of masculinity that is conducted by entering in a high school environment actively and conducting interviews with male students is not available in the literature in Turkey yet. Although there are such studies abroad, they are very few in number. Also, most of them were conducted in primary and secondary school level. Moreover, in this thesis, a wide review of literature was reviewed to explore the relationship between education and masculinity. In this respect, this research is believed to provide significant contributions to the field.

1.5. Organization of the Study

This study was organized in five main chapters. The first chapter is the introduction part and it provides information about the background of the study and makes an introduction to the searched issue. In addition, statement of the problem, significance of the study besides its assumptions and limitations were mentioned in this part. The second chapter was organized to present literature review. It includes the issue of sex and gender relation primarily as it constitutes the origin of masculinity studies. The relationship between gender and school and in the following feminist educational approaches were reviewed in the literature as the scope of this research is an educational institution and the purpose is to understand the positioning of school in constructing masculinities. Since cultural values and especially traditional roles are the main factors shaping the perception of masculinity, the subject of school culture was also clarified. In the following, the hidden curriculum that includes all practices and unwritten rules other than the official discourse of the school was addressed as it is one of the leading factors in shaping school culture and plays a much more important role in the construction of students' gender identity. Another overview is made on feminist critical pedagogy. Besides the critical language patterns used in this study, pedagogy was dealt in a critical point of view as the questioning of masculinity was moved to school environment and classroom setting by feminist scholars and teacher who supported

critical approach in education. Then, theories of gender identity development were examined to make a clear understanding of boys' perception towards masculinities. Finally, the theory of 'Masculinities' developed by Connell was reviewed in the literature. The third chapter provides the method of the study by presenting research design, data collection techniques and instruments, data analysis process, sample of the study, the role of the researcher and ethical evaluation. The results gained after the analysis process are presented in the fourth chapter. In addition, these findings were supported through observation notes. In the final section, the findings were discussed and implications for practice and for further researcher were presented.

1.6. Assumptions of the Study

Some assumptions emerging during the data collection process of the research that exists in this study should be taken into consideration. Firstly, all the students being interviewed with are assumed to accept to be a participant of his own accord and replied each of the question with an open and sincere attitude. Also, during the research class observations were realized in two different school environments for 51 hours. It is assumed that both teachers and students behaved naturally without being affected because of the existence of an observer in classroom setting. Moreover, as I spent long hours in both of the schools in order to understand how and what kind of masculinities are constructed in school setting with a deep observation including canteen, corridors, playgrounds and school garden, most of the students and teachers became aware of me and my subject matter in progress of time. It is assumed that this familiarity did not has an influence on the flow of this study. Before the semi-structured interviews, the prepared questions were checked by consulting to experts' opinions. Then, a trial interview was conducted to determine whether the questions served to the purpose correctly or not. Thus, the data collection instruments benefited in this study are thought to be proper for realizing the aims of the study.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

This study has some limitations. First of all, this study was carried out as a phenomenology study and its scope includes two high schools being observed and interviews with 15 male students in one of the researched schools. Therefore, the outputs of this study cannot be generalized to other high schools. However, it has significant findings towards the relationship between school and masculinities, as it is a little searched field of study. In this respect, it can provide important contributions to the literature. In addition, the findings can provide an awareness both in other teachers and in schools. By means of this awareness, the issue of masculinity that is mostly ignored in schools may become more visible. Also, as I conducted my observations and interviews in schools where I previously worked, I was familiar with some of the students and most of the teachers. As students knew that I am a teacher previously worked there and I knew other teachers and school administration, they might have had hesitates in expressing themselves openly. Likewise, during the classroom observations teachers might have had the same problem of being completely natural as they knew that a colleague they met before makes this observation.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1. Overview of the Chapter

This chapter presents a review of literature that was organized to overview the significant points crossing in the construction of masculinities in a high school setting. In this respect, this part includes sex and gender relation, connection between gender and education, hidden curriculum, school culture, feminist critical pedagogy, feminist approaches in educational studies, theories of gender identity development and theory of masculinities

2.2. Sex and Gender

When we look at the discussions on gender in recent years, it has been observed that studies have also focused on masculinities as well as women question. Although studies on the women's issue has covered a large area in gender studies, men's studies has been on the agenda as significant as women question in the last 20 years especially with the influence of critical approach. By producing new discourses, theories and policies accordingly, it has turned out that masculinity emerges in the process of social construction through the "ideological apparatuses of state" such as school, media, religion etc. (Althusser, 1989). Masculinity studies constitute a substantial part of gender studies now. On the way of understanding the formulation of the hegemonic masculinity and other masculinities as well as the relationship among them, it is necessary to comprehend the relation between the concepts of sex and gender as it includes the essential foundation on which the whole conception of masculinity is based.

Therefore, the intertwined relationship between these two terms is examined in this part.

The terms sex and gender has been a matter of discussion in terms of meaning and usage. It is still discussed whether either terms refer to the same things or they are totally different. Rather than being completely different or similar subjects, they can be also tackled as complementary issues as well. It can be said that as men and women are gendered in tune with political, social and historical goals by means of dominant cultural norms, sex and gender are the patterns that do not have the same meaning but also cannot be separated from each other completely. The general stance is that gender refer to social constructions and it is a notion of how society sees, perceives, thinks, and expects us to act as man and woman while sex refers to biological features (Acker, 1992). This makes gender unnatural/human-made and sex natural. That is, rather than 'being', it is a social - based creation.

The concept of gender revealed the importance of life experiences and social communication in shaping human behavior. It is defined as a concept used to describe the social and cultural definition of man and woman or the way that societies distinguish these two genres and the social roles given to them. However, this definition is criticized and seen as inadequate as it does not include other sexual orientations and limits sex only as to woman and man (Uygur, 2015). At this point, it is understood that the meaning of being a man is determined in certain limitations that are decided apart from individuals' consciousness, imposing a series of necessities that should be practiced. Gender has a meaning connected to the social class, patriarchy, politics, and mode of production in society that cannot be explained only through the features of biological sex. On the other hand, sex is mentioned as the incomparable and unchanged biological differences between male and female individuals. The content of male and female differences is limited with a genetic determination and largely universal. Following the emergence of gender, the concepts of 'male' and 'female' that are the signifiers of biological sex were also exposed to a change as feminine and masculine showing the influence of societal interaction in shaping human behavior and even way of thinking in its cultural-interactional context. However, the difference of femininity and

masculinity is designated culturally and it is ineluctably variable (Bullough & Bullough, 1993). Norms related to the roles of femininity and masculinity include the way man and woman present themselves, their speeches, patterns of behavior and clothing codes etc. These patterns and encodings vary from society to society. As all these are determined according to social and cultural norms, the basic qualities and personal beliefs of individual must be in accordance with the embraced norms of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' of the society (Bullough & Bullough, 1993). This approach to the nature of the concept of masculinity will constitute the essence of the theory of masculinities developed by Connell, which will be mentioned in the advancing chapters.

Although the term 'gender' has made it easier to explain the impact of social factors on gender identity development, it has also been criticized for reducing sex to woman and man with a dual approach. According to this approach, sex is brought from birth and is not the subject of change. However, according to some scientists, sex and gender are both products of social construction. Butler (2010) argues that gender identity is a continuous "performance" and naturalized through 'bodily performance'. Also, action is a must in the construction of gender identity; that is; gender identity is created at the same time with expression of it. According to John Scott "gender is the social organization of sexual difference; that is, gender is the knowledge that establishes meaning for bodily differences" (cited in Nicholsan, 1994:79). At the first sight, this comment of Scott seems to imply that gender is the indicator of physical differences between man and woman as stable categories. However, Nicholsan (1994) explains this as such that body is the outcome of social interpretation, thus, sex and gender cannot be separated from each other as two distinct terms but rather gender includes sex as sub-category. In conclusion, the questioning of this relationship between sex and gender has opened the way to examine masculinity in a social constructionist context with its various forms in various institutional scopes.

2.3. Gender and Education

Although the resources to reach different kinds of information with the contribution of rapidly developing technology today has increased, school still continues to be the most important institution to reach information and to transform this knowledge into power. At the same time, as education transfers the cultural values to people in a previously planned time and has the function of gaining them the necessary preconditions for future life as individuals that comply with social norms in the following years, it carries gender-related messages. Additionally, educational systems provide the existing social relations with a legitimacy ground that imposes meanings accepted by all (Freire, 2005; Arnot, 1982). In this respect, this study aims to reveal how this ground is established in the construction of masculinities through school practices applied in educational processes. An in-depth examination on the relation between education and gender construction will help us understand the stages behind the masculine identity development of high school boys.

Education is an important mechanism in order to convey the accepted culture and knowledge in society to individuals. While transferring these conditions to individuals, stereotyped gender roles are also conveyed in all levels of education. Freire (2005), who sees education as an area of application of sovereignty, argues that the main goal in the educational process is to teach students to adapt naturally to the world of oppression. According to Freire, this intention is the outcome of a pure ideological concern to manipulate people by "domesticating" them through suppression (Freire, 2005). Althusser (1989) revealed that education and school system, which are one of the most important 'ideological apparatuses' of the state provides the transfer of the dominant values of the prevailing ideology and of society to future generations. These values ensure the endurance for the reproduction of all other social inequalities including gender inequality (Risman and Davis, 2013). As McCormick (1994) points out school is not neutral in the issue of inequalities in society and it imposes lots of stereotypical way of thinking and behaving on its students. In this way, it reproduces the dominant views and cultural aspects while shaping the formation of unequal relations among diverse

social groups and classes as "gendered institutions" (Acker, 1992). Accordingly, appropriate identities and subjectivities necessary for the desired construction of social relations and reproduction of patriarchal order are shaped through educational institutions (Stromquist, 2006). Educational systems play a key role in the reproduction of sexist stereotypes and values through the employed strategies in school as well as in the cultural climate of it (Tan, 2000). In this way, sexist discourse has spread to everyday life in a natural way through educational systems that are generated with a sexist understanding under the name of scientific and pedagogical necessity (Maher, 1987). As Arnot (1982) points out, this is the way of school's revealing its side in the balance of power between the sexes. Each educational system signifies the values that are valid within that society and teaches how to perform the tasks expected from individuals of that society. Individuals adopt their roles naturally in accordance with the identity of masculinity and femininity that are constructed by society within the process of socialization in school setting (Giroux, 1986). In this way, individuals normalize their roles, behavioral patterns and ways of thinking with a deep internalization. As Arnot (1982:84) argues, the actual goal of education presented under a formal institution is to construct "subjectivities" that intentionally or unintentionally assent to prevailing gender patterns. Likewise, in the National Action Plan 2008-2013 KSGM it was reported that education system frequently reproduces stereotyped roles for women and men and that these roles are reflected on the professional and educational preferences of boys and girls (KSGM, 2008).

Although access to education is the primary focus in terms of ensuring equality between individuals, it is a clear fact that social roles of women and men cannot go beyond the stereotypes in educational spheres (Stromquist, 2006). The main reason for this is that individuals cannot transform themselves in the hegemonic practices based on gender discriminative approaches in the curriculum and school culture. The content of schools and educational practices conveys the stereotypes of gender roles in the community to students through confidential or clear messages that will be mentioned under the title of hidden curriculum in the following part. Accordingly, male students have a superior position in schools. However, they are also subjected to a severe pressure to enter the pattern of masculinity imposed on

them by the hegemony and try hard to be accepted by the society. This puts male students in a disadvantageous position in school. Because, not only girls but also boys are manipulated to stay in the limitation of traditional gender roles. Even, when it comes to masculinity, the system sometimes can be crueler to male students. Considering all this, it is seen that the most significant thing needed in order to create a social life in which there is no gender discrimination is transformative education. Transformative education is a kind of education that underlines the significance of information and observations that students carry to school and classroom life together with teacher in a critical classroom ground (Stromquist, 2006). Moreover, it present knowledge that increases consciousness about social inequalities and equips people to reorganize for "progressive social transformation" (Freire, 2005; Stromquist, 2006:149).The hegemonic discourse in school pushes girls to a secondary position   and creates a hierarchy between boys. At the same time, male students who try to get into the norms of masculinity as expected from them also enter into a serious identity questioning which is actually a very painful process for them. Like the shaped feminine roles that are determined through superior relations starting from the family, masculinity is also manipulated and described in the same way, even more strictly as it is a rather fragile issue, and reinforced through the tools of reproduction in educational environments and societal life (Selek, 2014).

The main objective of gender equality policies in education is to eliminate traditional gender roles and stereotypes. In accordance with this, Sayılan (2012) underlines two dimensions in succeeding   gender equality. The first is about the possibilities and opportunities offered through education system to both sexes and diverse sexual identities. The second dimension is related to the content of the curriculum and textbooks and how school life is organized. Although schools and education systems seem to offer equal opportunities for both sexes, in fact they do not fully provide gender equality. Stromquist (2006:158) explains this with her claim that "school experiences and access to knowledge that reproduce gender codes ensure induction into, rather than alteration of, existing beliefs and practices". In this process, the content of the education, the processes of knowledge transferred, the way in which learning, guidance and orientation are

structured are important in exploring the construction of masculinity (Arnot, 1982). Also, the cultural environment of school plays an important role in terms of ensuring equal and fair treatment. As cited by Stromquist (2006, 149) in order to achieve a 'transformative education', the system needs to provide both emotional assist and new political views in order to design and realize social transformation and information on the situation of an individual's dependent position. For this purpose, the school should have a "gender-sensitive" culture, teachers and school administrators and a learning environment should be provided to students to question gender stereotypes in schools, which is mostly determined by the cultural formation of school through hidden curriculum and implicit messages.

2.4. Feminist Theories in Education

Feminist approaches that bring a new dimension to educational studies suggest that not only race and social status, but also gender is an important factor in shaping society through school. Feminist educational studies put forward that gender, like race and social class, is an irreducible force that both shapes and being shaped by life in school. Also, institutions, feelings and experiences are of distinctive importance as the reflector of gendered practices in school for feminist theorists. In this respect, the relationship of school with patriarchy and the role it plays in the reproduction of patriarchal gender order have been an area of interest for feminist theorists (Weiler, 1988). According to feminist theorists, educational systems implemented through school is one of the most important instruments of power. Therefore, it is required to overview the feminist theories in educational studies because the scope of this study is school and its focus is on the construction of masculinities in this educational setting. The feminist approaches and their perspectives against education are as following:

2.4.1. Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism has arisen as the result of the liberal attitude developing in the Enlightenment and highlights the principles of individualism, equality and democracy (Giddens, 2008). It especially underlines the significance of the

individual and focuses on individual freedom. According to liberal feminists gender inequality is the result of women's exclusion from public sphere and their divestment from accessing to equal opportunities as men do (Acker, 1987). As the leading liberal feminist, Marry Wollstonecraft maintained that equal rights and opportunities needs to be provided to women in each field of life in order to overcome gender inequality (Dalal, 2015:53). In this sense, education came to the fore as one of the most important tools for gaining equal right for liberal theorists. Therefore, this strong emphasis made on individuality and freedom reflected to the field of education as well. The liberal feminists have revealed a significant and challenging struggle to have equal rights in the field of education as well as rights of voting, employment etc. throughout the 19th century (Weiner, 1986). They advocate that the knowledge and skills, which are necessary for a lifelong fair competition among individuals both in the labor market and in societal life should be equally taught in schools with a gender-neutral approach (Acker, 1987). They put forward unequal dividend of rights between men and women as the greatest reason for existing gender discrimination and claimed that its elimination will only be possible when women and men have equal rights especially in the field of education (Acker, 1987).

In conclusion, the liberal feminism made important contributions to the examination of gender inequality by drawing attention to many existing inequalities in educational scopes. In this way, the construction of curriculum, distribution of classes, vocational and psychological guidance besides the academic support, teacher's attitudes, administrational applications and other school practices have started to be questioned to achieve gender equality (Weiner, 1986).

2.4.2. Radical Feminism

Radical feminists who led the second wave of women's movements in the 1970s have paved the way for the development of feminist knowledge as science in universities and provided a scientific basis for the feminism. This theory advocated the necessity of women's organizations by defending the creation of an effective

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women's power in the political field as well as the scientific development of feminism. Radical feminists generally explain the inequality between the sexes with the concept of patriarchy and emphasize the universality of this inequality. Besides, the proponents of this theory primarily interrogate the influence of 'sexuality' and 'sexual violence' as the cause of gender inequality in school. Radical feminists also explain the reason of the existing social gender inequality in education with the concept of patriarchy and state that education alone is not sufficient to eliminate this inequality, but it is one of the necessary elements that have to be taken into account (Acker, 1987). In this sense, they emphasize the importance of teachers' struggle in the elimination of patriarchal elements through terminating sexist practices in educational settings (Weiner, 1986).

Although this approach draws attention to the liberating feature of education, radical feminists argue that it is not possible for educational institutions to fulfill this mission properly as the educational institutions, educational systems and educational approaches are dominated by men. In addition, the practices of men and borders of masculinity are determined through this hegemonic approach as well. Therefore, it is not possible to solve gender issue in educational institutions through improving educational rights for both girls and boys as claimed by liberals. According to radical feminists, as long as school culture and education programs are not saved from the patriarchal system on which they are based, it cannot be mentioned that education has a "transformative" quality (Weiner, 1986).

Due to this discourse, radical feminists were exposed to serious criticism from the liberal and socialist theorists. Liberal feminists thought that these discourses deviated women's movement from the aim by creating serious polarization in the society and political reforms in the solution of this problem were underestimated. Socialist feminists also brought serious criticism of the fact that radicals put the oppression of women as the basis of all forms of oppression in society.

2.4.3. Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism, mainly based on Marxist theory, crossed its path with radical theory at the point where economic reasons were not enough to explain women's oppression. Therefore, it can be said that Socialist feminism emerged in the intersection of Marxist and Radical feminist theories. Marxist feminists emphasized class division in the explanation of inequalities while radical feminists underlined sexuality and patriarchy in the perpetuation of dominant power relations. This theory includes power and sexuality as well as class issue in the explanation of women's oppression. Therefore, socialist feminism suggests that the continuation of existing traditional gender order is provided by the combination of capitalism and patriarchy. The combination of these two theories makes it possible to achieve the concept of "capitalist patriarchy" to explain how patriarchal practices enhances the exploitation within and outside the family, social relations and ideologies (Berktay, 2011). This dual-approach has compounded the essential concepts of capitalism and patriarchy in educational studies in the same way. The theorists of this approach have examined the relationship between students and teachers by regarding class, gender and sexuality factors in classroom setting. Fundamentally, the advocates of this theory determines the position of socialist theory as beyond the women questions and maintains that " not only gender relations but also the relations of class, race and sexual orientation " should be taken into consideration on the way to achieve a "fundamental social transformation" (Briskin,1989:108).

2.4.4. Poststructuralist Feminism

The defenders of this theory try to reveal the social construction process of the structures such as class, race, and gender as well as the way these structures are naturalized and transferred to individuals through in-school practices and educational systems. Essentially, the poststructuralist approach in educational studies focuses on " the connections between the individual and the intersecting structural systems of privilege and oppression that affect how participants construct knowledge, discuss their own experience, and interact in the classroom"

(Tisdell, 1998:146). It draws attention to the cultural and historical importance of school in originating and sustaining the traditional gender roles and power relations in each field of life. According to poststructuralist feminists, education is one of the discourse systems that contribute to the maintenance of sovereign power relations in all other areas of life including gender issues. The pioneers of this theory claim that individuals establish both theirs' and each other's gender identities by their actions and discourses (Pierre, 2000; Barrett, 2005). As classroom is a social setting, it is based on the interactions between students and teachers. Thus, discourses and actions used by teachers has great importance in the constructions of gender identities. Accordingly, poststructuralist approach claims that teachers should use an emancipatory discourse and create a classroom atmosphere based on critical thinking in order to reach the transformative education mentioned by Freire (Tisdell, 1998:151; Freire, 2005).

2.5. Hidden Curriculum

Masculinity is established within a gender order in which it is defined against femininity and as 'not being like a woman', thereby, maintains prevailing power relations as the result of implicit and unconscious messages in the cultural formation of school. As well as the power relations among men, different patterns of identity development provide creation of different masculinities (Connell, 1998). However, unofficial structures in school are established on a hegemonic discourse supporting hegemonic masculinity qualifications as a domination both on male and female students. These qualifications are transmitted to students via hidden curriculum created through the information and values that are not clearly defined in official curricula. The term-hidden curriculum was firstly introduced and used by Philip Jackson in his book "Life in Classrooms" published in 1968 (Hemmings, 2000:1). In the widest sense, hidden curriculum is defined "as a set of norms, customs, beliefs and language forms that are manifested in the structure and functioning of an institution" (Hernandez et.al, 2013:90). Also, as "the non-explicit aspects of the curricula", hidden curriculum is represented as "covert tasks which produce unplanned lessons that students must master in order to cope with

daily classroom demand" (Hernandez et.al, 2013:90; Synder, 1971, cited in Hemmings, 2000: 2).

Despite the fact that hidden curriculum emerges as a part of the school's official curriculum, it was not organized and implemented consciously in accordance with the desired objectives like formal curricula. The outcomes of this hidden structure influence every members of the institutions from top to bottom. Although it is not seen openly as it is not written together with the previously planned and constructed official curricula, it can only be observed through the reflection on the behaviors, attitudes and value understanding of the members of the institution. That is, values, norms and any other communicational outputs are transmitted to students indirectly through hidden curriculum but not via the official curriculum (Jachim, 1987; Seaton, 2002). However, this situation does not mean that official and hidden curriculum are totally different from each other. In this respect, Giroux (1978) pay attention to the collateral relationship between hidden and official curriculum. In addition to him, Apple and Beyer (1983) has indicated that sometimes the messages transmitted through hidden curriculum may be complementary to the formal one.

Giroux (1978) put forward that students' learning process is mostly shaped by hidden curriculum rather than the official one. Along the same line, Hemmings (2000) highlights hidden curriculum as an important transmitter of "implicit social lessons which perpetuate social inequalities" and adds that though unseen it is as actual as the official one. Even in the entrance of a school building everything that can be seen including the appearance of the school building, classrooms, corridors, noticeboards, forms of the desk and tables, teachers' and managers' attitudes, ring tone and more constitute the hidden curriculum transferred via teachers who are the chief , unconscious and volunteer transmitters (Ahwee et all. , 2004). Moreover, as a tool operating as the reflector of the cultural and traditional constructions, hidden curriculum also can be used as a functional instrument in the legitimization of social inequalities (Hemmings, 2000). By regarding this argument, it can be inferred that both school as a social environment and society are controlled through hidden dynamics, in this way, societal control

via cultural reproduction is realized. As Vallance (1980) put forth hidden curriculum fulfills functions such as adjustment and obedience in the process of socialization besides maintaining the traditional class structure. In this process, all the differences are melted into a pot, uniformed and transmitted through naturalized educational operations, which makes it easy to internalize. Thus, various identities, viewpoints and gender roles are otherized and neglected.

The codes of conduct expected from students and teachers are not included in the curriculum (Apple, 1995); however, students learn how to behave in school's cultural environment that is founded as the result of hidden curriculum of school. Many aspects of school life are regulated through rules, and these rules are transmitted to students through non-written forms. In his criticism towards the education system, Ivan Illich (2017) stated that the education system contains a hidden curriculum conveying strong messages of 'power', 'authority', and 'hierarchy'. Fielding (1981, 321; Ahwee et all, 2004) depicts hidden curriculum as the chief instrument through which "the social relations of schooling reproduce the social relations of production". It often serves to preserve the dominant culture and class hierarchy to maintain the status quo established with a hegemonic discourse (Apple, 1995). For this reason, student's gender, socio-economic status, ethnic identity and location of school determine the content of hidden curriculum (Apple & Beyer, 1983).

Also, some scholars assert that though it consists of unintentional applications, the hidden curriculum can be benefited as an influential tool in educational attainments. It is maintained that through an awareness teachers can recover hidden curriculum from its implicit situation and in this way should benefit it as an influential tool on the way of creating conscious transformation in children's sensation of gender and other societal problems (Czajkowski and King, 1975). However, the main point that makes the hidden curriculum confidential is that it cannot be intervened in any way. Therefore, its outputs cannot be guided. Despite the studies demonstrating the influence of hidden curriculum, it is claimed in most of the studies as impossible to take the control as it is occurred unconsciously. In addition, the influence of teachers' background or previous life experiences on the

continuation of the curriculum is inevitable (Giroux, 1978). That makes hidden curriculum impossible to control and manipulate consciously. Also, the environment of education is in a constant change with all its members. Accordingly, the hidden messages and learning process will be in constant change as well. Roland (1994, 161) explains this situation by resembling hidden curriculum to "hidden player in Hide and Seek". Because when a person becomes aware all stages and outputs of a learning process, it cannot be mentioned as hidden any more.

Gender issue is one of the most significant aspect of hidden curriculum as it is mostly transmitted to individuals through cultural elements and experiences of individuals in its cultural environment. Gender stereotypes are performed by teachers in an "unconscious level" (Hernandez et.al. 2013:90) and embraced by students in the same way. Although social expectations from stereotyped gender roles, sexual identities, accepted masculinity and femininity types are not explicitly stated in the framework of written rules, they are actually transmitted through hidden curriculum as a natural part of the educational processes. As can be seen in literature, the formal curriculum framework, which is previously determined according to the shaped gender roles, is reinforced by the unconscious operation of hidden curriculum. Predefined gender behaviors are expressed as the basic elements of the existence of individuals. This approach creates a perception of naturalness; thus, normalize traditional gender roles imposed on students. Consequently, it can be said that each member of school carries his/her life experiences to the school environment and in consequence of diversities in-school practices, as an organization school constitutes its own culture that mostly support reproduction of hegemonic masculine discourse as control mechanism on male students with the aim of maintaining patriarchal domination.

2.6. School Culture

In the 1980s, organizational culture theory began to be emerge in the theories of management and this paved the way for some important researches carried out on that field. In this process, organizational culture theory also influenced educational

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organizations closely. It can be said that one of the most critical factors in the studies carried out on educational organizations is 'school culture'. Other than being a building for educational practices, school with its members from various backgrounds has an extensive influence both on society and on a wide range of societal issues concerning various layers of communities. As an organization, school has a historical background that shapes and being shaped by its cultural positioning. Moreover, this culture is exposed to a constant change and transformation. Thus, it is necessary to understand the relations of culture with organizations and school as an organizational structure in order to understand how hegemonic masculinity or whether different masculinities are formed in schools or not. In this section, the patterns of 'culture', 'organizational culture' and 'school culture' are explained by taking the relationships among them into consideration. In the following, the linkage between school culture and construction of masculinities are tried to be clarified by regarding this data.

School culture represents the symbolic dimension of organizational behavior in school environment (Peterson and Deal, 2002). When examined closely, it is seen that the characteristics of the individuals are affected by the conditions and qualities of the group they live in. In other words, social characteristics are important signifiers of individual traits. In fact, this is not an interaction, which comes into being as one-way; on the contrary, it is a mutually intertwined one. According to this point of view, it is understood that school organization that is formed by the individuals who come from different origins is influenced by the cultural experiences of the members and manipulates individuals' way of thinking and behaving. For this reason, it is not possible to deal with school and the subject of masculinities irrespective of culture as an area of study.

As a significant term displaying how structures of societies are constructed historically, 'culture' has various definitions. Culture that was defined by Edward B. Taylor for the first time in 1871 is described as a complex structure composed of the knowledge, beliefs, artistic development, morality, customs and habits of people living in a society (Arpaguş, 2011). Generally speaking, the common point of different approaches to culture involves "beliefs", "values" and "customs"

(Maxwell and Thomas, 1991: 80). As an artificial output of man's creation, culture refers to "all material and spiritual values" that human beings create against the rules established by nature (Çelik, 2009). This argument clarifies that although culture is an unnatural establishment of human being, it is imposed as an instinctive and fundamental element of existence. It has both a direct and indirect potency on people's way of living, attitudes and behaviors. The relation between culture and the individual is depicted as 'complex' and 'multidimensional'. It also has the feature of shaping societies, thus, it can be described not only as a product but also as an output of social behavior (Schein, 1997). It is considered as a regulation of senses and inferences with certain meanings that is created, learned, shared, sustained and reproduced by people (Maslowski, 2001). In addition, it is depicted as intellectual codes underlying the observable things whose meanings are constructed through "social interaction and negotiation", which manipulates behaviors and ways of thinking belonging to the members of an organization (Maslowski, 2001:22).

The concept of organization has become an area of interest for many different branches of science such as sociology, psychology, history, education and so on. Because of this wide-ranging usage in different scopes, it has become a concept that has gained an indispensable location in other branches of science that deals with it, thus, has many definitions (Prosser, 1999). In order to meet the individual and social needs of people, organizations constructed socially with an ideological aim are established. As a product of human solidarity for a purpose, organizations emerge in situations where the needs cannot be met by one individual, and when more than one person needs to come together in order to be able to fulfill these requirements (Özdemir, 2000). The concept of organization has a fixed quality when used single; however, it turns into an active formation when it is combined with culture and gains a dynamic identity that transforms people while exposing to a transformation through the influences of them. The roots of 'organizational culture' are based on Anthropology and as in the definition of 'culture', it has various descriptions and interpretations (Brown, 1997:5; cited in Prosser, 1999:10). Organizational culture is all about the basic values and beliefs of an organization and the symbols, ceremonies and mythologies that convey them to

the members of that organization. The basic elements composing organizational culture are "hidden qualities, values, norms, stories and tales, ceremonies", which manipulates individuals' senses toward the desired gender identities (Çelik, 2009). An organization cannot be considered as independent of culture because it is a social reality that emerges as a result of people's interaction with each other. Each organization has its own particular culture and it is the sum of the common features of each thing that makes up the organization (Peterson & Deal, 2002). According to Douglas (et al., 2001:103) organizational culture, in its essence, is "a system of common values" being acquired in the childhood but forced to a transformation or reinforcement in the hierarchy of the organization. Organizational culture is a continuous and repeated structure that is passed from past to present and in the following to the future. It is largely mentioned as a "social glue" that provides togetherness of organizations (Seihl, 1985; cited in Prosser, 1999:10). In this way, the permanence of constructed organizations is assured.

Organizations are structures and socialization fields created by groups of people. People within an organization are the sub-groups of the societies they live in and the societal cultures constituted by them (Şişman, 2007). In order to be accepted by the community being lived in, the main requirement is to be able to learn to live in it. The basic condition for keeping up with societal life and gaining approval as a member requires acting within the same goals, values, philosophy and thought systems (Şimşek, Akgemci, Çelik, 2001). It symbolizes a group of lifelong facts that are learned and acquired in perpetual repetition. Members of an organization have common values that determine which behavior is acceptable, which behavior is unsuitable, which behavior is desired or undesired (Peterson & Deal, 2002). These assigned behaviors as appropriate for the continuation of an organization are adopted in a planned schooling process and naturalized over time.

In the process of development and adoption of culture by the members of an organization, it is important to repeat the compatible patterns of behavior. Because, they are not in the form of written documents and comes into being as a combination of continuously repeated behaviors and discourses besides composing

the beliefs and values in the consciousness and thoughts of the members of the organization (Stoll, 1999). Maintenance of an organization is not possible without the existence of culture that is a signifier of both historical past and a bridge for conveying values (Peterson & Deal, 2002; Maxwell and Thomas, 1991). The cultural values created within the organization are transferred to every new individual participating in the organization, thus, durability is ensured and the main frame of social structure is preserved and transferred in its so-called natural being to future generations. Şişman (2007) has emphasized the sense of identity and meaning redounded to organizations and their members by the organizational cultures that have direct or indirect influence on them. In this sense, an organization and the culture it is based on has an important role as a tool of understanding social phenomenon and gendered identities.

School is a significant organization whose product is human and shapes different layers of community through educational services. As an organization, school is composed by the inclusion of individuals from different backgrounds and cannot be addressed and analyzed independently of its own cultural characteristics. This culture takes its own shape in time, develops and acquires a structure that is unique to that school (Deal and Peterson, 2002). As in other organizations, each school has its own historical background and unique cultural characteristics that is shaped by its own history, conditions and members (Maxwell and Thomas, 1991; Stoll, 1999; Deal and Peterson, 2002). School culture is symbolized through the behaviors of teachers, officers, managers or students, who are the essential members of the school (Maxwell and Thomas 1991). Within this scope, it is depicted as "system of meanings" that has a deep influence on people's way of thinking and acting at school, later in social, familial and even in private life (Engels et al., 2008:160).

In the literature overview, it is obviously seen that depicting school culture in an accurate frame is not possible as it is an inaccurate fact that depends on point of views and in a constant evolvement (Engels et al., 2008; Stoll, 1999). Latest studies indicate the main frame of school culture in the general sense as "a shared sense of purposes and values, norms of continuous learning and improvement,

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collaborative collegial relationships and opportunities for collective problem solving and sharing experiences" (Fullan, 2001; Deal and Peterson, 1998; cited in Engels et al. 2008: 163). The most common and basic explanation of school culture was made by Maslowski as "the basic assumptions, norms and values, and cultural artifacts that are shared by school members, which influence their functioning at school" (Maslowski, 1997:5, cited in Maslowski, 2001:9).

In conclusion, school is an organization with a particular culture pertaining to it. However, the most important thing is that on one side this unique culture is constituted by the individuals who own unique features as a member of organization. On the other side, it has a manipulative role on its members in accordance with so-called proper norms. It is understood that the identity formation of school members cannot be treated without the organizational culture of school and the cultural background gained and moved to the school ground from their familial environment at the same time.

2.7. Feminist Critical Pedagogy

Following the modernist approach of Enlightenment era, many scholars have criticized this paradigm as it has caused isolation and destruction both for humanity and nature through a dominant understanding. As the dominant paradigm, it has turned into an ideology recognized in all over the world and it tries to maintain its hegemony through various discourses in order to perpetuate its impact on individuals. The Enlightenment mind, which can be considered as the emergence of modernism, is transformed into an instrument and tends to benefit everything including knowledge and education as a tool for the official ideology. Education systems has been used as a main tool through which governments exerts their power. In this sense, classroom settings have been organized as a micro field for performing of official ideology and teachers are attributed with the task of representing its authority in educational fields (Freire, 2005). Through critical pedagogy, it has been revealed that modernist educational approach limits the education to the educator-educated relationship in a limited classroom setting and, consequently, leaves it infertile in line with the dominant ideology. Its philosophy,

which approaches students as objects by adopting a fictional shaping and domination besides neglecting all the differences, has become a main question for critical thinkers. Thus, the critical discourse has been put forward as an antithesis against the current status quo. For this reason, the emergence of this critical understanding has also spread to the fields of education and contributed to the development of new insight into the field. In this way, the concept of pedagogy based on a modernist structure has begun to be questioned. Accordingly, school and all the factors related to it constitute one of the most vital tools of this approach. Pedagogy is the most basic tool that assign meaning to all the school practices. On the other hand, it is a political instrument, which governments benefit to prevail on educational settings and social construction processes (Giroux, 2004). Thus, it comes into being as the most fundamental means to shape individuals in school setting. In this respect, it is useful to consider the concept of pedagogy from a critical point of view in order to understand how the issue of masculinities, which is exposed to a social construction, is handled and constructed in school setting.

In the most general sense, pedagogy includes both education of the individual and its outcomes such as a socialization, culturing etc. as well as the informational processes. As a term, pedagogy is derived from the Greek words "paid" and "agogus", which means 'child' and 'leading' in turn (Knowles, 1978:40). According to its root, it means "the art and science of teaching children" (Knowles, 1978:40). Pedagogy is based on the acquisition of knowledge, skills, behavior and their social context on the way of learning through a series of techniques and strategies. It also requires an interactive process between teacher-student and learning environment. However, it is an undeniable fact that pedagogy means more than this definition. It is not only related with the teaching of the child, but in its essence it aims to educate a child in certain standards as compatible with the dominant paradigm in "political, social and economic" spheres (Hinchliffe, 2001:32). Pedagogy is a multidimensional concept that is designed politically and covers all processes related to education in all of the educational settings (Kaufmann, 1997). For this reason, advocates of critical approach do not approach school and education as an area where only educational

processes are carried out. Regarding education as a multidimensional and ideological structure, critical thinkers has brought a new dimension to pedagogy and all areas of education. According to this new understanding, education should terminate approaching individuals as "objects of investment" and it should be the tool for liberating them by demonstrating its transformative power (Freire, 2005; Stromquist, 2006; Giroux, 2004; Giroux & Mclaren, 1989), Thus, it has undertaken a revolutionary mission against modernity on the way to emancipation of human being. Accordingly, the critical discourse created by critical theory with the aim of rebuilding a new and emancipated world has shown itself in education as a significant element as it has vital role in transforming the prevailing status quo. Moreover, it has created a new 'critical language' in the field of education. Its roots are mostly based on Marxist traditions. However, we can say that the critical thinking of critical pedagogy is shown as a continuation or a reflection of 'the critical language' or 'critical discourse' created by the wind of critical theory provided by the Frankfurt School thinkers (Gur-Ze'ev, 2003). So, it is possible to mention about critical pedagogy scholars as adopting a radical and post-modern discourse. In addition, it should not be ignored that the most important contribution to the questioning of this concept comes from feminist circles. As a matter of fact, education has always been intended to be used as a device of power and there has always been criticism and alternative discourse against it. Its fundamental purpose is to save people's minds from the grip of the dominant ideology underlying the prevailing educational understandings (Spring, 1997). In this sense, the proponents of this approach maintain that emergence of a new society is impossible without the creation of a human being who is thinking, questioning and producing actively (Shackelford, 1992). This movement also called radical pedagogy emphasizes new forms of socialization, acculturation and cognitive processes that support non-authoritarian and revolutionary forms (Yıldırım, 2011).

This radical tradition emerging in the 19th and 20th centuries derives from a common unity of belief that the domination of power structures and social structures are based on child-rearing methods and ideological control, and that the state and economy gets its power from submissive people (Freire, 2005; Apple,

1995). The radical thinkers not only have a common critique but also share a common alternative view that emphasizes women's emancipation, sexual freedom, new forms of family organization and the importance of autonomy and termination of the hegemony on men (Spring, 1997:9; Kauffman, 1997; Tisdell, 1998). In this respect, feminist pedagogy, which emerged as a branch of critical approach, has created important expansions in this field (Tisdell, 1998). As an area of critical pedagogy, the feminist questioning towards academia, education and school in the late 1960s has moved to educational institutions by many academicians, activists and teachers. Feminist pedagogy questions the ways of knowing and doing science with a feminist challenge by taking traditional thought patterns in its center (Belenky et. al., 1986). With this new critical point of view in the field of education, the scaffolding of structured educational institutions has started to be interrogated by educators and members of the women's movement. The conscious raising groups that originates in this period are one of the most important elements in the emergence and spread of feminist pedagogy with its aim to search for reaching the liberating knowledge. Similar to the emancipatory pedagogy introduced by Freire, feminist pedagogy questions similar problems resulting from power relations and supports the transformative education model which will provide social transformation through conscious raising studies by eliminating the existing pressure on the way to actual liberation (Tisdell,1998).

Feminist pedagogy helps both learners and teachers develop consciousness of freedom, recognize authoritarian tendencies and structures, power relations, hegemony, individual existence, the importance of experience and gain the ability to take constructive action in a constructive dialogue (Giroux, 2004). In addition, its one of the most critical role is to eliminate the reproduction of these social pressures from teaching environments, thus, prevent education systems from being a reproduction tool for the governments in power (Baker, 1991). Accordingly, feminist pedagogy aims to raise awareness against these reproductive elements in classrooms, to emphasize the importance of the experiences of teachers and students, to draw attention to the importance of transformative knowledge, and to create an egalitarian environment that liberates all members of classrooms from traditional gender perception (Sayılan, 2012). Educators who accept the political

nature of pedagogy and engage in emancipatory learning for a broader social and cultural transformation implement feminist pedagogy. As in critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy aims to enable both learners and teachers, who are passive receptors, to reach the consciousness of freedom, to terminate the established authoritarian relationship, and to provide the ability to take action by executing their true self. That makes it obvious that feminist pedagogy has expanded the field of critical pedagogy studies, stressing that teaching methods are rather significant as well as the taught subject by emphasizing the significant role of gender as one of the most important factors in classroom (Tisdell,1998).

One of the primary objectives of feminist pedagogy is to provide educational environments free from gender discrimination. Generally, the concept of gender equality is perceived as a specific situation to women, however; it should also be evaluated in terms of men's position. While men are given more responsibility and self-reliance, they are prepared to remain under the burden of this responsibility after a while. Educational environments also constitute a kind of hegemony on male students. Male students are forced to remain within the limits of masculinity characteristics accepted by societal norms. This shows that not only femininity but also masculinity is subjected to some kinds of ideological structuring. Even, it can be sometimes more challenging for men as male students always face the necessity of proving their masculinity at any time. Because, it is a matter of time to lose although it takes a long time to gain masculinity. Also, the traditional understanding that reduces masculinity to a single type ignores individuals' self-perceptions and identities by generating a hierarchy among male students. As said by Connell (2005:239) any pedagogical practice in schools "must address the diversity of masculinities and the intersections of gender with race, class and nationality". By regarding Connell's this suggestion, this study was organized by taking the pedagogical factors in searched schools and their relation to the construction of masculinities into account. In addition, all the factors and practices affecting the construction of masculinity within school setting were examined from this critical point of view.

2.8. Theories of Gender Identity Development

In this section gender identity development theories will be overviewed as every one of them points to different side of identity development. These approaches provide a clear understanding about the process through which individuals learn and adopt gender roles as a result of an internalized socialization. All theories provide an important source of information in explaining the development of gender identity. However, none of them alone is enough. The development of gender roles is a multifaceted phenomenon. Therefore, when explaining this concept, various theories should be benefited to approach from different perspectives and in this way all gaps should be filled. On the other hand, some scholars criticize these theories because of their universal and reductionist approach. How these theories evaluate the development of gender roles will be tried to be explained in this part with the criticisms against them in the following.

2.8.1. Psychoanalytic Theory

The psychoanalytic theory, which was developed by Freud, is mostly concentrated on biological and anatomical features in the explanation of gender roles development. Sigmund Freud is an important character as the first social scientist evaluating gender identity and gender roles extensively besides opening the doors for more search in this field. Psychoanalytic theory, based on Freud's views, is also the first theory suggested in relation to the development of gender roles, which is based on the concept of 'libido'. According to Freud's theory, there are three periods of gender gain. The first period includes oral and anal phases. During the oral period, all the attention of the infant is concentrated on the mouth area and all oral activities are an important source of pleasure for it. In the anal stage, the interest of the infant shifts to the anus region and defecation processes are important. These are the periods in which children are not aware of the differences between genders (Marchbank & Letherby, 2007). In the second stage, the phallic phase, children start to understand the differences between woman and man. This is the beginning of learning gender roles. The interest of children mostly begins to concentrate on their genitals. During this period, boys realize that they have a

penis while girls become aware of the fact that they are lack of this organ which leads girls to 'penis envy' and consequently results in the feeling of inferiority (Burger,2006). This sense of inferiority comprises the beginning of the identification process. At the third stage, which is depicted as the oedipal period, the child begins to have sexual feelings towards the parent of the opposite sex, on the other hand owns the feelings of jealousy and resentment against the same-sex parent. Freud depicts this case as 'oedipal conflict'. The boy is afraid of his father's learning about these feelings and experiences 'fear of castration'. If the boy sees the sexual organ of his sister, he thinks that what he fears (castration) has already happened to his sister. As children mature, both sexes resolve this conflict through identification with their same-sex parents by an internalization of their behaviors, attitudes and personality traits as the examples of feminine and masculine gender roles. That is, children overcome this situation by suppressing their desire for the opposite sex parent and then developing a counter-reaction to him/her, resulting in identifying with their parents of the same sex (Paludi & Doyle, 1998; Rider, 2000). As a result, the boy who identifies with his father gets masculine features from his father and the daughter who identifies with his mother starts to acquire feminine features in his mother (Burger, 2006). Freud tried to explain the adoption of appropriate gender role behavior by the concept of 'identification'. According to Freud, the formation of gender identity and gender roles begin when the child discovers the genital organ that displays difference between the sexes and ends with the child's identifying himself/herself with the same-sex parent (Yee and Brown, 1994). It should not be disregarded that although Freud emphasizes anatomical differences between sexes in his theory, he eventually put forward that gender role acquisition is the result of a deep identification with same- sex parents, which comes into being as a result of anatomical development (Yee and Brown, 1994).

Freud's approach to gender identity development through psychoanalytic theory has exposed to lots of criticism in academic fields. Bee and Boyd (2009) criticized this theory as Freud claimed that identification occurs about at the age of four. According to Freud, the child is unaware of any gender-related influences during the oral and anal phases, which continues until this age. However, Bee and Boyd

(2009) criticized this approach with the assertion that gender-based behaviors begin to appear in children in much earlier ages. Freud's interpretation of gender through a biological reductionist approach suggest criticism towards biological theories. Pilcher (2010) criticizes biological theories as they have formed their views by ignoring historical, anthropological and sociological findings on human behavior, especially the diversity of time and space on the behavior, status and roles of man and woman. In addition, according to Beauvoir (1993), body is the first "manifestation of subjectivity and a means for understanding the world" both in boys and in girls. Beauvoir (1993) criticized Freud with the explanation that children comprehend the universe with their hands and eyes, not with their sexual organs. Another point criticized in Freud's theory is that he unnecessarily emphasized beginning of gender identity with recognition of sexual organs. On the contrary, some studies demonstrates that children are not able to make a connection between different anatomical differences and their relation to male and female categories as they do not have enough knowledge on genitals (Rider,2000). Another criticism to Freud is about the concept of 'penis jealousy' and 'castration fear'. These concepts cannot be seen through a direct observation and whether they have a real influence on gender identity development or not is impossible to claim as they are not testable and measurable (Rider,2000).

2.8.2. Social Learning Theory

In contrast to psychoanalytic theory, a more direct gender-type assessment is observed in social learning theory. This theory which was put forth by Bandura (1971) gets emphasis on the influence of 'reward and punishment', 'modelling' and imitating' over children in obtaining appropriate and inappropriate gender roles by claiming that children learn about behavior that is proper to the gender type through the observations made on adults. In the explanation of the acquisition of gender roles, social learning theorists have focused on the differences in the way children are socialized. According to this approach, children follows the sources of gender differences in an interactional process with their families (Bhasin, 2003).

Social learning theory contrasts with the psychoanalytic theory and focuses on environmental influences on gender-role development besides the role of adults in shaping the child's gender typing. In particular, children are motivated to know that they will be rewarded. Although the reward and punishment mechanism for learning 'gender-appropriate' behavior is the most underlined aspect of this theory, another significant means in acquisition of gender roles are 'observation' and 'imitating' other people (Rider, 2000). Also, it is emphasized that stereotyped gender role models displayed on various communication tools are important as well as direct reinforcement and modeling in shaping children's gender role behaviors. Individuals can also imitate symbolic models that they read about, see on television or in movies besides imitating real people (Bandura, 1971:10). By observing and imitating the masculine behaviors of their fathers, boys learn behaviors that are considered appropriate for their gender while girls do the same through their mother (Matlin, 1996; Rider, 2000).

The proponents of this theory point out that parents reinforce gender-based activities even in young children up to 18 months of age. They do this not only through buying different toys for boys and girls, but also by giving their sons more positive reactions when playing with toy cars, and girls playing with dolls (Bee& Boyd, 2009). Even if the model has a strong influence on the learning of gender-based behaviors, children do not necessarily copy the behavior, attitudes or expressions of the same gender as they are. Children can also choose women and men of the same sex as role model among peers, children, teachers and popular media besides their parents. (Marchbank & Letherby, 2007; Bandura, 1971).

Socialization theories draw attention to the different socialization processes of women and men and argue that differences between these two genres are acquired in advancing years. According to this, there are two separate gender groups as men and women that are divided socially and categorized into separate socialization processes. Therefore, no matter how great the biological differences between women and men are, culture is seen as the most determinant factor in the creation of male and female roles and behaviors in a society (Bandura, 1971). According to theories of socialization, the existence of gender inequalities is related to the

socialization of women and men in different roles. Socialization theories provide reasonable explanations of how individuals learn to be female or male; however, they ignore the real source of values and norms attached to man and woman and to whom interest they serve (Giddens, 2008).

2.8.3. Cognitive Developmental Theory

Cognitive developmental theory was manifested by Kohlberg with an inspiration from Piaget's cognitive development approach. In contrast to the social learning theory, cognitive developmental approach suggests that what encourages children to behave in accordance with their gender role is a pattern of behavior consistent with gender identity rather than rewarding. This theory assumes that girls and boys have their own characteristics because they already have a gender concept in their minds and gender-based behavioral patterns are learned in four basic stages (Wehren & Lisi, 1983):

1. Gender labeling period: the period of recognizing and categorizing the sexual identity of himself/herself and others as girl or boy and then adapting the acquired data to his/her gender.
2. Stability of gender: Understanding the immutability of gender. Knowing that gender will always remain the same.
3. Motivation: Adapting to the role of gender.
4. Gender constancy: Understand that gender will not change in any way despite recognizing the similarities and common points between sexes. Every action taken during this period is carried out as it is seen as appropriate to gender role.

According to this theory, gender role acquisition is explained by child's cognitive processes. The child is responsible for shaping his/her gender role by actively participating in the socialization process that is called 'self-socialization'. Once a child develops his / her self in social environment, the child's behavior is collected within the framework of this identity and the child identifies himself/herself with these roles by looking for suitable models (Paludi & Doyle, 1998). When children starts to classify themselves and other people as girl and boy, they begin to

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develop thoughts based on the classification of femininity and masculinity. This classification is not produced from a single model or person, but produced from many sources such as parents, siblings, peers, teachers, media etc. Although cognitive development theory provides important information to the field, it has been criticized as it is seen inadequate in some dimensions. Focusing on the cognitive process, the theory is mostly criticized as it ignores the impact of social processes and culture on gender role development (Broughton, 1981).

2.8.4. Gender Schema Theory

The gender schema theory is an information processing approach that combines different aspects of social learning and cognitive development theories. Schema is described as "a cognitive structure, a network of associations that organizes guiding an individual's perception" (Bem, 1981: 355). This theory demonstrates how environmental pressures and the child's cognitive processes work together to shape gender role development. The schema is a network of associations that organizes and directs the perceptions of individuals and ensures that the information is ready to explore and assimilate by means of schemas-related terms. According to this theory, the child learns how to code and organize the information through a developed gender scheme. Children who grow in a culture emphasizing the distinction between woman and man learn to process this information according to the perceived gender connotations (Demren, 2008). In this theory, it is recognized that 'schema' comes into being as a result of a construction process; that is, culture has a significant place in the development of gender identity. The theory is based on the development of the gender concept and gender role behavior in which the child, between the ages of 18 months and 2-3 years, has created a basic schema to categorize people, objects, activities and qualities appropriate for traditional gender roles (Bee and Boyd, 2009). According to Bem (1981) individuals learn social and cognitive patterns related to gendered behaviors and feel the necessity to act proper to masculine or feminine roles by means of these schemes (Bem,1981). Regardless of the origins of this scheme, many experiences have been assimilated into these schemata once it has occurred. According to the advocates of this theory, children classify gender-appropriate

behaviors through schemas and form both their and others' self-perception in this way. The existing schemes in the child naturally guides the child's perception about masculinity and femininity. However, some scholars criticize this approach as the linkage between the concepts of gender and schemata in gender-related behaviors cannot be directly observed or tested in children (Bussey and Bandura, 1999).

2.8.5. Social Role Theory

Social role theory connects all existing differences between man and woman to different social roles that was assumed within a hierarchical order (Eagly, 1983; Diekman & Eagly, 1999). Accordingly, women and men do not have innate gender-specific characteristics. The main reason for existing gender differences is changing social roles and experiences besides the personal and social expectations (Diekman & Eagly, 1999). For this reason, gender differences are not permanent and it is suggested that gender differences may change when roles change. Gender roles defined by the society dominate on individuals to act in accordance with accepted social norms in their social environment. This theory also attach importance to the biological and physical differences between man and woman as cultural artifacts. Since characteristics such as men's being physically strong, women's giving birth and breastfeeding interact with culture, beliefs and ideologies and lead to difference in division of labor within society, which led to gender differences (Eagly, 1983). Accordingly, " each of the role relationships of everyday life, such as husband and wife, professor and student, and employer and employee, defines a set of expectations that people hold about each other's behavior"(Eagly,1983:971). In the most general sense, the roles of 'housewife' and 'source of income' are differentiated between males and females according to the existing expectations. So, women try to perform in social and home-related roles successfully as expected from them. Likewise, men struggle to have the characteristics of self-confidence, courage and assertiveness in order to be successful in the task of providing a source of income, thus, fulfill the necessary social roles approved by society (Eagly, 1983:979).

2.8.6. Social Interaction Theory

According to this interactive model proposed by Deaux and Major (1987), gender-related behaviors are determined in terms of individual choices, behaviors of others, and interactional context. It is claimed that rather than external factors internal factors are more effective in gender role acquisition. In this term, interaction theory has a more flexible approach when compared to other theories. Deaux and Major (1987) "conceptualize gender as a component of ongoing interactions in which perceivers emit expectancies, targets (selves) negotiate their own identities and the context in which interaction shapes the resultant behavior" (1987:369). The expectations of the perceiver, environmental oppression and evoking of the gender-related schema will have immediate determinative effects on individual's behavior. In consequence, these impacts will be responsible for the occurrence of gender differences. Deaux and Major (1987:370) put forth that "the enactment of gender primarily takes place within the context of social interaction, either explicitly or implicitly".

2.8.7. Multifactorial Gender Identity Theory

Spence (1993), the pioneer of the theory, argued that it is not possible to explain the concept of gender by a single factor. According to Spence, gender identity as a multifactorial composition includes many interrelated factors such as "attitudes, traits, interests, preferences, and behaviors that distinguish women and men in a given society", which are not connected with an absolute bond to each other (Eagly & Wood, 2017:727). He presents four factors related to gender identity: the concept of gender identity or self, instrumental and expressive personality traits, gender-related roles and attitudes, and sexual orientation (Spence, 1993). In this sense, individuals have various characteristics and they may be feminine or masculine in these four aspects. In addition, it is argued that individuals may have a tendency to the roles that do not match their sex as well as their feminine or masculine aspects. At the same time, depending on the age and experience of the person, some changes may occur on gender-related characteristics. However, the self -conception that develops in early years of life often remains constant

throughout life and the identification as feminine and masculine is overwhelmingly determined in line with biological sex (Edwards & Spence, 1987).

2.9. The Study of Masculinities

The history of masculinity studies has reached an important point with the studies carried out with the influence and contributions of the feminist movement for the last 20 years. In recent years studies on the issue of masculinity, which is still a very fragile issue all over the world, have come a long way when compared to the previous years in Turkey even if not as much as abroad. Studies are being deepened with each passing day not only on how the patriarchal society structure determines the social status of women but also on how it assigns masculinity with the reinforcement of different social structures. Inspired by the second wave of women's movement, masculinity studies have stepped up with the postmodernist feminist studies brought by the third wave women's movement and have liberated masculinity from being a single category. In addition, the masculinity issue has become a significant field of inquiry in academic circles as from the late 1908s (Connell, Messerschmidt, 2005). Through the influence of radical critical trend, the subject of masculinity has started be interrogated in educational field with the purpose of revealing the gender –biased structure of curriculum and pedagogy (Martino, 1995). In this way, the masculinity problem has started to be questioned in the execution of rules, way of clothing, academic achievement, peer relations, teacher-student relations, educational programs, methods and techniques used in classroom environment, the approach of teachers especially in science and physical education lessons, the mode interaction between teacher and students , the administrative mentality besides the hidden curriculum and culture prevailing in school setting (Connell, 2005;1998; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Martino;1995; Skelton, 1993). In this context, school environment has come to the fore as a cultural formation that occurs bilaterally as a social scope and the most important second environment after the family in the socialization process of the child. The first of these is the culture that occurs in the context of the school's formal curriculum and the second is the culture that is generated in a hidden form as a result

of the experiences that all members of the school have brought from their own lives regardless of the official curriculum.

As a discipline, masculinity studies have emerged as an incentive force of women's movement starting in the late 19th century in America. The rising feminist movement has prompted various reactions among men and provoked "the crisis of masculinity" among men due to the challenge against stereotyped gender roles and masculine characteristics by feminist circles (Kimmel, 1987:262). In addition to the influence of feminist movements, the widespread disappointment of the Vietnam War has led to the questioning of patriarchy, dominant forms of power, stereotyped masculine roles and the manly characteristics emboldened by World War II and the Cold War (Kidder, 2003:304). There have been positive responses as well as negative reactions to this crisis of masculinity initiated by feminists. Kimmel (1987:266-277) examines these responses to the interrogation of traditional masculine roles in three categories as "the anti-feminists", "the masculinists" and "the pro-feminists". Accordingly, anti-feminist male groups claimed that masculinity could not be questioned in any way. This group included men who were the leading proponents of patriarchal ideology and struggling against feminism through antisuffragist organizations, political parties, media channels etc. On the other hand, the masculinist was not as strict as anti-feminist. They did not wage war to feminist as the first group did. They never opposed to the developing women rights especially in private spheres. However, they did not question the patriarchal ground lying under the oppression on women in any way. In addition, they uttered their displeasure about the rising femininity and changing culture as the result of decreasing significance of masculinity in societal life. The last group pro-feminists include men who are on the same side with women as to gender issues and they claimed that women's emancipations is the key for men's liberation. They supported the suffrage movement from the educational rights to the birth control enforcements. As opposed to masculinists, pro-feminist men have been ambitious supporters of gender questions in a wide stance from women's oppression, sexism in public and private sphere to homophobia and prevailing patriarchal ideology.

All these historical developments in the field of masculinity studies have been included in the three waves of feminist movement as it has set out in consequence of feminist prompts (Edwards, 2006). Accordingly, the first wave of masculinity studies coincides with the second wave of feminism. The studies carried out on this issue in this period mostly benefit from sex role theory and focus on how the masculinity is constructed socially and how the traditional masculine roles and behaviors are adopted as if they were the natural part of males' existence (Edwards, 2006). However, despite the advancing studies masculinity was still discussed as a single category throughout this wave (Connell, 1998). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the masculinity question corresponded with a new wave in academia with the rising critical approach, which was the beginning of the second wave in this field (Sancar, 2009). The term of masculinity has exposed to a conceptual transformation and it has been liberated from the dominant masculinity explanation in this period. R.W. Connell and her book *Gender and Power* have become a milestone for masculinity studies. She examines the power relations among these masculinity types and claims that any type of masculinity does not stay in a stable category as it is in a permanent transformation with the changing situations, people and time. The third wave of masculinity studies has emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the impression of post-structural approach (Edward, 2006). This issue has turned into an interdisciplinary field and focused on explaining how masculinity is constructed in different areas as from the 1990s with the influence of social construction theories (Sancar, 2009:27).

Before deepening in the issue of masculinity, it will be useful to recall the concept of gender within the context of masculinities. Connell (1998) explains the concept of gender as a practice coming into being in the result of the classification of people as male and female based on reproduction. Accordingly, 'male' is a biological phenomenon while 'masculinity' comes onto being as a cultural phenomenon including various dimensions. Therefore, it can be clearly said that masculinity, which is subjected to a process of cultural and ideological construction, has a historical background as well. Individual's learning to be 'woman' or 'man' in this process is shaped according to the role they have been exposed and the responsibilities they have undertaken. The basic characteristics and personal beliefs

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of individual, which are determined according to cultural norms including being a woman or a man, are adapted to the norms of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' of the society (Bullough & Bullough, 1993). The most significant factor in individuals' embracing their gender roles is their interactions and interplay with others as it develops in the process of socialization. The definition of being a man culturally is a constructional process largely regulated by social structures and reproduced through different institutional mechanisms such as family, school, media, groups of friends, beliefs, etc. (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Acker, 1992; West and Zimmerman, 1987). This claim makes it clear that gender is a phenomenon that starts from birth and maintains with an endless continuum of reproduction since it is "a process rather than an object" (Connell, 1998). According to Connell (1998) who argues that gender is constructed down from childhood, the newborn has a biological sex; however, it does not have a social gender yet. As the child begins to learn, the society places a set of rules, patterns or ways of behavior that are appropriate to the gender role of the child. However, post-structuralist approaches developed since the 1990s have destroyed all existing perceptions and brought new point of views to the issue of gender especially in the context of meanings attributed to body and bodily acts in the process of socialization. One of the significant concepts revealing this dimension of gender is "habitus" which was suggested by Bourdieu. He benefits from Butler's approach to this issue as "the performativity of gender" which is a rather important concept in this field as it reveals the construction of masculinities in the result of acts and behaviors (Butler, 2010). The concept of habitus demonstrates the basis of behaviors and attitudes that is considered to be acted in the result of free consciousness of individuals in the node of the relations of power and capital (Bourdieu, 1990). As this concept emphasizes the vital link between the "objectivity of social reality" and the "subjectivity of personal experience", it is important in understanding the dynamic formation of various masculinities that is determined in terms of economic, social and cultural differences in traditional gender order as mentioned by Connell (1998). In this sense, the concept of 'habitus' explains how the adopted attitudes, thoughts, habits, values, norms, and every kind of individual choices are actually determined as the result of the interactional relations of individuals within social structures (Bourdieu, 1990:53). In the same way, the construction of bodies is created through various assumptions, thoughts, metaphors

and actions attached to femininity and masculinity as proper to gendered meanings which are internalized as if the natural existence of human being (Sancar,2009:190). This naturalized difference between males and females creates a gender order inevitably. However, this order pushes women into a secondary position against men while creates a hierarchy among men at the same time. Therefore, this situation actually put forwards the multifactorial characteristics of masculinity and the impossibility of explaining this issue through a superficial generalization in a single structure (Connell, 2005).

When we look at the advancing of masculinity studies, it was actually considered as a single and homogeneous concept until the last thirty years. However, as a result of the contributions of Connell and many other thinkers especially with the influence post structuralist theory, it has been emphasized that there is no homogeneous masculinity. Therefore, "masculinities" and the existence of different male identities has been remained on the agenda instead of the term "masculinity". According to this new trend, different categories of masculinity has emerged according to the factors such as class, race, religion, sexual orientation and status together with the superiority-inferiority relationship among them. Connell (2005) mentions four masculinity types, which are constituted totally based on political and cultural classification within a hierarchical relationship: "hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinity, subordinate masculinity, marginalized masculinity". Within the scope of this thesis, the reflection of Connell's classification of masculinities on school setting will be discussed in detail in the data analysis section. However, before that, here you will see the written literature about this classification of Connell.

In the literature, it is seen that the concept of hegemonic masculinity stands out among Connell's other masculinity types. The classification of hegemonic masculinity cannot be understood without looking at the concept of hegemony. Hegemony is a concept stems from Gramsci's "analysis of class relations, refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life" (Connell, 2005:77). That makes it clear that any kind of masculinity among various masculinities is extolled through cultural practices (Connell, 2005). This argument leads us to examine the form of cultural composition both in schools

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and in familial life. According to Connell (2005: 77), "hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarch, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women". From this definition, it is understood that hegemonic masculinity is a gender practice that guarantees the dominance of men and the oppression of women, which gains the legitimacy of patriarchy a permanent ground. That is, it generates a legitimate basis for patriarchal domination through the power it has by creating hierarchal relationships among men. While Connell uses the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" in her approach to masculinity studies, she contextualizes the term 'hegemony' in a deeper and multidimensional aspect at the same. That is, she deals the term more extensively by questioning all public and private structures of societal and cultural entities with a critical perspective. Therefore, she describes this category as the 'institutionalized' form of masculinity as the concept of hegemonic masculinity signifies the social supremacy penetrating in private and public spheres through organizations and cultural components. In addition, it is involved in a constant interaction with various forms of masculinities that are pushed into a secondary position. Although the term hegemony includes men's power bestowed by the patriarchy, it also reflects the subordination of men by the same power at the same time. So, as claimed by Connell, hegemonic masculinity and other forms of masculinities that advocate for the existence of hegemonic model oppress men as much as they oppress women. That is, hegemonic masculinity shapes men with the pressure dominated on their selves. Moreover, in her studies Connell underlines that hegemonic masculinity is not a stable form, or it is not the same in everywhere at any time. Besides, Connell argues that most men live in constant tension with the type of hegemonic masculinity prevailing in the culture they live in. For this reason, those who have the image of hegemonic masculinity strive constantly to live in accordance with this position. Although this is seen as advantageous for men to maintain power, it also presents an unremitting disadvantage for them. Segal (1992) maintains that all the men mostly do not embrace gender roles as a whole as what it is. She claims that there has always been those who resist the imposed roles or those who suffer because of the pressure created on them, and those who define the masculine roles via different genders with a unique point of view.

Moreover, as it is deepened on this concept, it is understood that it prevails in a wide area. In this direction, Sancar (2009) maintains that hegemonic masculinity is a type of masculinity for the "institutionalized patriarchal system" in the state, army and labor market, which includes hierarchy and power structures among different masculinities in the limits of certain characteristics in various fields and places. Sancar (2009: 30) lists these determined and prominent features of hegemonic man as "young, urban, white, heterosexual, full-time job owner, reasonably religious, has an active physical performance in order to be able to do at least one of the sports branches successfully". Also, when its mode of execution is questioned   it is understood that this hegemony is perpetuated through a practice that is internalized naturally by society rather than a hegemony that is forcibly carried on individuals. At first glance, it seems that individuals make a choice with their conscious consent rather than any manipulation. However, when examined closely by considering Bourdieu's habitus concept, it is understood that the consent here is rather controversial. The state of consent or natural acceptance actually emerges through the internalization of transmitted cultural practices, values and norms from generation to generation by means of certain institutions and tools. At that point, school comes into being as one of the most important of these tools. As in other social fields, hegemonic masculinity in schools is determined and reinforced through the discursive mechanisms of heterosexism and homophobia (Connell, 2005). Throughout the literature review, observations and interviews carried out within the concept of this thesis, it has been recognized that a boy is subjected to a multifaceted pressure to become a man as from birth and goes through various stages on the way of proving his masculinity. This pressure continues in school setting which is the second socialization area after the family. That is, being a man is an ongoing competition without a final. Because a man may face with losing the privilege of manhood at any moment. Therefore, he must fulfill the necessary practices without compromising the requirements of masculinity. Although the hegemony of masculinity seems untouchable and continues its existence inviolably, it is also should be regarded that it is a category open to struggle under certain conditions at any time. Consequently, it gets open to change as the result of this struggle as a concept functioning in a patriarchal gender order and being established both historically and socially (Connell, 1998). Besides, Connell argues that despite its

widespread and influential side, in fact, a small minority of men has the real power of hegemonic masculinity. When we asked the question why hegemonic masculinity still has such a broad field of power despite this minority of owners, Sancar (2009) and Connell (2005, Messerschmidt, 2005) explains that this situation is realized by means of a larger group of men which is mentioned in the category of complicit masculinities.

According to Connell's approach the second categorization of masculinity is 'complicit masculinities' and it is a rather significant category as it serves to the existence of hegemony. In this respect, it is considered as significant as hegemonic masculinity although it is not mentioned in the literature so much. Connell claims (2005:79) "masculinities constructed in ways that realize the patriarchal dividend, without the tensions or risks of being the frontline troops of patriarchy, are complicit". Complicit men do not fulfill the requirements of hegemonic masculinity, but they prefer to remain silent against its practices because hegemonic masculinity's dominant discourses will also serve their interests at any time. The basic characteristic of complicit masculinities is that they benefit from patriarchal share without being labelled unlike hegemonic masculinities. In addition, complicit masculinities are described having a big potential of being feminist in the fight against women's oppression and subordination (Connell, 2005, 1998, Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

The third masculinity type claimed by Connell is 'Subordinated masculinities'. This group is located in the lowest place among masculinities hierarchy as their sexual orientation is different from heterosexuality (Connell, 2005). Thus, this group owns the least social privileges of male domination. As hegemonic masculinity mostly describes itself as not being feminine, homosexual men are attributed with feminine characteristics. So, they are excluded in the world of manhood However, heterosexual men also can be sometimes put in this category. Like gay groups, heterosexual males are also subordinated through femininity mostly such as "sissy, milksop, mother's boy, turkey, jellyfish, candy ass, wimp" etc. (Connell, 2005:79).

As the last category, Connell mentions 'marginal masculinities'. This form of masculinity is explained as being in a disadvantage position when compared to hegemonic and complicit men due to race, ethnicity and class positions (Connell, 2005). While classifying marginal masculinity in her theory Connell draws attention to class differences and ethnicity, adding especially men belonging to minorities and low class. In short, this category includes all masculinities that are positioned out of the ideal in terms of their characteristics such as class, ethnicity and disability, which actually give information about the social positions of individuals.

When all these masculinity types are taken into consideration, it is understood that construction of masculinities is explained through the depictions focusing on how a man should be in the hierarchical gender order by taking the hegemonic masculinity as the reference point. In other words, the characteristics of hegemonic man demonstrate how other masculinities should be or should not be.

In addition, being tough, durable, ambitious, decisive, daring, etc. can also be added to the scales attributed to being a real man. Actually, these descriptions put forward the essential qualifications of hegemonic masculinity. However, it should be regarded that there is no single answer to this question and this description is not a fixed category. Because, being a man even maintaining manhood is a multidimensional and complicated process. In addition, Selek states that sexuality is the main vein of masculinity and that when this vein is cut, there is nothing left (Selek, 2014). As understood from this argument, sexuality is a significant factor in determining the meaning of being a man. Actually, it can be mentioned as one of the leading factors in constituting the hierarchical order among different masculinities. Accordingly, this categorization of masculinities can be explained with the qualifications attributed to body, the meanings assigned to it and its actions. Above all, this masculinity issue is a kind of reflection of the power and control executed on society. Therefore, a man especially benefits his physical strength as a mechanism of balance against challenges resulting from the hierarchy of age, social position, and economic condition, power, etc. (Saraçgil, 2005). Besides, when social and psychological factors in formation and validation of masculinities are examined, it is seen that the acquisition of masculinity is usually explained with male child's

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separation his body from his mother's (Chodorow, 1994). This is the fundamental condition of entering the male world and being a part of this world because a man has to describe himself as 'not being like a woman'. As the criteria of being man is determined as opposed to being a woman, it is required to understand femininity and female roles to make a clear frame towards the construction of masculinity from male students' point of view. In addition, since the expectation of the opposite sex from males was taken as a reference point in the construction of masculine identity, the existing perception and expectations of girls was also tried to be understood from male students' viewpoints in this study. As "masculine culture that is dominant in school is the determiner of multiple/different feminine subjectivities" (Özkazanç & Sayılan, 2008: 11), the feminine features can also be taken as the determiners of masculine formation as claimed in this study. That is, males shape their masculine behavioral patterns according to the various feminine groups' expectations.

Although school is a critical scope in constructing male students' gender identity, it cannot be evaluated free from familial background. Family is the first social setting in which the values, norms and gender roles are acquired through the interactional processes among the members of the family. Throughout their childhood, all the students spend a lot of time at home that is an area attributed to woman socially. Thus, children develop a strong attachment with their mothers. This situation emerges especially in early childhood but it continues throughout life as it has a determinant feature in child's relations with others (Bowlby, 1969). In order to enter the male world, the child must separate himself from his mother and form an opposing identity for himself. Thus, a boy has to learn to be a man by trying not to be like his mother. In other words, while a girl does not have to transform herself from this environment, a boy has to go through a painful metamorphosis by suppressing his feelings with the responsibility of being a man (Chodorow, 1994). Unlike a girl, the boy experiences various stages of separation in his life journey and has to prove his masculinity constantly as proper to cultural codes by struggling with various internal processes and external factors at the stage of breaking his bonds with his mother to be a part of male world (Chodorow, 1994). The requirement for compulsory proof takes place in a struggle to reach the culturally idealized model of masculinity by embracing the opposite of the feminine traits he

sees in his mother during the separation process (Chodorow, 1994). Since the boy is constantly in a risk of losing his current position, he is forced to keep alive and regenerate the power he has obtained both in a continuous conflict and a tension (Atay, 2004). As mentioned by Pleck & Sawyer (1974:3) "males are supposed to seek achievement and suppress emotions and they are to work at getting ahead and staying cool". While experiencing the world outside home and on the way of being a man they are limited emotionally because "big boys do not cry" (Pleck &Sawyer, 1974:5). When compared to girls "demands that boys conform to social notions of what is manly come much earlier and are enforced with much more vigor than similar attitudes with respect to girls" (Hartley, 1974:7; cited in Pleck & Sawyer,1974). Hartley adds that some studies carried out on infants in preschool children demonstrates that when compared to girls, boys are more conscious of the social expectations burdened to them; thus, they have to limit their desires and emotions to realize the rewarded masculine role. Also, while the physical skills and body image are more spectacular in the youth and adolescence period, they are not so much important during adulthood period. Instead, intellectual activities, sociality, career and earnings come to the forefront in this life period (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974).

Besides, as the power/hegemony is also constructed through body performance, sport appears as one of the most significant field displaying how the traditional male roles are transferred to boys. During the struggle of proving manhood constantly, "masculinity is tested in immediate physical competition with others"; however, it is an endless challenge and winning one time is not enough for fulfillment (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974: 3). Male and female bodies are considered as two opposite poles with the characteristics of strength and weakness in a biological reductionist approach, which leads to the construction of masculinity and femininity on physical differences (Beauvoir, 1993). Thus, the female body is defined as delicate, sensitive while the male body is defined as durable and strong. Although it may seem advantageous for men to be defined in a higher position against women in the first sight, when we go deeper, we see that this definition constitutes a serious hegemony on men. While very few men have access to the ideal masculinity model that is difficult to achieve, even almost impossible, all men are in an endless endeavor to achieve this ideal. All other men who cannot and do not want to achieve this ideal

are pushed down in the hierarchical order. These otherized men are characterized by being 'feminine' or 'like women' when they are physically and behaviorally out of the ideal. In the study conducted by Koca (2006) when the primary school students from different social classes were asked to introduce themselves, it was concluded that all male students identified themselves with the sport they were engaged in or interested in. However, in this study which was conducted in high a school setting and examining adolescent boys, it was revealed that sports activities and physical strength especially come to the fore in the peer groups and friendship relations as one of the sings of accepted masculinity qualification rather than a whole identity formation as in primary school level. Physical power, which is a significant necessity of being a real man, comes to the forefront in all types of relations as a label of masculinity. This study has revealed that the image of strong body appeared as an internalized masculinity characteristics as explained in analysis and findings parts. Actually, sport activities appears as important tools in gaining and proving hegemonic masculinity (Kessler et al., 1985; Connell, 1998, 2008; 2005; Martino, 1999; Swain, 2001; Bromley, 1997; Koca, 2006). In this sense, Butler's (2010) approach to gender as a 'performative action' enables us to understand the relationship between the male body and masculinities clearly. According to Butler (2010), individuals displays behaviors consistent with their gender identity. However, this situation does not occur with explicit consent and on a volunteer basis. When gender role is exercised, behaviors deemed appropriate to that role results in the reproduction of cultural codes. Studies examining the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and sport reveals that although some males are in a very privileged position because of his physical strength and skill, many men may have unpleasant experiences about physical education courses and physical skills as the degree of body performance is the signifier of masculinity (Connell, 2005). The common conclusion of these studies is that boys who refuse to be active in physical education activities or to participate in activities other than those described as masculine are mocked and subordinated.

As mentioned previously, gender identity develops in an ongoing interaction with others in social environments. Therefore, in-class activities, communication processes, interaction models and teacher attitudes and behaviors appears as

significant elements in the construction of masculinity in literature overview. Studies show that both male and female teachers exhibit attitudes and behaviors that reinforce traditional gender roles (Connell, 1995; Skelton, 2001; Stanworth, 1981). However, in these studies mostly male teachers are revealed as the reflector of heteronormative behaviors and contributors to the reproduction of stereotyped masculine roles. In their study examining the relationship between school and sexuality Francis and Skelton (2001) revealed that the classroom setting is not an area where only male students' masculinities are built; however, it is also a place where male teachers regain and prove their own masculine identity deemed as appropriate for the societal norms. Additionally, male teachers are mostly identified as "natural disciplinarians by students, teachers and parents" (Francis &Skelton, 2001:13). The maintenance of male hegemony in schools is mostly linked to male teachers through their high ranked positions, responsibilities attributed to them in perpetuating discipline and punishment processes and the positions of school director and co-director in schools (Francis &Skelton, 2001). These roles deemed to male teachers play a determinant role in male students' constructing their own masculinities as well. In their studies Francis & Skelton (2001:15; Connell,1995) revealed that " heterosexist discourses (reflecting homophobia and misogyny)" are delineated by male teachers in classroom setting to construct their masculine identity as well as their influence on male students. "Homophobic and misogynist discourses which positions females as the other are used by teachers to construct themselves as 'properly masculine' and as a disciplinary tool" (Francis&Skelton,2001:19) Teachers, who have an important position as role model in the classroom, reinforce their masculinity in this manner and influence the masculinity construction process of male students in the same way. Besides their behaviors and attitudes, teachers also transmits traditional gender roles through the materials they use in classroom. At that point, educational materials and textbooks come to the fore as other significant factors influential in construction of masculinities. In many studies, it has been found that textbooks, which are the leading educational materials used in the classroom, mostly contribute to the production of traditional gender roles. In these studies, it was revealed that female and male figures were exhibited in places, people, objects and actions required by the stereotyped social division of labor as well as the sexist elements included in them. These studies found out that textbooks

includes many open and implicit messages bolstering gender bias in classroom setting (Blankenship, 1984; Asan, 2010; Gümüşoğlu, 2013). According to the results of these studies, male figures are given more place in the textbooks. In the textbooks, male characters are often portrayed as brave, helpful, strong, determined, brutal, logical, intelligent, assertive, hardworking, family man, manager, leader spirit, protector etc. These studies focus on the inferior woman role vis a vis superior man role in textbooks. However, when we deep on the characteristics of men in textbooks as mentioned in these studies, it is understood that the role of man in textbooks is determined in line with the hegemonic masculinity properties. That is, masculinity is presented as a single category in the idealized form.

Friendship and friendship groups are highly important for adolescents in high school years. Peer group means a kind of identity for the adolescent. Therefore, it is gives considerable clues about the masculinity perceptions of male students. According to Swain (2001), every peer group owns a unique image and identical properties with its rules and a specific culture, which has an inevitably significant role in construction of masculinities. Peer groups employ as a tool through which individuals interpret both themselves and their environment (Pollard, 1985). What makes peer groups so important is that it demonstrates 'relationships which are likely to foster a feeling and a sense of identity' (Rubin, 1980:32, cited in Swain, 2001:188). Pollard (1985) underlines the multifaceted side of peer groups and claims that peer groups cannot be interpreted through stable qualities in a superficial way. Because each group represent a unique societal construction that is different from others in terms of viewpoints, values, expectations and way of communication etc. In addition, friendship groups teaches the adolescent to test himself/ herself and to deal with others as well as acting as a ground of self-demonstration and giving him/her the opportunity to start social relationships (Baran, Ulusoy and Demir, 2005). As it is a social ground each members of the group recognizes his/her limitations and freedom about the genders roles as appropriate to cultural norms through the experiences obtained in group (Maccoby, 1990).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Overview of the Chapter

The research design, data collection techniques and analysis methods are presented in this chapter.

3.2. The Overall Research Design of the Study

In recent years, there has been a remarkable increase in the use of qualitative research methods in education, gender, sociology, psychology and many other fields. Qualitative research is an approach that focuses on exploring and questioning social phenomena within the environment in which events and individuals are engaged with each other and uses data collection methods such as observation, interview and document analysis. The present study employed qualitative research method to investigate the construction of masculinity in school from the perspectives of high school males.

In the literature, it can be clearly seen that as a concept qualitative research has been defined in different ways in academic circles. The reason why there is no common definition is that the concept of qualitative research is considered as a "multi-method" including various theoretical approaches, intellectual and philosophical viewpoints and strategies in conducting a research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002; Creswell, 1998). However, its "interpretative, naturalistic and holistic" characteristics composes the main constituents of qualitative method (Creswell, 1998:15). In the studies of social phenomena, which are constantly in a state of change and transformation, the qualitative research method makes a significant contribution to the literature of social studies as well as revealing the

transformation and its reflections in social events and situations. Qualitative research design should be planned in a systematic way but also should be organized in a flexible manner by considering the possible changes and factors shifting in course of the study. As emphasized by Creswell (1998) the causes underlying human behavior can only be explored through a flexible and holistic approach focusing on the experiences and perspectives. Therefore, in this research, the structure of the study was kept flexible in order to evaluate the possible changes during the research. Creswell (1998:16) states the most basic characteristics of qualitative research as data collection in the natural setting, role of the researcher as the main tool for data collection, data gathered through qualitative techniques e.g. interview, observation etc., revealing perceptions of participants, focus on the process but not on the product and inductive analysis.

After providing the basic requirements for a qualitative research, the instruments for collecting data should be determined in accordance with the purpose of the study. Observation, interview and review of written documents are among the most common data collection methods in qualitative research method. Yıldırım & Şimşek (2016:41) argued that the most important advantage of these methods "is that they allow the studied subject to be seen with its various dimensions from the perspectives of the researched individuals and to reveal the social structure and processes that make up these perspectives". Patton (1987) claims that the examination of the subject in its natural environment is the leading and distinctive feature of qualitative research. Because, obtaining multidimensional data about places and people is only possible through taking part in the natural setting. Unlike the research conducted by creating an artificial setting, qualitative research is carried out by regarding the sudden changes, events and phenomenon occurring in the research process (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016:43). Creswell (1998:18) emphasizes that the stages of the research should be planned with a "general approach" rather than detailed and certain points. Since the purpose of a qualitative research is not reaching to generalizable results, the interpreted experiences and viewpoints of the researched group can only be brought to the forefront as the examples that can give perspective to individuals in the studied field (Patton, 1987). Rather than general results, an "in-depth and detailed analysis of a specific

content" is aimed in this kind of studies (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). The role of the researcher is another important topic of discussion in a qualitative research. In qualitative research, the researcher is the person who closely follows the events or phenomena with a participatory attitude (Creswell, 1998). The researcher's own experiences, background and competence are very important, as it is the person who interprets the whole data (Lichtman, 2006). Also, the researcher uses natural conditions as a source of data and tries to observe, define and interpret these conditions systematically. In addition, the researcher tries to understand and interpret the situation by considering the participants' perspectives and the characteristics of the research setting rather than his/her bias and prejudgments. In this method, it should be taken into consideration that the researched individuals have a continuous interaction with the studied subject, place and the researcher (Lichtman, 2006). Thus, attaining a flexible attitude will make it easier to recognize and interpret the changes that will occur in the process, as qualitative research is a "dynamic" process in nature (Lichtman, 2006:9). In the present study, as the researcher I conducted my research in two different high school settings. In this way, I could be a part of the study throughout the research. Also, I used interview and observation techniques in my data collection process. Therefore, I had the chance of observing male students, teachers' attitude and administrators' approach in various parts of the schools such as classroom, canteen, hallways etc. In addition, the interviews provided me deep information about the gender culture of school from male student's point of view. This process also kept me in a close interaction with students in school setting throughout the research. This situation contributed to me in creating an environment of trust in interviews because of the familiarity it creates between students and me.

3.3. The Settings

This study was conducted in two different high schools located in Karatay district of Konya. Because of the researchers working hours, observations were realized both in School A and in School B while the interviews were conducted only in School A. In order to remain loyal to the confidentiality of the research, both of the

schools were addressed with the nicknames assigned to them. Therefore, the schools were referred as School A and School B throughout the study.

School A has started double-shift education as of 2018-2019 academic year. It is a typical high school with co-education. Any student who resides in the neighborhood of the school can attend it. It has 61 teachers and 862 students. The school consists of 25 classrooms, one conference room, one information technologies classroom, one library, canteen and garden. The administrative staff of the school composes of one principal and two assistant principals. All the executive team is male.

School B provides full-time co-education with 33 teachers and 525 students. It selects its students according the exam realized by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, it includes a wide range of students from various layers of the society and from different districts of the city. It consists of 24 classrooms, 3 science laboratories, 1 gym, 1 information technologies class, 1 library, 1 conference room, schoolyard and canteen. In addition, since it renders service as a boarding school, it has a boarding house for both male and female students, a dining hall and a medical room. The school's administrative staff consists of one principal and two assistant principals. All administrative staff were male.

3.4. Data Collection Methods and Procedures

3.4.1. Interview

One of the most widely used methods in qualitative research is in-depth interviews that is used to obtain information about individuals' experiences gained through social relationships. Interview is a process of in-depth interactive communication between the researcher and the participant based on the way of asking and answering questions for a previously determined purpose (Merriam, 2009). This technique is benefited extensively because of the ease and efficiency it provides in data collection process. Open-ended questions were preferred during the interview as the subject being investigated is still a sensitive and fragile issue in our society.

In addition, a flexible approach was provided throughout the open-ended questions, thus, much more data could be gathered by preventing the interviewees from feeling trapped.

In qualitative interviews, the researcher's single aim was not to find answers to the questions he/she has prepared previously. In addition, the researcher tries to explore the participant's point of view about the present issue and how he/she makes sense of it in his life experience. In other words, the interview, which is partially formed beforehand, depends essentially on the participant's role during the interview (Merriam, 2009). An in-depth interview in which the participant actively participates in the natural flow of the interview without researcher's manipulating the participants' contributions to the collection of the most effective data (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). The interview technique can be performed in three ways: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. In this study, semi-structured interview technique was applied. Semi-structured interviews include both definite and open-ended questions. In this respect, semi-structured interviews can be defined as a mixed interview technique including the other two types (Merriam, 2009). Demographic questions were clearly identified beforehand in order to gather background information and socio-economic situation of the students. The questions prepared about the main research topic were designed as open- ended. Thus, only the general framework of the interview was determined. The rest of the framework was built on the active role of the participants during the interview. In this way, it was aimed to prevent the researched individuals to feel caught in a corner and gather more detailed information through in-depth interviews.

Before the interviews, firstly, the necessary official permissions were obtained from the Provincial Directorate of National Education of the province where the researched school is located. Then, the ethics committee approval was obtained from Institute of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University. Since the participants were under 18, interviews were conducted only after obtaining permission from their parents. Thus, both participants and parents were informed in depth before the interview as ensuring the consent of the participants constitutes

a supportive force for the participants' taking a more active role during the interview. Moreover, interview questions were prepared considering the main problem of the research after consulting the opinion of the supervisor of thesis and an expert. Then, a pilot interview was conducted with a male student in the researched school. Accordingly, 16 questions were decided upon after they were revised and necessary changes were made. In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted face to face with the students. I prepared these questions in such a way to enable me to comprehend the masculinity perception in participants' family environment and culture of the school by following the hidden messages transmitted by teachers, administrators, peer groups and various school practices. The place and the time of the interviews were planned according to the participants. The interviews were sometimes held in an empty classroom, sometimes in the library or canteen in school setting or at a determined place outside the school upon the request of the students. The use of guiding and judgmental statements in the interviews was avoided. Considering the sensitivity of the research topic, a relax and free environment was tried to be created for the students to feel comfortable and speak openly as well as sharing their experiences freely. In-depth interviews were conducted with 15 high school boys and each interview lasted about one and a half hour. The number of students was not determined in advance. The interviews were terminated at the point where the collected data began to repeat the previous ones. In addition, upon the permission of participants, a voice recorder was used during the interview. In this way, it was possible to obtain so much information that was impossible to take note and keep in memory during the interview (Weiss, 1994). Later, the records of the interviews were written in detail. The notes taken during the interview were also added to the transcriptions.

3.4.2. Observation

Observation is another data collection method used to collect data in the study. One of the most important advantages of using observation method is that the researcher can generally recognize what participants cannot through this technique (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). Observation can be conducted in two ways as

structured and unstructured. The purpose of structured observation is to obtain valid quantitative data on predefined behaviors and patterns. On the other hand, unstructured observation is carried out in order to explore the ways of understanding the thoughts, behaviors and experiences of the research group. In this sense, the researcher participates in the observation process and collects data by observing and experiencing the atmosphere of the environment and the interaction processes of individuals in that setting. The researcher can conduct data collection through observation in two ways as participant and non-participant. Participant observation is a method of data collection that the researcher participates in everyday interactions and group activities that enable to understand the various dimensions of experiences, behaviors and cultural constructions (Creswell, 1998). In participant observation, the researcher participates in the group she/he is studying and carries the observation process as a member of that group. However, in non-participant observation, the researcher realizes the observation by staying outside the group or case being studied. The purpose of non-participant observation is to record the events and behaviors related to the investigated subject systematically (Creswell, 1998)

As the researcher, I got involved in the classrooms in two different high schools determined previously and made observations as non-participant observer. In addition, in order to understand how masculinity is constructed in school setting, behaviors and interactional processes of male students were observed in various lessons and periods. For this purpose, 51 hours of observation were performed for 4 months in different classrooms and courses. Apart from the classroom observations, data was also collected by observing male students in corridors, schoolyard, canteen and sports fields of the schools. In this way, an in-depth view was obtained about the construction of masculinity in a high school context.

3.5. Sample Selection

Two high schools, which were located in the central district of Konya, were chosen for this research. The two different types of schools were selected to achieve maximum variation in sampling. School A is a neighborhood school. Any

students residing in this area can attend that school. On the other hand, school B enrolls students according to results of the exam that is realized by the Ministry of National Education. Therefore, it includes students from almost every part of the city. Even it has students from nearby cities as it provides dormitory to reside. In this sense, both of the schools have different students in terms of academic success, interests, skills, perspectives and family backgrounds. Another reason in choosing these schools is for practical reasons as they are easy for me to access. They are close to the school where I worked as a teacher. I could reach these schools in a short time when I left my working place. In this way, I could plan my time more practically and save more time for observations and interviews. In addition, I did observations both in school A and in school B. However, I could realize the interviews only in school A because of the limitations resulting from my working hours. 15 male students participated in the study. The students were chosen from 9th, 10th and 11th grades considering, physical characteristics, behavioral and attitudinal manners, ethnicity and sexual orientations. The data collection started with observations. This enabled me, as the researcher, to recognize the characteristics of students before the interviews, thus, provided me some idea about the students to be selected for the interviews. Particular attention was paid to the equal distribution of courses from different fields such as physical sciences, social sciences, foreign language, etc. to observe construction of masculinities in various environments in school. The observed classes and observation periods are presented in the following table 3.1. :

Table 3.1. *Observed courses and observation duration in School A and School B*

COURSES	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B	DURATION (HOUR)
Math	4	3	7
Chemistry	2	3	5
Biology	2	1	3
Physics	2	3	5
Literature	3	3	6
Geography	2	2	4
History	2	3	5
Religion	2	1	3
German	3	-	3
English	2	2	4
P.E.	2	2	4
IT	2	-	3
TOTAL HOUR	28	23	51

3.6. Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is a processual stage of the research, which the data collected by the researcher is systematically organized, divided into meaningful units, synthesized, revealed patterns, explore important variables and decide which data to be used in the reporting (Bogdan and Biklen,1992). Qualitative data analysis can be performed as descriptive analysis, content analysis, discourse analysis, embedded theory and phenomenology analysis methods. In this study, descriptive and content analysis methods were employed. In descriptive analysis, the collected data is categorized according to the previously determined themes and topics. This demonstrated that it is deductive in essence. This analysis method consists of four main stages: creating a framework for descriptive analysis, data processing according to determined themes, and identification of finding and interpretation of findings (Yıldırım &Şimşek, 2016). In descriptive analysis, direct quotations are mostly included as the main objective is to summarize the event as it is. Content analysis is one of the most commonly used types of analysis and it has an inductive nature contrary to the descriptive method. Its aim is to reach the patterns and meanings through the collected data. This type of analysis is employed in three basic stages: firstly, the data is coded, then the related codes are reduced to meaningful themes, and lastly these themes are interpreted in accordance with the research question of the study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

The data collected through interviews were transcribed in detail and transferred to the software called Nvivo 10. In recent years software for analyzing qualitative data is used extensively because of the "flexibility," "practicality" and "time saving" it provides to the researchers (Merriam, 2009) Firstly, the transferred data was coded by regarding the purpose of the research and literature to create a framework. After this stage, the initial codes were checked to eliminate unnecessary ones and add unnoticed codes. After being put in a final form, these codes were classified according their common meanings and reduced to themes and sub-themes based on the literature, research questions and insights of the researcher. The whole coding and thematisation process was realized with cross check method with the help of a colleague and thesis supervisor to increase

credibility of the study. After these external evaluations, the final codes and themes were transformed into visuals by using Nvivo 10 software. Although numerical data was also obtained through the software, the actual aim was not to reach any numerical generalization as in a quantitative work. On the contrary, it was aimed to make the research more powerful and reduce bias by testing the reliability of the codes and themes (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). In this study the collected data was presented as numerical indications, however interpretations were made based on the meanings of the theme and conceptual categories but not over the numbers. While interpreting the results of the themes resulting from the conceptual coding and classification of the data, the software provided clarity in understanding the results and the network of relations. In qualitative research, it is highly possible to skip some necessary points in the analysis process due to the depth of the research and the high amount of information. At that point benefiting a software for qualitative analysis provide the researcher to manage the process efficiently. In addition, this special software enable researchers to achieve more understandable and systematic result without losing control in the process of analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Moreover, it presents reviewing and re-making the codifications, thematisation and making corrections when necessary throughout the analysis process, which is appropriate for implementing the flexibility principle of qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

3.7. Trustworthiness in the Qualitative Study

One of the most important requirements of a scientific research is to obtain convincing results. In qualitative research, four main principles are emphasized to reach credible findings: transferability, credibility, confirmability and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3.7.1. Transferability

Transferability is about describing and explaining the area in which the findings can be generalized in a clear way. This generalization does not focus on a numerical generalization as in quantitative research. On the contrary, an analytical

generalization is realized in the context of similar patterns, situations or places in a qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Also, the researcher should know that the analytical result of the study cannot be generalized directly. Thus, how the results can be transferred to other people, places and events should be explained in detail in order to make an analytical generalization (Meriam, 2009). Therefore, the whole research stages is required to be identified in detail and participants should be decided by considering the purpose of the research. In this study, the interviewed male students displaying different viewpoints, manners and having different sexual identities were selected according to the pre-determined criteria. In addition, the preparation stage of the research and the operation process, the setting, the participants and the findings were described in detail.

3.7.2. Credibility

Credibility addresses to the situation of how the findings conform to reality. To understand the perspectives of the participants, reveal different dimensions underlying their behavior, and achieve a holistic result of their experiences provide credibility in qualitative research (Meriam, 2009). Different strategies can be used to increase the credibility of the study. However, prolonged involvement, member check and peer debriefing are the most emphasized strategies to increase credibility (Holloway& Wheeler, 1996). The best way to achieve credibility in a qualitative research is provided through prolonged involvement in research setting. Being in the researched setting provide the researcher to collect data through a natural witnessing rather than preconceptions (Holloway& Wheeler, 1996). In addition, allocating enough time in data collecting process allows the researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of the culture, experiences or views of the group being researched (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). As the research period increases, an atmosphere of trust develops over time; thus, the interviewees can be more sincere in their answers. Therefore, the data collected in a long period has a higher credibility. Member checking is asking the participants whether the findings of the study accurately reflect their own thoughts or not. However, as this method supports the search for accuracy and consistency in the findings, over-reliance on participants' confirmation may also overshadow the importance of the research

findings (Merriam, 2009). Another way to increase the credibility of the study is peer examination, which requires asking colleagues to examine the research in various dimensions (Merriam, 2009). In this strategy, an expert critically evaluates the whole process from the beginning to the end of the research and provides feedback to the researcher (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996). In this study, the data collection process was realized over a period of 4 months. During this process, data was collected through an in- depth observation in the researched school and the interviews were extended over four months period. In this way, the researcher became familiar with the culture and the general atmosphere of the researched school setting with all dimensions and an intense interaction with the interviewed students occurred. In this way, because of the trust relationship established based on this familiarity, any communicational problems with the students during the interviews could be prevented. In addition, the results of the study were evaluated with the help of another colleague studying in the same field. In the final stage, the obtained findings were discussed and checked with the supervisor of the thesis.

3.7.3. Reliability

Reliability means that the findings and interpretations of the research are achieved in consequence of a consistent process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher's position, triangulation and audit trail are among the main strategies used in providing reliability in a qualitative study (Merriam, 2009). Since the researcher has a role of being a main tool in collecting data in qualitative studies, the views and values of the researcher in the analysis of the findings is inevitable (Merriam 2009). In spite of all the precautions taken, the researcher may inevitably reflect his / her own prejudices and misinterpretations in the evaluation of the data. At that point, it is recommended that the researcher should describe his/her biases in detail rather than searching ways to extinguish them (Merriam, 2009). As another way of increasing reliability, triangulation allows the use of multiple methods and approaches in data collection and analysis. As to audit trail, it is an explanation about the research activities and processes, the data collection and analysis process, themes or patterns in the way of creating a "detailed chronology" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Every detail demonstrating the process of data gathering,

forming codes and themes, the way in reaching patterns were recorded in a written form in order to generate a trail. In addition, another researcher and thesis supervisor reviewed the codes, themes and sub-themes. The interpretations of the finding were also controlled by the supervisor of the thesis.

3.7.4. Confirmability

There are certain requirements for a study to have a criterion of confirmability. Lincoln & Guba (1985) explain these conditions as this: first, the researcher should have raw data such as voice recordings and observation notes. Secondly, the researcher should possess the findings achieved through codes, themes, important categories, patterns and his/her own insight and knowledge. That is, the stages on the way of reaching themes and patterns need to be presented clearly. In addition, quotations and stories told by the participants are rather significant to reveal the confirmability of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addition, all methods, techniques and approaches used throughout the study should be depicted explicitly. Finally, how the data collection tools are developed, the stages of data collection and the reliability and validity checking of the findings gathered through these tools need to be explained.

3.8. The Role of The Researcher

Masculinity studies question the unchanging and dominant position of patriarchy. Most importantly, it challenges the traditional approach of monolithic essential of masculinity. Accordingly, it underlines different masculinities that vary according to time, place and culture. This characteristic reveals the dynamic structure of masculinity. As a woman in her thirties, I have lived under the hegemony of traditional masculinity throughout my life both in my family I grew up in and in the environment that I live. Now, as a researcher, I am conducting a research on the theory of masculinities, which challenges the traditional patterns of masculinity. While questioning the hegemony on men, I have also demolished my perception of masculinity and the stereotyped meaning of being a man, which I have adopted throughout my life. In this sense, this study contributed much to my

personal development as well. I examined the relationship between school and masculinity from the viewpoint of male students with a critical feminist standpoint in my thesis. I conducted my study at high school level including male students between 13-18 ages. This age period corresponds to adolescence, which is one of the most important periods in terms of identity and personality development. Considering the sensitivity of both this period and the studied subject matter, it was rather significant for me to be careful in the communication processes. However, I encountered the difficulties of studying masculinity issue even before entering the field. As an essential requirement of my research, I had to get permission from both school administrators and provincial directorate before the research. Throughout the permission process, the first thing I encountered was a huge expression of surprise on faces when I said that the issue I would work on was masculinity. After a few seconds of deep silence upon hearing the subject, I was asked these questions every time (with surprised and criticizing looks in the eyes):

Masculinity? What are you going to examine about masculinity?

When I asked permission from the principal of one of the schools in which I wanted to do my research, he told me these:

Are you aware of the subject you are studying on? You do not live in space. Here is Konya. Why do you research this subject? There are plenty of topics to examine? We have many serious problems in schools. Isn't it unnecessary to consume time and effort on this subject?

Frankly, I felt that the manager felt uncomfortable because of my questioning of manhood. Actually, at first I felt hopeless and got upset when I saw this approach from a school director. However, I tried to do my best to convince him in order to realize this study and contribute to the gender and educational fields to illuminate more people. After explaining the significance of this issue, the research stages and interview questions for about 1 hour, I was able to get permission. In addition, many of the teachers whom I asked for permission to observe during the lessons were also quite surprised when they heard the subject matter of my thesis. After expressing the purpose of the study, some of the teachers found it quite interesting

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but there were also teachers who found it unnecessary. One of the male teachers made this comment upon hearing the topic of my research:

> You will question manhood? (By emphasizing the words). I really appreciate you. You are very courageous in such a place like Konya. Anyway! Do your research. Let us see what you will find. May God help you? As it is understood clearly from that statement, as a female researcher I encountered with the difficulties of violating a forbidden scope both before and during the research process.

From a feminist point of view, the position of the researcher as a woman is very important to obtain information from other women, to understand them better, to produce effective solutions to existing problems and to develop new perspectives. Since women are often subjected to a sexist approach and oppressed by the sexist division of labor, women researchers can develop a more effective and sincere perspective on the issues of women (Hartsock, 1983). What about examining the issue of masculinity as a woman? Leaving aside the question marks created by this question in my head, I started the research process by considering the assumption that the main way to understand a socially constructed world is to know it within as "the social is always being brought into being in the concerting of people's local activities" (Smith,1997:395). Throughout my research, I proceeded with my insight into the oppression of women by male hegemony but by making elaborate choices in order not to allow this view to override the main research problem of the study. Also, although the immunity of male sovereignty has been clearly revealed in the literature, when I started to study on the field I recognized that the issue of masculinity is in a scope that is positioned out of query more than I thought. Besides, I saw that traditionally accepted characteristics of being a man are internalized deeply by teachers, students and administrators in the field of education. In addition, although many studies have been conducted on the issue of gender in the academic circles, mostly the sexist practices to which female students are exposed have been examined in these studies. However, the sexist and discriminatory approaches that male students come across under the ideal of hegemonic masculinity are mentioned rarely. Moreover, during the research I saw that almost all of the teachers I talked to had a significant awareness about the sexist approaches to female students. Even, most of them are quite sensitive about that issue contrary to my expectation. However, almost no teacher was aware of

the way through which male students were forced to become a real man in line with the idealized masculinity. Therefore, most of them were rather surprised in front of my questioning of this subject. Besides, they were unaware about the exclusion of males who cannot keep up with the traditional masculinity norms. In this process, I realized that unless the boundaries of this forbidden area are broken, the roads taken in the oppression of women will always be blocked. Despite the revolutionary approaches to the women's issue especially in the last 30 years, it will remain in a vicious cycle without a radical questioning on the issue of masculinity. In this respect, it is very important to carry out such studies especially in educational institutions that is one of the most important mechanisms of social construction. Increasing the awareness of teachers in this direction and providing them to reflect this attitude in classroom practices will prevent the suppression of male students as well as the sexist approaches towards female students. Because, the most basic condition of male domination is based on proving one's masculinity by establishing sovereignty over women. Based upon my experiences during the research I can clearly say that othering of women appears as an essential necessity of being an ideal man. That is, patriarchy cannot dominate women without controlling men. This reveals that masculinity is used as a tool by the patriarchal order. Thus, I had the opportunity to look at both men's and women's issues by developing a new insight from a woman's perspective. This has created an awakening for me as a teacher. In addition, I was subjected to harsh critical gazes other than verbal ones most of the times. As a woman, I must confess that I was often exposed to the judging gazes of my female colleagues more than males. In fact, this situation is the proof of women's in-depth internalization of male domination. One of the most frequently asked questions during the research was this: "You are a woman. Why do you study masculinity?". Most people found my studying in masculinity field weird. I had to answer this question many times throughout my research. When one of the teachers heard about my research, she made this comment: "I suppose you burnt your fingers before". She concluded that I had serious problems with men in my private relationships. Throughout the research, I tried to listen to the people and explain my point of view and the purpose of my work patiently. I have endeavored to show how males are exposed to a hegemony both consciously and unconsciously. Moreover, I especially emphasized that this issue is not a special concern of me or anyone else but a social one. I always pointed out that recognizing

this question would make an important contribution to our educational development and become a serious trigger for a radical transformation in social life. As a woman, as a teacher and as a researcher, I always had to state that my aim was a fairer and more egalitarian social order but not to wage war against males as they supposed. On one hand, the need for constant explanation sometimes made me sad as I saw the shortcomings and conservativeness about gender issues in my school setting, but the prospect of turning a light in people's mind kept my motivation alive despite all the problems.

3.9. Ethics of the Study

Ethics is a concept related to the ethical behaviors of the researcher during a scientific research process. From beginning to the end, each stage of the research must be operated with ethical attitude. To ignore the ethical issues in a qualitative or quantitative research affects the reliability of the data gathered through the research. Because, the way through which the data is obtained, the researcher's attitude and approach towards the participants from the beginning to the end of the research inevitably influences the results of the study (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). According to Ekiz (2003), there are three ethical responsibilities to be considered in a scientific research: responsibility towards research professionalism, the participant and society. In addition, it is required to analyze the codes systematically by being faithful to actual transcript, respect the confidentiality without revealing the identity of the researched individuals and not to use an exaggerated language in the interpretation of the results (Tracy, 2010:847). Beside all these, the most basic ethical principle is that the researched individuals should be informed consciously about all aspects of the research through informed consent (Merriam, 2009). This principle "refers to the right of research participants to be fully informed about all aspects of a research project that might influence their decision to participate" (Ruane, 2005:19). In this respect, all the data collection methods were employed upon the consent of the researched group in this study. Their informed consent was taken before the interviews and they were enlightened about the purpose of the research in a written form. The whole process was grounded on the volunteer basis. In addition, the interviewers were informed about the fact that the interview could be terminated at any time they wished and any

disturbing question or point could be skipped. The participants were informed in detail about the confidentiality of the research. In the reporting part, pseudonyms were used instead of the real identities of the participants and schools in order to provide confidentiality in accordance with the research ethics.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1. Overview of the Chapter

This chapter presents the qualitative findings regarding the research questions and the data displaying the socio-economic status of the families of participants, masculinity perception in students' family setting, the perception of masculinity in school's cultural setting, behaviors and attitudes of male students in different parts of the school as well as the summary of findings. The results are supported with observation notes.

4.2. The Socio-Economic Status of Families

Here the parents of the participants are presented in terms of their educational and occupational situations besides their average income and the numbers of the siblings. This part provides data to know the familial background of the participants in socio-economic terms, thus, enable us to understand how the construction of   masculinity changes according to the various environmental conditions. Additionally, it gives remarkable clues about the cultural background of the school.

Table 4.1. *The economic and educational status of the parents' of the participants*

Participant	Education Background of Mother	Occupation of Mother	Education Background of Father	Occupation of Father	Number of Siblings	Income
S01	Primary School	Housewife	Middle School	Construction Worker	3	No Fixed Income
S02	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Chauffeur	1	4500
S03	High School	Housewife	High School	Machinist	2	4000
S04	Middle School	Housewife	High School	Shoemaker	2	3000
S05	Primary School	Housewife	Middle School	Worker	4	5000
S06	Did Not Have Any Education	Housewife	Did Not Have Any Education	Construction Worker	4	No Fixed Income
S07	High School	Housewife	University	Accountant	1	5000

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Table 4.1. *(continued). The economic and educational status of the parents' of the participants*

Participant	Education Background of Mother	Occupation of Mother	Education Background of Father	Occupation of Father	Number of Siblings	Income
S08	High School	Hairdresser	High School	Not alive	1	3500
S09	Middle School	Housewife	High School	Retired	2	3500
S10	High School	Housewife	High School	Worker	1	3000
S11	Primary School	Housewife	Middle School	Welder	3	4000
S12	Did Not Have Any Education	Housewife	Middle School	Cheese Trading	5	2500
S13	Middle School	Housewife	Middle School	Farmer	2	3500
S14	High School	Housewife	High School	Not alive	No siblings	5000
S15	High School	Housewife	University	Assistant Director	1	5000

Upon reading the Table 4.1, it is seen that under the category of mother's educational status, most of the mothers are high school graduate while primary school graduates come second. The list goes on with secondary school graduates. In addition, the mothers of two participants do not have any formal education background. When they are evaluated in terms of profession, all the mothers but one are housewives. The only working mother is a hairdresser. As her husband passed on years ago, she is responsible for livelihood of the family. When they are categorized according to the educational status of fathers, high school graduate ones come first while they are followed by middle school, university, primary school graduates and the fathers who did not receive education coming the last. There is not any unemployed father when the Table 4.1 is examined according to their profession. One of them is retired while two of them are working as construction workers. The others work in different fields in private sector. As two of the fathers are not alive, their job status was not stated in the table. When it comes to the number of siblings, the participants with one sibling come first. Then, participants with two siblings come. Lastly, the one who has no siblings and having five siblings take place. Finally, in the category of income, it is seen that two of the families do not have a regular income, as the fathers are seasonal workers as constructor. Because construction field is stagnant in winter season, they have a lower income when compared to summer term. Also, they mostly go to the cities in Aegean region or Mediterranean region to work because the mild climate in these regions is more suitable for construction work during winter season. The incomes of the other families vary between 2.500 and 5000 TL while

the average number is 3961.54 TL. Hence, it can be stated that the average income of the families is around 4000 TL.

4.2.1 Masculinity Perception in Students' Family Setting

Here the dominant gender culture in students' family life is explored in detail to reveal the experiences that students bring to school's cultural environment from their familial life. This part provides a clear understanding in seizing the constitution of gender culture at school. In this respect, the masculinity perception formed and supported at school setting will be explored. In line with this aim, the role of the parents and the masculinity perception in family setting were interrogated.

4.2.2. Division of domestic labor among family members

To understand the distribution of tasks among the members of the participants' families and the opinion and attitudes of the participants about this division, the participants were asked four questions. These are the questions: "What is the distribution of tasks among family members at home?", "Are you satisfied with this division?", "Would you like to be in your mother's or father's role at home?" and "How would you do the distribution of duties at home?

Table 4.2. *The participants' opinions on the responsibilities of individuals at home*

Individual	Themes	f	Participants
Mother		18	
	Household chores	16	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S07, S08, S10, S12, S13
	Children's care	2	S10, S04
Father		14	
	Breadwinner	12	S01, S02, S03, S06, S09, S10, S11, S12, S13
	Physical Power - demanding housework	2	S05, S03
	Final decision maker	9	S02, S03, S05, S06, S07, S10, S11, S12, S13

Table 4.2. (*continued*). *The participants' opinions on the responsibilities of individuals at home*

Individual	Themes	f	Participants
Self		10	
	Studying	4	S01, S03, S07, S14
	Running errands for both father and mother	6	S05, S08, S09, S14, S02, S05
Younger sister/ elder sister		9	
	Studying	2	S01, S08
	Lending assistance to mother	5	S01, S05, S06, S08, S12
	Household chores	2	S11, S04
Younger brother/elder brother		6	
	Providing side income by working	4	S02, S03, S06, S12
	Studying	2	S02, S07, S12

When the Table 4.2 is examined, it is seen that the participants expressed their opinions about their duties along with the duties of their mother, father, sisters and brothers. Participants expressed the responsibilities of parents within the family mostly through the distribution of household chores and child caring. Accordingly, one of the essential meanings of being a father or a mother is grounded on the sexist division of domestic labor. Two themes as "household chores" and "children's care" and a total of 18 opinions on these themes were stated about the duties of the mother. The exemplary opinion is given below:

> *Annem ev işleri ve çocuklarının bakımından sorumlu. Evde her şeye koşturur sağ olsun. (S10)*

> My mother is responsible for housework and the care of the children. She deals with everything at home. Thanks her! (S10)

As understood from the responses of the students, having a source for income is a significant indicator in the distribution of roles in the family. Also, father's becoming a provider for livelihood in the family reinforces and perpetuates his dominance. Accordingly, 12 opinions were expressed for the "Breadwinner" duty of the father. Besides, most of the students asserted that fathers have the right to

have the final word, as they are responsible for meeting the needs of the whole family members. In line with this, there are nine opinions expressing father's position in "Uttering the last word" in a decision process. In addition, from the statements of participants it is understood that domestic duties of fathers are determined mainly according to body strength. Students expressed two opinions for father's "Physical power demanding housework" duty. It is revealed here that the position of father in family institution is indicated according to his economic potential and physical strength .In line with these results, S03 presented his opinion as follows:

> *Babam işe gidip gelir, çalışıp para kazanmakla sorumlu. Başka da bir şey yapmaz. Evde son sözü hep o söyler. Zaten genelde babam ne derse odur. (S03)*
>
> My father is responsible for going to work and making money. He will not do anything else. He always has the last word at home. Anyway, it is generally what my father says (S03)

The participants determined the area of responsibilities among siblings according to sex and educational condition. As understood from their comments, individuals develop their gender identity according to this gendered area of responsibilities. As seen in Table 4.2, for personal duties a total of 10 opinions, as four ones for "Studying" and six ones for "Running errands for both father and mother," were expressed. The opinion of S05 exemplify this condition as such:

> *Bazen annemin işi olduğunda kardeşime falan ben bakıyorum. Onun yükünü hafifletiyorum. Yeri geldiğinde zaten babama da yardım ederim. (S05)*
>
> I take care of my brother sometimes when my mother is busy. I ease her burden. If the occasion arises, I also help my father anyway. (S05)

Girls of the family is generally seen as the chief responsible with the domestic works after the mother. This position attributed to girls also gives an indirect message to boys about what they should do and should not to become a man. From the opinions of students, two opinions for "Household chores" duty of the younger sister/elder sister were indicated. While five opinions were remarked for her "Lending assistance to mother" duty, there are two opinions given on her

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"Studying" duty. The exemplary opinion given below demonstrates that girls are seen as the successor of mother:

> *Ablam üniversitesine yoğunlaşmış durumda. Vakti olduğunda anneme yardım eder ev işlerinde. (S08)*
>
> My sister focuses on her university. She helps my mom with the housework when she has time for it. (S08)

Although they are not responsible with creating a source of income, boys are generally seen as the potential providers for earning a livelihood. Acting this role under the shadow of father, boys are seen as the heir of him. According to this, the theme "Providing side income by working" duty of the younger brother/elder brother was reached and students expressed four opinions about it. In addition, two opinions were stated for his "Studying" duty. S12 uttered these words in line with these results:

> *Büyük abim okumadığı için çalışmak zorunda. Yan gelip yatamaz. Babam da biraz yaşlandı. Babamdan sonra aileye sahip çıkacak kişi o sonuçta. Okuyanlar dersleriyle meşgul. (S12)*
>
> My elder brother doesn't study so he has to work. He cannot just lay around. My father got a little bit old. After him, my brother is the one who is going to take care of the family. The students are busy with their classes in the family. (S12)

As seen in the Table 4.2 and exemplary opinions above, the distribution of domestic duties is dominated by a sexist structure in participants' family settings. Male students are acquainted with the sensation that gender affects the distribution of tasks firstly in household. Accordingly, male members of the family are responsible for providing living income and working outside the house while females are responsible for domestic work and child caring. This sexist division of labor, which is firstly founded in family environment, is gradually adopted as the innate necessities of being a man and a woman. When an individual starts to socialize, he/she carries the characteristics acquired in the family to his/her socialization environments. School has a remarkable place as one of the most important socializing environments for individuals. Each school has its own cultural environment and that culture is created by contribution of all the members of the school. In this sense, students and teachers carry the perspectives, attitudes

and behaviors that they learn in the family to the school environment. The sexist understanding in division of tasks at home reflects on the life in school as it can be seen in this study.

Table 4.3. *The Satisfaction of the participants with the work distribution at home*

Satisfaction	f	Participants
Satisfied	13	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S07, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15
Dissatisfied	1	S09

When the Table 4.3 is examined, it is seen that 13 participants were satisfied with the distribution of duties while only one participant was dissatisfied. One of the participants did not comment on the subject. Most of the students mentioned about the division of household chores as a habit and to them it is already as it should be. On the other hand, the student who expressed his dissatisfaction about this issue criticized this inequality harshly:

> *Bu düzen hem böyleydi yani herkes görevini bilir. Memnunum. Bu düzeni seviyorum. Alışkanlık. (S01)*

> This order was always like that. Everyone knows his/her duties. I am satisfied. I like this order. It is our habit. (S01)

> *Babam dışarıya sesini çıkaramaz ne varsa içeriye patlar. Çocukken beni iş yerine götürdüğü zaman müşterinin birine kızdığı zaman hıncını benden çıkartırdı, döverdi. Sesimi çıkarmasaydım ben de öyle olacaktım. Bana bir deli cesareti geldi babama direndim. Çok mücadele ettim. Hiç boyun eğmedim. Şimdi babam yola geldi. Aslında daha çok annem ve ablamlar üzerinde yaptığı baskı beni daha çok üzüyordu. Bu düzenden memnun değilim tabi ki de. Annem de babam da eşit olsun. Bütün işler ortak olsun. Ya da kadın o işleri yapmak istiyor mu sorulsun isterdim. Ben eşime önce bir sorarım ne istiyor. Çalışmak istiyorsa çalışsın. Çalışmak zorunda değil. Çalışmasa dahi ev işlerini hepsini yüklenmek zorunda değil. Ben babamdan nasıl baba olunmayacağını öğrendim. (S09)*

> My father does not utter a word to people, he always represses himself. When I was a kid, he took me to work sometimes. When he was angry with a customer, he would wreak his anger on me and beat me. If I had not risen up against him, I would be like him. I was insanely brave in resisting him. I struggled so much. I have never submitted. Now, my father sees sense. In fact, his oppression on my mother and my sisters made me more upset. Surely, I am not happy with this order. I wish my mother and father were equal and do every work jointly. Or I would like to see that women are asked whether they want to do these works or not. I first ask my wife what she wants and let her work if she wants to. She does not have to work. Even if

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she does not work, she does not have to do all of the housework. I learned from my father how to not be a father. (S09)

The analysis of the answers to this question demonstrates that men actually do not want to give up the superiority and privilege that masculinity provides to them. Although they are oppressed under the hegemony of the patriarchy on the way to become a real man, they do not want to compromise the privileges granted to them. In addition, most of the students mentioned about the order at home as a normal and natural routine of life. That is, they are born into an environment where man is glorified against woman from the very beginning. In this environment woman is forced to bear double burden while man has a place where he has the ultimate supremacy. Although men try to prove their masculinity outside, they naturally possess this superiority over woman.

Table 4.4. *The participants' opinions on whether they would like to be in their mother's or father's position*

Satisfaction	F	Participants
I would like to be in my father's position	11	S01, S02, S03, S04, S06, S07, S09, S11, S12, S13, S15
I would like to be in the position of neither my father nor my mother	2	S05, S09

As the research revealed, boys assign their place both in the family and in other social environments according to the roles they have assimilated in the family. With the aim of understanding whether they question this patriarchal-based division of domestic responsibilities or they internalize the role of their same sex parents as it is, their satisfaction about these roles were interrogated here. According to the data obtained in Table 4.4, it is seen that 11 of the male students would like to be in their father's position while two students stated that they want to be in the position of neither of the parents. Two fatherless students did not answer this question. The exemplary opinions are like the ones below:

> *Babamın yerinde olmayı isterdim. Çocuklarla falan çok uğraşamazdım. Biri kitabını kaybediyor, bir çorabını bulamıyor. Git dışarda çalış onun yerine daha rahat. (S12)*

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I would like to be in my father's position. I could not deal with kids. One of them loses a book while the other cannot find socks. It is easier to go out and work. (S12)

Ben ikisinin de yerinde olmak istemezdim. Zaten evlenmeyi de düşünmüyorum. Bu kadar kasmaya da gerek yok bence. Herkes elinden geldiği kadar ailesine katkı sağlamalı. (S05)

I wouldn't want to be in the position of neither of my parents. I am not even thinking about getting married. I think we need to be relaxed. Everyone should contribute to his family as much as he/she can. (S05)

The fact that most of the participants' preference to be in their fathers' positions instead of their mothers' demonstrates the assimilation of roles according to the similarity of sexes with parents. In addition, most of the students indicate that they choose their fathers' role as it is rather difficult to deal with household chores and children's caring. To them, working outside is more easy. Although they are aware of how difficult domestic responsibilities are, they prefer to avoid these responsibilities under the cover of traditional roles that are presented as the innate qualities of being man and woman. When it comes to two fatherless students' leaving this question unanswered, there might be emotional causes. However, although the only parent that they see in family life is mother, they did not prefer their mother's role as well. This situation may reveal the gendered side of the attitudes that mother has in child rearing. It also displays that children may develop a perception about masculinity not only through identification with father in family life but also through other ways such as school, religion, media channels, friendship groups etc.

Table 4.5. *The participants' opinions on how to distribute the duties*

Suggestion for duty distribution	F	Participants
Preferring the same duty distribution	12	E01, E02, E03, E04, E05, E06, E07, E10, E11, E12, E13, E15
Equal duty distribution	1	E09
Allocating more duties to the younger of the elder sisters	1	E11

When the Table 4.5 is examined, it is seen that 12 students do not want to make any changes in the distribution of the duties. One students asserted that the duties

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should be equal while the other opinion supports to allocate the younger one of the elder sisters more duties. S11 expressed his approach as such:

Büyük ablam da biraz yük var. Ben olsam küçük ablama da biraz görev verirdim. Yapabilsem iki ablam arasında eşit dağılım yapardım. Küçük olan pek bir iş yapmıyor. (S11)

My elder sister got some load. I would allocate some more duty to the younger one of my elder sisters. If I could, I would distribute the duties equally between my two elder sisters. The younger one doesn't do much work. (S11)

In comparison with the statement of S11, S09 asserted an egalitarian approach as below:

Annem de babam da eşit olsun. Bütün işler ortak olsun. Ya da kadın o işleri yapmak istiyor mu sorulsun isterdim. Ben eşime önce bir sorarım ne istiyor. Çalışmak istiyorsa çalışsın. Çalışmak zorunda değil. Çalışmasa dahi ev işlerini hepsini yüklenmek zorunda değil. Ben babamdan nasıl baba olunmayacağını öğrendim. (S09)

I wish my mother and father were equal and do every work jointly. Or I'd like to see that women are asked whether they want to do these works or not. I first ask my wife what she wants and let her work if she wants to. She does not have to work. Even if she does not work, she does not have to do all of the housework. I learned from my father how not be a father. (S09)

As seen in the Table 4.5, most of the participants do not choose to make any difference in the distribution of household duties. Instead of sharing these duties, they prefer to make all the distribution among the female members of the family. According to them, they already do not have these responsibilities because of their sex. Besides, though some of them are aware of the fact that being born as a man should not provide any superiority over women, they nevertheless benefit this patriarchal privilege in order to run from these responsibilities. Only one participant expressed an equal approach on the distribution of duties. During the interview, this participant expressed that he had a difficult childhood because of his fathers' negative attitudes against him besides his mother and sisters. His father used violence against all the members of the family. In addition, they had economic problems because of his father's low income and alcohol addiction. Due to these problems, he has engaged a more close relationship with the female

members of the family. Also, he is rather sensitive about women's question and express himself as a defender of women's rights. This is quite clear in his following expressions:

> *Bizimkiler hep direkt bir kadına cinsellikle yaklaşıyorlar. Son zamanlarda ayyuka çıkan taciz tecavüz olayları konusunda çok tartışıyoruz. Mesela Özgecan olayında bir arkadaşımla ciddi şekilde tartışmıştık. Özgecan olayını konuşurken arkadaşım o saatte o eteği giymeseydi dedi. O anda benim tepem bir attı. Kendime o anda hâkim olamadım daldım çocuğa. (S09)*

> The kids always approach a woman with the idea of sexuality. We have been arguing a lot about increasing cases of rape and harassments against women recently. For example, I had a serious discussion with a friend on the case of Özgecan. When talking about Özgecan case, my friend said that she should not have worn such a short skirt at that time. At that moment, I lost my temper. I could not control myself and attacked on him. (S09)

4.3. The Perception of Masculinity in School's Cultural Setting

This part presents the understanding of masculinity at school and aims to explore what type of masculinity is supported at school. Besides this parts questions how the supported masculinity form is constructed at school by regarding the influence of teachers, peer groups and other school practices.

4.3.1. Teachers' Attitudes and Approaches to Male Students

The influence of teachers' attitudes on male students' formation of their masculine identity during the interactional processes is aimed to be explored in this part. In this section, the behavior of male and female teachers was not questioned separately. Instead, it was focused on the attitudes of the teachers towards male and female students. Thus, it has been discovered in what ways teachers are influential in the construction of masculinity of male students. To make a detailed inquiry in this direction, these questions were asked to students: "Do you have a role model teacher? If so, whom and why do you take as a model? What are the characteristics of this teacher?", "What kind of differences do you observe in teachers' behaviors and their punishment strategies in the classroom? How? Why? Can you give an example?", "How do teachers realize division of duties? What

kind of differences do you observe in teachers' way of dividing duties between male and female students? Can you explain with examples?".

Table 4.6. *The participants' opinions about the characteristics of the teacher that they see as a role model*

Theme	F	Participants
Authority	12	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S07, S08, S10, S12, S11,S13
Good physical appearance and self-care competence	6	S02, S04, S05, S07, S08, S12
Professional competence and skill	4	S01, S04, S05, S07
Having an approach that gives priority to the student	6	S03, S04, S05, S10 S11, S15
Being nice	7	S01, S05, S10, S11, S12
Good family man	2	S02, S12
Faithful & Patriot	4	S03, S10, S13, S14
Owning a similar perspective	3	S08, S09, S15
Originality	2	S13, S15

When the Table 4.6 is examined, it is seen that 10 themes have emerged based on the opinions of the participants, and they expressed a total of 46 opinions on these themes. The characteristics of the teachers that the participants see as a role model appeared as "Authority", "Good physical appearance and self-care competence", "Professional competence and skill", "Having an approach that gives priority to the student", "Being nice", " Being a good family man", "Faithful & Patriot". Besides, the characteristics of "Owning similar perspective" and "Originality" of teachers took place. Among the determined themes, being authoritarian and physical appearance come to the forefront as illustrated in the sample statements below:

Bir kere disiplinli. Adam haklı olduğu yerde sonuna kadar giden biri ben de öyleyim. Otoriter. Hem de matematiği seviyorum. Öner hoca bizimle konuşurken yüzümüze bakar. Bize değer verir. Giyimi, kuşamı hep özenli. Dersi de çok iyi anlatır. (S04)

He is disciplined. He goes to any lengths if he is right. He is authoritarian. I also love math. Öner teacher looks at our faces while talking to us. He cares about us. His clothes are always attentive. He teaches well. (S04)

Efendi, saygılı, anlayışlı, inançlı. Bir taraftan da disiplinli. (S10)

He is nice, respectful, understanding and faithful. He is, on the other hand, disciplined. (S10)

Betül hoca tabi ki. Çünkü insanı insan olarak gören, dünyaya çok güzel bir bakış açısı olan, az cümlede çok mana arayan, gösterişsiz, sevmeyi seven, doğru olan şeyleri çevredekilerin düşüncelerini aldırmadan söyleyen, iflah olmaz bir hayalperest, derin hisseden, sanata olan tutkusundan dolayı hayran olduğum ve toplum ne düşünürse düşünsün sadece istediklerini yapan biri olduğu için. (S15)

Surely, my role model is Betül teacher. She sees a person as a human being has a very good perspective upon the world, looks for huge meanings in a few sentences. She is unpretentious, loves to love and tells the right things regardless of other people's thoughts. She is a hopeless dreamer, has deep feelings. I am fascinated by her as she has a passion for arts and she does whatever she wants no matter what the society thinks. (S15)

In this part, the characteristics of teachers who are taken as role model by male students has been taken into consideration. Actually, I did not ask the characteristics of teachers according to their sexes. However, the participants expressed the name of the teachers whom they take as role model while explaining the reason why they choose him/her. Accordingly, 12 participants chose a male teacher while three of them select a female teacher as role model. The prominent characteristics of male teachers were mostly mentioned as authority, respectability, discipline, physical strength and self-esteem. On the other hand, female teachers were generally identified with affection, understanding and having the same point of view with students. This result reveals that male students mostly identify themselves with a same sex teacher. In addition, it is understood that being authoritative, disciplined and respectful is mostly perceived as male characteristics while the features such as affection, understanding, being sympathetic is identified with females. Besides, although the concept of authority comes to the forefront among other characteristics and mostly associated with male teachers, being a male teacher is not enough as long as it is not completed with physical power and appearance. I had the opportunity to observe this situation in school A clearly. I observed two male math teachers in the same classroom. One of these math teachers is disabled. Besides, he is short and plump. Because of the disability in his leg, he was sitting in his chair throughout the lesson. Generally, most of the students were related with something else rather than listening to the teacher. They were talking to each other and do not care of him. Therefore, the teacher sometimes had to warn students by raising his voice. However, the other math teacher was quite disciplined and harsh. Also, he was very careful about his appearance and always put on a suit. Students were afraid of him and showed more respect. They did not talk in any way until he gave them the permission to

talk. In one of my dialogues with that teacher, he said that students did not listened to the lessons of other teacher as he could not establish authority on students because of his disability. As understood from this difference between two male teachers, hegemonic masculinity and masculine hegemony cannot be gained without physical sufficiency. Moreover, this situation reveals that body and bodily qualifications are unignorable prerequisites for a man's exerting his authority. This sensation is transmitted to students in a hidden way during the interactional processes between students and teachers and manipulates male students' approach in developing their masculine identity.

Table 4.7. *The participants' opinion on teachers' behaviors and punishments to students in the classroom*

Features	Theme	f	Participants
Behavior		13	
	Being tough on boys	5	S01, S03, S06, S05, S09,
	Being gentle with girls	3	S05, S12, S14
	Protective approach for girl students	3	S03, S06, S09
	Sitting separately as girls and boys	2	S08, S11
Way of punishment		12	
	No difference	4	S04, S08, S09, S11
	Tough sanction for boys	5	S07, S06, S10, S12, S13, S15
	Softer punishments for girls	3	S06, S12, S13

Teachers' behavioral approaches and attitudes in punishment are found out as two outstanding factors affecting the masculinity construction of male students both in observations and in interviews. When the responses of the participants are examined in terms of two features as behavior and punishment as in the Table 4.7, 4 themes as "Tough behaviors for boys", "Gentler behaviors for girls", "Protective behaviors for girls" and "Sitting separately as girls and boys", and 13 opinions were stated about the behaviors of teachers. Exemplary opinions are like those:

> *… hoca (erkek bir öğretmen ismi söylüyor) kızlara daha çok ayrıcalık yapıyor. Erkeklere daha sert olabiliyor. Kızlara daha korumacı yaklaşıyor. Onun dışında diğer hocalarım eşit. Kızlara daha kibar hitap ediyorlar. Kızlar biraz daha kırılgan oldukları için kelimeleri daha özenli seçmeye çalışıyorlar. Ama erkekler o lafları fazla kafaya takmazlar. Mesela bir erkeğe "Gel lan" diyor ama bir kızı "gel kızım" ya da "gelir misin kızım" diye çağırıyorlar. (S12)*

> …teacher (says a male teacher's name) bestow a privilege upon girls. He can be tougher on boys. He is more protective while behaving girls. Apart from that, my other teachers behave equally. They address girls more politely. They try to

choose their words more carefully because girls are a bit more fragile. However, boys do not care about that much what they say. For example, they call a boy by saying "Come mate" but they say "Come my girl" or "Can you come, girl?" as for girls.(S12)

Kadın hocalar da erkek hocalar da kız öğrencilere daha korumacı yaklaşıyor. Onlara tolerans geçebiliyorlar. Ama erkeklere daha sert olabiliyorlar. Ama bu çok saçma bence. Bence bir kız kendisini koruyabilir. Kimsenin korumasına ihtiyacı yok, olmamalı. Çok gereksiz.(S09)

Woman and man teachers have a more protective approach to girl students. They can tolerate them. However, they can be tougher on boys. I think that it does not make sense. A girl can protect herself. They do not need the protection of anybody. It is unnecessary. (S09)

Although the disciplinary regulations are stated in a written form and it is valid in the same way for each student without considering their sex, teachers have discriminatory approaches while punishing students. Accordingly, on the way of punishment, 3 themes, as "No difference", "Tough sanction for boys" and "Softer punishments for girls", and 12 opinions were remarked. The exemplary opinions are below:

Genelde eşit. Sadece not başarısı iyi olanları daha üstün tutuyorlar. Çalışkan ve zeki tipleri haylazlık yapsalar bile görmezden gelebiliyorlar. Onlarla daha iyi ilgileniyorlar. Cinsiyete göre değil de başarıya göre bir ayrım var. (S07)

The punishments are usually equal. Only those who have good grades are superior for teachers. They can ignore hardworking and intelligent types even if they do mischief. They deal with these students more. There is a distinction in line with success and not gender. (S07)

Erkeğe ters cevap verebiliyorlar. Bazen fiziksel olarak da sert yaklaşıyorlar ama kızlara öyle yapamıyorlar. Okulun ilk haftası bir hocamız "erkeklerden pek umudum yok ama kızların okumasını, başarılı olmasını diliyorum, onlardan umutluyum" demişti. Kızlarla konuşurken daha dikkat ederek konuşuyorlar. Mesela din kültürü öğretmenimiz kızlara 'hanım kızım' der ama erkeklere ağzına ne gelirse söyler. Burada çok gözlem yapma şansım olmadı ama ortaokuldayken bize vuruyorlardı ama kızlara vurmuyorlardı. Bize tek ayaküstünde durma cezası, sınav çekme cezası veriyorlardı ama kızları sadece sözlü uyarıyorlardı. (S13)

They can rebuff boys. Sometimes, they can be tough on them physically as well but they do not behave the same to girls. In the first week of the school, one of our teachers said, 'I do not feel hopeful about boys but I hope that girls will study and be successful. I am hopeful about them.' When they talk to girls, they are more careful. For example, our religious culture and moral knowledge teacher addresses girls as "my young lady" but calls every name to boys. I did not have so much chance to observe here but they beat us when we were at secondary

school. They did not beat girls. We were punished by standing on one foot or doing pushups. However, they used only oral warning for girls. (S13)

The results of the Table 4.7 reveal that teachers have sexist approach to students in school. Both male and female teachers are mentioned as behaving in a tough and rough way to boys while treating girls softer and more understanding. According to the participants, the reason why teachers are harsher to them is that they see them more durable as they are men. In addition, they stated that teachers treat girls more carefully because they are more delicate and sensitive inborn. However, some participants complained about this discrimination. They expressed that teachers act as if male students had no feelings. Even if they generally complain about this discrimination, they are satisfied of being male because of its advantages. In addition, here it is revealed that the stereotyped masculine roles acquired in household are reinforced by teachers in the gendered culture of school environment. This situation set forth that school serves as a medium of patriarchal order. It can be seen more clearly in the expressions of the participant S6:

Okul kızlar için daha kolay. Kızlar erkeklere göre daha kolay uyum sağlıyorlar. Bir ortama girdiklerinde daha duygusal oldukları için kendilerini daha rahat ifade edebiliyorlar. Ama erkekler için öyle değil. Erkek girdiği ortamda ağlayamaz, duygusal olamaz, ağırbaşlı olmak zorundadır. Ama erkek olmak daha kolay, kızlardan beklenen şey erkeklere göre daha fazla. Onlara daha fazla sorumluluk yükleniyor. Her şeylerine karışma hakkı var sanki herkesin. Giyiminden kuşamına yürümesine kadar karışıyorlar. Ama erkekler rahat. (S06)

School is easier for girls. Girls adapt more easily in comparison with boys. When they enter into an environment, they can express themselves more easily because they are more emotional. However, this is not the same for men. Man cannot cry, cannot be emotional and he must be dignified in his circles. Nevertheless, it is easier to be a man because expectations from them are much more than us. They are burdened more responsibility. As if everybody has the right to butt in them. They are interfered from clothing to the way they walk. But men are comfortable. (S06)

Table 4.8. *Opinions of the participants about the distribution of duties in the classroom*

Group	Theme	F	Participants
Male Students		23	
	Errands outside of the school	4	S03, S04, S05, S15
	Physically demanding works	12	S01, S02, S03, S04, S06, S07, S08, S09, S10,S13, S14, S15
	Rough works	5	S05, S09, S10, S11, S12
	Works requiring technical information	2	S10, S13
Female Students		30	
	Class and school works	5	S07, S08, S10, S11, S15
	Works requiring hand skills	10	S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S07, S09, S10, S13, S15
	Detailed works	15	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S07, S08, S09, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15

As understood from the statements of students and observation result, the distribution of task in school is gendered as it is in family setting. When the Table 4.8 is examined, it is seen that 4 themes and 23 opinions were given about the duties allocated to boys and 3 themes and 30 opinions were stated for the duties of girls. The themes of "Errands outside of the school", "Physically demanding works", "Rough works" and "Works requiring technical information" were offered for the duties of boys. Exemplary opinions are like those:

Getir götür işlerini erkeklere verirler ya da kaldırılacak taşınacak bir şey varsa erkekler yapar. (S02)

Boys run errands or carry things if there is something to lift. (S02)

Detay gerektirmeyen kaba işler, getir götür işleri falan da erkeklere verilir.(S09)

Rough works that do not require details and errands are also allocated to boys. (S09)

Bilgisayarla alakalı bir şeyse ya da eşya falan taşınacaksa erkekler yapar. (S13)

If the duty is related to computer or some good will be carried, boys do it. (S13)

About the duties of girls, themes of "Class and school works", "Works requiring hand skills" and "Detailed works" were shared. The opinions of the participants on these themes are below:

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Sınıf temizleme, yazı yazma, süsleme tarzı şeyler kızlara verilir. (S07)

Things like cleaning the class, writing and decorating are allocated to girls. (S07)

Kızlara daha el yeteneği isteyen, beceri isteyen işler verilir. Düzenleme, organizasyon işleri kızlara verilir çoğunlukla. (S04)

Girls are allocated by duties requiring skills. The arrangement, organization jobs mostly belong to them. (S04)

Sınıf listesidir, ödev kontrolüdür, yazı yazma, düzenleme, süsleme gibi işler de kızlara verilir. (S15)

Class list, homework check, writing, arrangement and decoration et cetera are given to girls. (S15)

When the answers of the students examined in detail, it is seen that the distribution of duties among students is similar to the way in participants' family setting. Male students are generally given duties such as gardening, carrying, doing rough cleaning, dealing with technical issues for instance when there is a problem with smart board etc. On the other hand, duties such as doing detailed cleaning, writing, preparing list or controlling homework are mostly given to female students. That reveals that the culture of the school supports a sexist division of labor. In addition, the gender roles acquired in family life is reproduced in school setting. That is to say, school has a role of being an institutional means of dominant ideologies and contributes to the continuation of the hegemony both on men and on women.

4.3.2. Masculinity and Peer Relations

Here the influence of peer groups in the masculinity construction is questioned. The friendship and group dynamic of male students are interrogated as it is a significant element in identity development of high school males. 14 participants said that they have a friend group as an answer to the questions: "Do you have a group of friends in which you are involved at school? If so, can you give us information about your group? ".

Only S07 told that he does not have a group:

Grubum yok. Arkadaşım da yok pek. Sadece 1 tane arkadaşım var. O da çok yakın değiliz ama ben ona daha yakın olmaya çalışıyorum her ne kadar o istemese de. Aynı sınıftayız. Onun notları daha yüksek ve sınıfın en başarılı öğrencisi. Ciddi ve dürüst. Ben onu seviyorum ama o benimle pek ilgilenmiyor. Ben zaten kimseyle yakın arkadaşlık kuramıyorum. Ne zaman yakın olmaya çalışsam dışlanıyorum. Sadece kafam takıldığında ben ona sorarım. Derslerle ilgili falan danışırım. O benle muhatap olmaz. Kız arkadaşlarımla da konuşmama dikkat ederim. Konuşurken kelimelerimi daha özenli seçerim. Küfür ya da argo söz kullanmam. Çünkü kızlar alınabilir daha hassas canlılardır. Kızlar da benle arkadaşlık etmek istemiyor. (S07)

I do not have a group. I do not have many friends. I have only one. We are not so close. I try to be close with her/him even if she/he does not want it much. We are in the same class. Her/his grades are better and she/he is the most successful student in the class. She/he is serious and honest. I like her/him but she/he does not deal with me much. I cannot be friends with anyone. Whenever I try, they freeze me out. When I have something in my mind, I ask her/him. I take her/his advice about lessons. She/he does not deal with me. I pay attention when I talk to my female friends. I choose much carefully my words. I do not use swearing or slang. They can take offense as they are more fragile. Girls do not want to be friends with me as well. (S07)

I had the chance to observe the participant S07 in different classes. His classmates excluded him. He was always sitting alone at the forefront. He was introvert and hesitates to communicate with others. In fact, he was always in a struggle to prove himself by raising his finger all the time when teachers asked a question. However, even teachers often ignored him because he gave wrong answers and made irrelevant comments most of the time. In addition, this student was excluded because his behaviors were seen as strange. Especially male students avoid making friendship with him and do not take him to their groups due to his attitudes. This situation reveals that being born as male is not only enough to achieve ideal masculinity. It also put forth that masculinity is a rank gained in societal life.

According to the opinions of the participants who stated that they have a group of friends, the group types in Table 4.9 were made by sex.

Table 4.9. *Sex distributions of the groups in which the participants get involved*

Group type by sex	F	Participants
Male	7	S01, S02, S03, S04, S10, S11, S13
Mixed	7	S05, S06, S08, S09, S12, S14, S15
Female	1	S03

When the Table 4.9 is examined, it is seen that the group types by sex are composed of only three forms, as boys group, girls group and mixed group. Students' opinions on sex distributions of the groups are given below:

Sınıf arkadaşlarımdan oluşan 7 kişilik bir grubum var. Grubun hepsi erkek. (S01)

I have a group of seven which comprises of class mates. All is boys. (S01)
5 kişilik bir grubumuz var. 2 kız 3 erkek. Hepimiz aynı mahallede oturuyoruz. (S06)

I have a group of five. While two are girls, three of them are boys. We live in the same neighborhood. (S06)

2 ayrı grubum var. Biri 6 kişilik bir erkek grubum. Diğer grubumda da 3 kız arkadaşım ve ben. (S03)

I have two separate groups. One of them is the boys group of six. The other comprises of three girls and me. (S03)

Most of the participants choose to have male groups as they can express themselves more easily in these groups. In the Table 4.9, it is seen that the number of male and mixed groups is equal. However, the number of boys in mixed groups generally dominates girls'. In line with this data, the reason why they choose these group friends is explored. Accordingly, the Table 4.10 shows according to what the participants have selected their groups.

Table 4.10. *The participants' opinions on according to what they have selected their group*

Sex	Reason of selection	F	Participants
Male		12	
	Feeling more comfortable	4	S01, S02, S03, S11
	Understanding each other	2	S01, S12
	Easy to talk to boys	2	S02, S07
	Talking slang and swearing	2	S01, S11
	+18 talks	2	S01, S11
Female		3	
	Gossiping	1	S03
	Getting on well with each other	2	S03, S13

When the Table 4.10 is examined, it is seen that the participants choose the groups according to sex. Those who preferred male friends reported five different reasons for selection of friends. Those who prefer girls as friends expressed two opinions.

Responses demonstrating students' reasons for choosing their friendship groups are presented below as such:

Grupta kız olmasını kimse istemiyor çünkü konuşma şeklimiz bile değişiyor. İstediğimiz gibi konuşamıyoruz. Erkek erkeğe daha argolu konuşabiliyoruz. Kafa yapılarımız uygun. Futbol maçı oynarız, birbirimize tokat atmaca oynuyoruz ama kız olsaydı tokat atmaca oynayamayız. Sonuçta aynı cinsiz. O beni anlıyor be onu anlıyorum. Daha rahat hissediyorum. Kendimi kasmıyorum. İçimden geldiği gibi küfürlü de konuşabiliyorum. (S01)

No one wants girls in the group as even our way of talking changes. We cannot talk as we want. We can use slang among boys. We get on well. We play football, slapping game but we cannot play the slapping game when there is a girl. We are the same sex. I understand him and he understands me. I feel more comfortable. I am relaxed. I can use foul language as I like. (S01)

Kız arkadaşlarımla daha iyi anlaşabiliyorum. Etrafımdaki erkekler çocuk gibi. Ama kızlar daha ağır başlı olabiliyor. Mesela kızlarla ders çalışırken gördükleri zaman hemen "oooo sevgili mi yaptın" diyorlar. Eğer öyle değilse, onlarla sadece ders çalıştığımı anlayınca küçümsüyorlar. (S13)

I can get on well with my female friends. Boys around me are like children. However, girls are more earnest. For example, they say 'are you lovers' when they see us while studying. If they understand that I only study with girls, then they look down on me. (S13)

For an in–depth understanding of the influence of group dynamics, the themes on the opinions that brought and kept together the participants are given in the Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. *Participant opinions on the factors that meet and hold them together in the group*

Theme	F	Participants
Emotional Reasons	5	S03, S04, S05, S14, S15
Style / Manner	2	S08, S15
Common life space	2	S06, S13
Ethnicity	2	S06, S08

Upon working on the Table 4.11, it is seen that there are 4 themes about the factors that bring the participants together in a group and hold them together. The mentioned themes are "Emotional reasons", "Style / Manner", "Common life space" and "Ethnicity". The examples, on the other hand, are as follows:

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Arkadaşlıklarımı güven üzerine kurarım. Cinsiyet ayrımı yapmak ahmaklık olur. Kadın, erkek, engelli, eşcinsel diye değil insan olarak bakma taraftarıyım. Onların düşüncelerine bakma, düşüncelerine değer verme taraftarıyım, bedenlerine değil. (S14)

I make my friendships on the feeling of trust. It would be foolish to make sexism. I take side with taking people as just a human rather than discriminating them under the labels of woman, man, handicapped or homosexual. I stand up for valuing them on the basis of their ideas and try to care about them, not for accepting them according to their body. (S14)

Biz genelde diğer gruplara göre biraz daha marjinal kalıyoruz. Herkesin kendine özgü tarzı ve inancı vardır. Irkına, inancına ve cinsel kimliğine göre kimseyi yargılamayız. (S01)

When compared to the other groups, we stand a bit more marginal among them. Everyone has his own style and belief. One cannot judge people according to their ethnicity, belief or sexual identity. (S01)

5 kişilik bir grubumuz var. 2 kız 3 erkek. Hepimiz aynı mahallede oturuyoruz. Memleket olarak da üçümüz Vanlı, iki kişi de Ağrılı. (S06)

We are a five-member group; 2 women, 3 men. All we live at the same neighborhood. When it comes to the matter of hometown, three of us from Van while the remnant two are from Ağrı. We back up for each other if need be. (S06)

When the themes in the Table 4.11 is examined, it is understood that each group has its unique characteristics. It also demonstrates that every group has a different understanding of masculinity. Various factors such as ethnicity, manner, living in the same neighborhood or supporting each other emotionally determines the type of the masculinity that stands out in every group. In addition, this situation displays that masculinity is not based on a single factor. On the contrary, it is a matter of perceptions. Thus, the dynamics of male groups present the multifaceted side of masculinities. Besides, how male students perceive the expectation of the opposite sex from their point of views and in what ways this is important in identity formation as a part of friendship relations are presented in the Table 4.12.

Table 4.12. *Participant opinions on the characteristics of male students who are in the spotlight of female students*

Feature	f	Participants
Physical appearance	14	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S07, S08, S09, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15
Personality	7	S01, S03, S08, S09, S11, S13, S15
Skills	3	S02, S03, S14

The table 4.12 portrays three themes titled "Physical appearance", "Personality" and "Skills". According to the participants, the appearance of a male is the chief factor to draw attention of females. Thus, it is perceived as a complementary element of masculine identity especially in adolescence period. The following opinions on the physical appearance of male students exemplify this situation:

Yakışıklılık yetiyor kızlar için. Zeki öğrencilere pek bakmıyorlar. Kim zekâya bakıyor ki. Kızlara göre yakışıklı olsun yeter. (S04)

Being handsome is enough for girls. They do not appreciate the intelligent ones that much. Tell me one who is looking for intelligence. If the guy is a good looking one, that's enough for girls. (S04)

Kızlar yakışıklı ve sosyal tiplere ilgi duyuyorlar. Tabiri caizse serseri serbest stili olanlara ilgi duyuyorlar. (S11)

Girls are interested in handsome and social guys. So to say, they like freehearted and swag men. (S11)

As stated by the participants, personality is another significant factor for girls' evaluating males. They uttered that besides the physical appearance, the characteristic properties of a male is a significant factor in getting attention of females and others. Thus, it functions as a means in describing males' describing their masculine identity. This situation is reflected through the expressions of some participants as such:

Var. Popülerite ve genel olarak yakışıklılık bunların dışında da komik ve kızların en çok sevdiği özellik olan kızları süründürme özelliğine sahip erkekler. Bence çoğu elde edemediği için çok azı da kişiliği, düşüncesi, hayata bakış açısından dolayı bu tiplere hayranlık duyuyor. (S15)

Popularity and overall good looks. In addition, the ones who have the characteristics of drawing girls from pillar to post. (S15)

Benim öyle olduğumu söylerler ama benim dışımda da gözde olanlar var. Tolga baya popüler olanlardan mesela. Bakımlı, yakışıklıdır. Tolga ateisttir. Marjinal bir tip. Adı çıktı okulda o yüzden de gözde. Farklı olanlara karşı bir ilgi var. Tolga inanç olarak da diğerlerinden farklı olduğu için dikkat çekiyor. Eli yüzü temiz değilse istediği kadar zeki olsun bir işe yaramıyor. (S09)

They say that I'm one of those, however, there are other blue-boys in addition to me. For example, Tolga. He is quite a popular one. He is well-groomed and handsome. Tolga is an atheist, a marginal figure. He got a bad reputation at the school. That is the reason lying behind his popularity. There is an interest for the extraordinary ones. He attracts an extra attention due to his disbelief. No matter how intelligent a male is, he cannot attract the attention of girls if he is not a good looking one. (S09)

The measure of what a man can do or cannot is one of the factors that affect the social status of a man. Male students who can play any kind of musical instruments or who are successful in a sport branch come to the forefront in the spotlight of female students especially in high school period. The sample ideas on skills are as below:

Var. 12 lerde 'okulun popisi' bir çocuk var. Gitar çalıyor, küpe takıyor. Ciks giyiniyor. Ben okulun popisi olan çocuk gibi olmak istemezdim kızlara hoş geliyor ama bana gelmiyor. Cool oldun mu, yakışıklı oldun mu kızlar senle ilgileniyor. Yoksa hiç umursamıyorlar. (S03)

There is a guy from the senior class. He is the blue-boy of the school. He plays guitar and wears earring. He dresses up preppy. I would not be like him. Girls like him but I do not. If you are cool and handsome, girls like you. Otherwise, they do not care about you. (S03)

Her zaman olur, kızların en çok ilgisini çeken erkekler alfa yani lider erkeklerdir kızlar için yakışıklılıktan önemlisi karizma ve konuşma stili. (S14)

As it always has been, the guys in whom girls are interested in much are the alpha ones or the leader guys in other words. Girls appreciate charisma and address more than good-looking. (S14)

As mentioned in the literature in previous chapters, one of the main reasons in the construction of masculinity is the expectations and the perceptions of opposite sex. In addition, more important thing is how men perceive the expectations and attitudes of the opposite sex. According to the Table 4.12, male students think that physicality and the characteristics of adolescence are indispensable qualities for an accepted masculine identity. Also, these properties should be complemented

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through various skills such as playing guitar, having an impressive speech, taking place in school's team etc. to achieve the idealized masculinity. According to them, these are the essential characteristics that a man should have in order to have a place among both males and females.

4.3.3. The Prevailing Gender Culture at School

Here the dominant gender culture of the school and the masculine and feminine characteristics attributed to the school are revealed from the perspective of male students. To understand how the school positions itself about the issue of masculinity and how the masculinity is constructed in context of this determined cultural setting of school, the participants were asked these questions: "What gender would you attribute to the school? Why?", "What are you expected at school as a male?", "What are the advantages and disadvantages of being a male at school?".

Table 4.13. *The participants' opinions on the gender of the school*

Gender	Theme	f	Participants
Man		16	
	Authority	6	S01, S02, S07, S09 S10, S13
	Emotional strength	2	S01, S03
	Physical Power	2	S01, S04
	Stereotypical thinking	2	S09, S10
	Magnanimity	2	S08, S11
	Protective	2	S12, S13, S14
Woman		12	
	Caring	3	S03, S05, S06
	Second home	2	S05, S07
	Teaches codes of conduct	2	S02,S05
	Compassion	2	S06, S05
	Elaborations	3	S10, S13, S14
Homophobic man		5	
	Conservativeness/ intolerance to differences	5	S01, S02, S08,
Both man and woman		5	
	Housing	2	S07, S12
	Protecting	2	S09, S12
	The order like at home	1	E12
Genderless		1	E15

When the Table 4.13 is examined, it is seen that the opinions of the participants who think that the gender of the school is a man were gathered under six themes, and a total of 16 opinions were expressed. The opinions of those who think that the gender of the school is a woman were gathered under five themes, and 12 opinions were expressed. There are five opinions about the school's being a homophobic man, five opinions about its being both a man and woman and one opinion about its being genderless.

Those who states that the school is a man emphasized the themes of "Physical power", "Emotional strength", "Authority", "Stereotypical thinking", "Magnanimity" and "Protective" as in the exemplary opinions below:

> *Erkek olurdu bence. Sert kuralları var. Mücadele etmen lazım. Çaba göstermen lazım. Yeri geldiğinde kendini hem fiziksel hem de psikolojik koruman lazım. Burada seni zayıf gördüler mi ezerler ve dışlarlar. O yüzden güçlü olacaksın. (S01)*

> I think it could be a man. It has strict rules. You have to struggle. You have to make effort. When the occasion arises, you need to protect yourself both physically and psychologically. If they see you are weak, they bully you and freeze you out. Therefore, you will be strong. (S01)

> *Erkek gibi baskıcı, yobaz, farklı fikirlere açık olmayan bir yer burası. (S09)*

> This is a place which is oppressive, zealot and not open to different ideas, like a man. (S09)

> *Okul güvenilir bir yer. Herkes elini kolunu sallayıp giremez. O yüzden erkek. Bir erkek de etrafındakileri korur kollar, sahip çıkar. (S13)*

> School is a reliable place. Not everybody can freely walk in. That is why it is a man. A man also protects those around him. (S13)

The opinions of those who see school as a woman if they attribute it a gender come together under the themes of "Caring", "Second home", "Teaching codes of conduct", "Compassion" and "Elaborations". Some of the opinions on these themes, which reflect from the expressions of participants are those:

> *Kadın olurdu. Okul bir anne gibi. Annemle çok muhabbetim yoktur ama herhangi bir sorun olduğunda çok içten sevgi dolu yaklaşır. Okul da öyle korur kollar, iyiliğimizi ister. Okulda rahatım. Annemin yanında da rahatımdır. (S06)*

It would be a woman. The school is like a mother. I do not talk to my mother much. However, she behaves affectionately when there is a problem. The school protects like her and wants what is best for you. I am comfortable at school. I am comfortable with my mother, as well. (S06)

Kesinlikle kadın, çünkü okul da kadınlar gibi en çok ilgiyi sever. İlgilenmezsen karşılığını alamazsın, başarılı olamazsın. (S14)

It is definitely a woman because school, like women, loves attention the most. If you're not interested, you cannot receive recompense and you can't be successful. (S14)

Çocukluğumuzda annemizin yanından ayrıldıktan sonra her zaman okulda olduk. Günde 7 ya da 8 saat boyunca okulda olduk ve bize annemiz gibi nasıl davranmamız gerektiğini, toplum içinde nasıl hareket etmemiz gerektiğini öğretiyorlar. (S05)

We have always been in school after leaving our mother in our childhood. We've been in school for seven or eight hours a day, and they, like our mother, teach us how to behave and how to act in the society. (S05)

S08 reported these opinions about school's being a homophobic man. The participant's opinion is given below:

Homofobik bir erkek olurdu. Burada geri kafalı bir zihniyet var. Bütün farklılıklara anormal yaklaşılıyor burada. Herkes tek tip olsun istiyorlar. Giyim tarzına karışıyorlar, sanatsal faaliyetlere karşılar, erkek ve kız öğrencilerin yan yana durmalarından bile şikâyetçiler. (S08)

It would be a homophobic man. There is a narrow-minded mentality here. All differences are approached abnormally. They want everyone to be monotype. They get regulate the students' appearance, they are against artistic activities, and they even complain that boys and girls stand side by side. (S08)

S12 stated that the school is like both a man and woman:

Hem erkek hem kadın olurdu. Öğrencileri içinde barındırıyor, koruyor. Erkeğin aileyi koruduğu gibi okulda öğrencileri koruyor. Ev gibi düzen ve kuralların olması açısından da kadın. Evi dişi kuş yapar ya onun gibi. (S12)

It would be both a man and woman. It houses and protects students. It protects the students at school like a man protecting his family. It is also a woman in terms of rules and order. Men make houses women make homes. (S12)

S15 mentioned about the school as being genderless:

Okula bir cinsiyet istesem de atfedemem çünkü amacı erkek veya kadın fark etmeksizin karşısındaki insana eğitim ve öğretim verme gerekliliğidir. Tabi biz bu konuda genel olarak başarılı değiliz orası ayrı. (S15)

Even if I want to attribute a gender to school, I cannot because its purpose is to provide education and training to people, regardless of their sexes. Surely, we are not successful in this regard in general but it is a different subject. (S15)

As seen in the exemplary opinions, male students associate school setting with various gender types. This situation demonstrates that school is a multilateral ground in its essence. However, these ideas of the students reflect the gendered side of the cultural formation at school at the same time. Also, it is clear that a masculine hegemony prevails at school. In addition to this, the masculinity form coming to the forefront in school setting is the hegemonic masculinity that takes place at the top in the classification of masculinities.

Table 4.14. *Male participants' opinions about the expectations on them*

Theme	f	Participants
Adolescence	21	S01, S02, S03, S04, S06, S07 S10, S11, S13, S15
Having a job and making money in the future	7	S05, S06, S07, S09, S10, S11
Religiousness	2	S09, S14
Patriotism	3	S05, S06, S15
Discipline & Submission	10	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S08, S12, S14, S15

The Table 4.14 shows that there are five themes about the expectations on males, which can be titled as "Adolescence", "Having a job and making money", "Religiousness", "Patriotism" and "Discipline and submission".

As the result of the study it is revealed that the characteristics such as being honorable, decent, honest, trustworthy, fearless etc. constitute a significant part of masculinity construction in school. Thus, the theme "adolescence" stood out in the interviews. A sample opinion uttered on adolescence by S10 is as below:

Hocalar bize genelde adam gibi adam olun, okuyun bir baltaya sap olun derler. Efendi olmamızı isterler. Başarılı olmamızı da isterler ama bence önce karakter, davranış, saygılı olmak, dürüst ve ağır başlı olmamız onlar için daha önemli. (S10)

Our teachers generally give advice saying that 'be a decent man, have education and knuckle down.' They expect us to be well behaved and successful. However, I think our being in good character, being respectful, honest and demure is more important for them. (S10)

To be able to have an influence both in the family and in society, earning money and having a full time job is necessary. Because, it is mentioned as a main condition for exerting one's authority in the masculinity literature. Also, as revealed in the Table 4.1, providing an income for the family members is the essential responsibility of males. Thus, it appears as a compulsory condition to be an ideal man. In line with this, the following opinion on the theme "having a job and making money" is asserted by (S06) as below:

Ağır başarılı olmamızı isterler. Saygılı olmamızı isterler. Nerde nasıl davranacağını bilen insanlar olmamızı isterler. Okumamızı bir işimizin olmasını ve karakterli bireyler olmamızı istiyorlar. Oturmasını kalkmasını bilin bir saygınlığınız olsun diyorlar. Okuyun bir baltaya sap olun, kaldırım mühendisi olup boş boş gezmeyin ortalarda diyorlar. Hem kendimize hem çevremize bir faydamız dokunsun isterler. (S06)

They want us to be demure and respectful. They expect us to be well behaved at all conditions. They want us to have education, have a job and be character-wise. They say 'Know how to behave decorously and earn prestige. Have education so that you can knuckle down. Do not be a loafer and muck around.' They want us to serve both ourselves and the society. (S06)

Being religious was remarked as an expectation from male students in the school. Accordingly, as a hegemonic ground school uses religious references especially through important Islamic characters and hadiths. The opinion on religiousness is as follows:

Her grup insana göre değişiyor. Burada ne kadar insan varsa o kadar beklenti var. dare değiştiğinde bile beklenti değişiyor. Şu an mesela genel olarak okula baktığımda bizden beklenen doğru düzgün insanlar olmamız ama mümkünse de dindar olmamız. Herkes düzgün, herkes dindar ya da herkes kurallara uysun istiyorlar. Herkes aynı olamaz ki. Ben ve benim gibiler de kendi gibi olmak istiyor ama istesek de öyle olamıyor işte. (S14)

It varies from person to person. There are as many expectations as the number of people here. The expectation changes even when the school management changes. For example, what is expected from us for the time being is that our being decent people and being religious if possible. They want everyone to be decent, religious or to follow the rules. It is impossible to expect everyone to be

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the same. I and the ones like me want to be ourselves; however, we cannot be so no matter how we want to. (S14)

Having nationalistic feelings and sensitiveness about national issues are requirements for being a real man. A male needs to protect the values and interests of his country. He has to be sensitive about the history and cultural values of his country. Accordingly, patriotism appeared as a theme in this part. The exemplary opinion on patriotism is as follows:

> *Bu okula layık bir öğrenci olmamızı, saygılı davranmamızı bekliyorlar. Vatanını, milletini seven, yeri geldiğinde onu korumak için canını veren vatansever insanlar olmamızı ve okuyup bu ülke için iyi işler başarmamızı istiyorlar. Bir de en çok okulda arıza çıkarmayalım isterler. (S02)*

> They expect us to deserve this school and behave in a respectful manner. They want us to love our country and nation and be as patriot as enough to sacrifice our lives to be able to defend our country. They want us to have education and make big success for the goodwill of this country and lastly, they want us to stand away improper behaviors at school. (S02)

School assigns value of male students according to their obedience to the rules. Any student who violates the rules is punished by the authority. Because of his maladaptive behaviors, he is put out of the standards of hegemonic masculinity by being labelled as rover, loafer, idle etc. This situation was mentioned under the theme of "discipline and submission" and indicated in the same way in the speech of S08 as such:

> *Okul kurallarına uyan, sıradan öğrenci tipi olsun, sorun çıkarmasın, uçuk kaçık davranmasın giyinmesin mezun olsun gitsin isteniyor. (S08)*

> They look for an ordinary student profile that follows school rules, doesn't stir up problem, and stands away extreme behaviors, dresses in a decent way and graduates at the end. (S08)

It is understood that these expectations mentioned above are transmitted to the students through various school and in-classroom practices. In one of the observation session that was realized in Literature lesson, teachers and students were discussing on the work *Yaprak Dökümü*. The male teacher made these comments upon the problems that the main character Ali Rıza Bey had in this work belonging to Reşat Nuri Güntekin:

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Ali Rıza Bey işi olmadığı için, ekmek parası kazanamadığı için aile içindeki saygınlığını kaybetti. Kimse onu bir şeyden saymadı. Mehmet Akif Ersoy'un dediği gibi " Kim ki kazanamazsa bu dünyada bir ekmek parası, dostunun yüz karası düşmanının maskarası.

Ali Rıza Bey lost his respectability in the family because he did not have a job and could not earn his living. Not anybody gave value to him. As Mehmet Akif Ersoy said, Whoever cannot win a bread money in this world, he is the black sheep of his friends and disgrace of his enemies.

The teacher kept on with this explanation:

Bu eserde gördüğünüz gibi erkeğin saygınlığı bitince ne olacak? İşte tıpkı ali Rıza Bey gibi olursunuz. Değerinizi, saygınlığınızı yitirirsiniz ve aile olarak sonunuz olur. Başkasının çekirdeği olursunuz.

As you can see in this work, what happens when a man loses his dignity? Here you become just like Ali Rıza Bey. You lose your value, your respectability, and this bring the end of your family. You become a toy in the hands of others.

Table 4.15. *Participant's opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of being male at school*

Advantage/Disadvantage	Theme	f	Participants
Advantages		11	
	Physical power	3	S01, S04, S11
	Rationality	1	S11
	Less exposure to questioning	7	S02, S03, S10, S12, S13, S14, S15
Disadvantages		16	
	Physical attributions	5	S02, S03, S05, S12, S15
	Characteristics	4	S06, S07, S10, S14
	Potentially troublemaker	2	S02, S03
	Physical appearance	2	S08, S09
	Maintaining family	3	S05, S08, S13

Regarding the advantages and disadvantages of being male student at schools three themes emerged "Physical power", "Rationality" and "Less exposure to questioning". When it comes to the disadvantages of being male student, on the other hand, we have five themes under the titles of "Physical attributions", "Characteristics", "Potentially troublemaker", "Physical appearance" and "Maintain a family".

Power is the main requirement of sovereignty. The most fundamental element on which masculinity based its hegemony is body power. In addition, it is a way to

rationalize male's superiority against the fragile body of females. Besides, it appears as one of the most distinguishing characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. In the interviews, the participants underlined physical power as the most significant advantage of males as seen in assertions below:

Bedenen güçlü olmak bence büyük bir avantaj. Yeri geliyor hocalar bile çekiniyor. İlle de vurmana gerek yok görünüşün bile insanların senden çekinmesine yeterli oluyor. Ben okulda her türlü işe koşarım. Fotokopi makinesini bile en üst kata çıkardığımı bilirim. Bu yüzden insanlar beni sever ve güven duyar. Erkek olarak insanların sana duyduğu güveni yıkmaman lazım. Yoksa kimse seni saymaz, değer vermez. Gururun kırılır. İşte bu fırsatı insanlara vermeyeceksin. Hep güçlü olmalısın ki seni hassas noktadan vurmasınlar. Bazıları bunu dezavantaj olarak görüyor ama bence öyle değil. Hiçbir şekilde dezavantajlı değiliz. (S04)

Having a powerful body is a big advantage, I think. There are times when even teachers refrain from you. You do not necessarily need to hit someone to make people refrain from you. Even just your appearance can be enough for that. I rush to help at all kind of situations at school. I even rode the copier machine to the top floor. Hence, people like and trust me. As a man, you should not break the confidence that people have in you. Otherwise, none likes or values you. You feel degraded. You should not offer such an opportunity to anyone. You should be powerful all the time so that people cannot hit you where it hurts most. Some take this as a disadvantage; however, I do not think so. We are not disadvantageous in any way. (S04)

Erkek olmak dezavantaj olur mu hiç. Erkek adama cinsiyeti zor gelmez. Gelirse bir sorun var zaten. Tek burada değil her yerde zorluk var. Erkek olmak zaten bu zorluklara karşı durmayı gerektirir. Korkup kaçarsan, pusarsan olmaz. En büyük avantajımız da erkek olmak. Hiç bir şeyden korkmayız, bedenen kuvvetliyiz, daha mantıklıyız, yelkenleri hemen suya bırakmayız mücadele ederiz. (S11)

Would it be a disadvantage to be a man? Being a man is never hard for a real man. There is a problem if it is so. Difficulty is everywhere. Being a man already needs to struggle to these challenges. If you are scared, run, and you stay in a haze, it is not acceptable. Our biggest advantage is being a man. We are not afraid of anything, we are physically strong, we are more logical, we do not knuckle under, and we struggle. (S11)

Sorumluluklardan daha kolay yırtabiliyoruz. Bence en büyük avantajı bu (S03)

We can swing the lead more easily. That's the biggest advantage, I think. (S03)

The necessity of being physically and emotionally strong to become an ideal man creates a toxic effect not only for women but also for men. In order to have some advantages, a man has to give up some of his advantages as well. As denounced by

participants, a man has to prove himself at any time and put up with all the responsibilities burdened on him in silence by force of masculine pride.

Bence erkek olmanın tek dezavantajı hocalar kızlar gibi erkekleri kayırmıyor. Bize karşı daha sert olabiliyorlar. Sanki bizim duygularımız yok gibi davranıyorlar. (S12)

I think the only disadvantage of being male students is that teachers do not favor boys as they favor girls. They may treat us tougher. They treat us as if we do not have any feelings. (S12)

Dezavantajı da hep kendini kanıtlamak zorundasın. Bu da bazen yorucu olabiliyor. (S14)

You have to prove yourself all the time. That can be exhausting at times. (S14)

Aslında avantajı yok. Dezavantajı var. Çünkü genelde erkek olduğun için üzerine daha çok yükleniyorlar. Bunu direk söylemeseler bile bunun hissiyatı var. Erkek olarak çok küpe takan bir erkek olduğum için baskı gerilim oluyor ve genelde bu konudan vuruyorlar. Sürekli hal ve hareketlerine dikkat etmen gerekiyor ki bir süre sonra çok kasmaya başlıyoruz yani çok rahat olamıyoruz. Hem okulda hem dışarda üzerimize çok fazla yük ve sorumluluk biniyor. (S08)

There is not any advantage of being male student in fact. It has disadvantages as people weigh you down more as you are male. No matter how they do not utter that, you can feel. As I pin so many earrings as a male, I am exposed to oppression and stress and people push me to the wall for this issue in general. You have to watch your behaviors and manners all the time and after a while, you start to feel more oppressed and cannot feel at ease. We have so many responsibilities both at school and in our daily life. (S08)

Bir kıza göre kesinlikle daha çok mücadele ediyormuşum gibi geliyor. Hayatımı nasıl geçireceğim, nasıl geçineceğim ne iş yapacağım, ne kadar para kazanacağım konusunda daha çok kaygılanıyorum. Şimdiden bütün bunların hesabını yapmaya başladım bile. Hem dışarda hem okulda ben kendimi bildim bileli bir erkeğin mutlaka bir işi, kazancı olması gerektiği söyleniyor. Ekonomik gücün olmadı mı küçümsüyorlar. Ama kızların öyle bir derdi yok en kötü kendilerine bakacak bir koca bulurlar. Hocalar da zaten kızlara hep bir ayrıcalık yapıyor. Onlara karşı daha yumuşaklar ama erkeklere yeri geldiğinde hiç acımıyorlar hatta küfür bile edebiliyorlar yani. (S05)

I feel as if I struggle more when compared to a girl. I worry more about how I will earn my life, make money and have a job. I already started to make calculations about the issue. Ever since I could remember, I was advised that a man definitely must have a job, an earning. We are given the same advice also at school. You are underrated if you do not have economic power. However, girls do not have such problems. In the worst case, they find a husband to look after them. After all, teachers discriminate favor of girls. They treat them in a softer manner. However, when it comes to the males, teachers show no mercy to the boys. They can swear them if need be. (S05)

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Interestingly, almost every participant expressed both the advantages and disadvantages of being a man by referring to physical characteristics that attributed to becoming a real man. Accordingly, masculinity, which is essentially founded on the glorification of body and bodily attributions, is abused throughout the same characteristics. They are aware of these disadvantages; however, they prefer to benefit from the advantages of masculinity. Although this situation leads to a hierarchical classification among males, they do not want to give it up because it provides them a superior position against women in any way.

4.3.4. Male Students' Perceptions of Masculinity

This part reveals the constructed masculinity perceptions in male students as the result of the factors explored in   parts 4.2 and 4.3. For this purpose, these questions were asked to students: "What do you fear most as a man? Why?", "What do you think about the meaning of being a man?"

Table 4.16. *Participant opinions on the things they have the fear of as man*

Theme	F	Participants
Losing adolescence	9	S01, S02, S03, S04, S06, S09, S10, S11, S13
Impotency	4	S06, S08, S11, S12
Losing immediate circle	3	S04, S11, S14
Unemployment	3	S01, S03, S07
Cannot perform military service	2	S03, S05

The table portrays five themes about the participant opinions on the things they have fear of as man under the titles of "Impotency", "Losing adolescence", "Losing immediate circle, "Cannot performing military service" and "Unemployment".

In its essence, sexuality is the main constituent of masculinity. It is a kind of means to prove manhood. In fact, all the other physical, intellectual and psychological characteristics attributed to masculinity are built on sexuality. S11 underlines this side of sexuality in his expressions as follows:

> *Öncelikle milletin bana olan bakış açısı ve güvenini kaybetmekten korkarım. Sonra da erkekliğimi kaybetmekten korkarım. Zaten erkekliğini kaybettiğin*

zaman herkesin sana olan bakış açısı değişir. Seni adam yerine koymazlar. Sana saygı duymazlar. Adın çıkar. (S11)

In the first step, I fear of breaking the society's idea about me and people's trust. Secondly, I fear of losing my manhood. After all, when you lose your manhood, people's idea about you will also change. They disrespect you treating you like dirt. You get a bad reputation. (S11)

After deciphering the interview, I talked to S11 again to confirm what he meant with the expression "lose manhood". He stated what he really wanted to say as such:

Erkeklikten kastım cinsellik. Yani cinselliğini kaybedersen seni adamdan saymazlar. O zaman kendine pek erkek deme hakkın da olmaz zaten. (S11)

I meant losing virility. That is, if you lose your sexuality, they make no account of you. Then, even you do not have the right to call yourself a man. (S11)

Almost all students emphasized the features such as having dignity, honor and pride. It is demonstrated that masculinity has a swagger that determines the limits of masculinity in a societal formation in which it is created. The sample opinion on losing adolescence is as such:

Kişiliğimi kaybetmekten, kendim gibi olmayı kaybetmekten korkarım. İnsanların bana olan güvenini kaybetmekten korkarım. Yoksa bir saygınlığın olmaz. En önce de kendime karşı olan saygınlığımı kaybederim. (S09)

I fear of losing my personality and being myself. I fear of losing people's trust in me. Otherwise, you do not have any prestige and above all, I lose the respect I have for myself. (S09)

As the product of a social construction, masculinity takes its power from the people around. Therefore, the deterioration of relations with the people who are contacted is a threat for the loss of authority as well. The sample opinion on losing the immediate circle is as below:

Değer verdiğim insanları kaybetmekten korkarım. Onun dışında hiçbir şey önemli değil. Özellikle annem ve ablam benim için çok kıymetli. (S08)

I fear of losing my loved ones. There is nothing I care other than this. Especially, my parents are so precious for me. (S08)

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Military service is one of the requirements to be fulfilled in order to become an ideal man. It is a kind of masculinity school for males with its strict rules and harsh conditions. It also might be said as a sign of courage, bravery and fearlessness, which are attributed as the main characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. In line with this theme, S03 expresses his opinion on cannot performing military service as such:

> *Askere gidememekten korkuyorum. Gidemezsem ölürüm herhâlde. Vatan sevgisi, vatana hizmet etmek çok büyük bir şey. Şu an çok zayıfım ve boyum çok kısa olduğu için alınmamaktan korkuyorum. Gidemezsem erkeklik gururum yıkılır. Kendimi eksik hissederim. Bu yüzden vücut geliştirmek için fitness yapıyorum. Daha güçlü görünmek istiyorum. (S03)*

> I fear of cannot joining the army. I would die on such a case I guess. The love of country and servicing it is such precious. Now, I am too thin and short so I fear of not being accepted to the army. In such a case, I will feel degraded as a man. I feel impotent. That is why I am doing fitness. I want to look more powerful. (S03)

Having a profession and a regular income source are indispensable features of hegemonic masculinity. Accordingly, a man's income is the indicative of his place both in society and in the classification of masculinities. In the response of S07, the reference to the theme unemployment is reflected as follows:

> *Meslek sahibi olamamaktan korkarım. Yoksa ne ailede ne de toplumda bir yerin ve saygınlığın olmaz. (S07)*

> I fear of cannot having a profession. In such a case neither your family nor the society respects and embraces you. (S07)

What is feared to lose is often appears as a reflection of the pressure that society creates on individuals. Therefore, the meaning of the loss of the socially accepted qualifications of masculinity is actually the loss of the status in a society. Accordingly, the characteristics that a man has determine his social position. During the interviews, participants mostly expressed their fear of losing of self-confidence, honor, respect, courage besides sexual virility, inability to have a job and losing the loved ones. The lack of one of these qualifications means losing his place in society for a male. That result reveals that masculinity is an ongoing challenge both to gain and not to lose.

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Table 4.17. *Participant opinions on the meaning of being male*

Theme	f	Participants
Physical appearance	16	S01, S02, S03, S04, S05, S06, S07, S10, S11, S15
Economic power	9	S01, S02, S03, S06, S09
Qualification and skills	10	S01, S02, S04, S05, S06, S08, S09, S12, S13, S15
Relationship responsibility	11	S01, S03, S04, S11, S12, S13, S14
Personal Characteristics	31	S01, S02, S04, S05, S07, S08, S09, S10, S11, S12, S13, S15

The Table 4.17 offers six themes titled "Physical appearance", "Economic power", "Qualification and skills", "Relationship responsibility and "Personal characteristics".

As seen in the Table 4.17, the meaning of being a man is not constructed on a single feature. It is described with various qualifications that are the compliant of each other. However, physical appearance generates a big part of it. S01 indicated the same points about physical appearance as follows:

> *Dış görünüşüyle, duruşuyla karizmatik olmalı. İnsanlar ona saygı duymalı. (S01)*

> He must be charismatic both with his appearance and manner. People should respect him. (S01)

Money is a sort of ticket to use the authority granted to masculinity actively and extensively. In other words, economic power determines the social statues of man. Most of the participant pointed to the significance of money to be worthwhile both in family and in other social groups: The opinion of E06 about economic power presents this situation as below:

> *Para demek. Karizma olmalı, para olmalı. Para olunca her şey olur zaten. Erkeği erkek yapan karakteridir. Diğer türlü giyimi, kuşamı, cinsel tercihleri kendisini ilgilendirir. Önemli olan davranışları ve toplum içerisindeki hareketleridir. Hareketleri, oturması, kalkması, girdiği ortamda ne yapması gerektiğini biliyorsa ve kadınsı hareketler sergilemiyorsa erkektir. Hayata karşı sert ve ciddi olmamız şart. (S06)*

> Man is equal to money. He must have charisma and money. If there is money, everything is possible. What does make a man, man is his character. Additionally, his apparels and sexual orientation just have nothing to do with the others. What is important is that his behaviors within a community. If he knows what to do and how to behave in a social environment and does not behave like a woman, he is a man. It is a must for us to stand tough and serious against life. (S06)

Masculinity constructs itself not only through bodily characteristics but also through intellectual competence and logic. As a male is more reasonable and can control his feelings, he always make the truest decision. That makes him intellect, thus, a guiding mentor:

> *Her konuda bilgili olmalı. Para çok da önemli değil, önemli olan dürüst, açık görüşlü ve anlayışlı olmak. (S08)*

> A man must have knowledge about every issue. Money is not that important. What's important is that his being honest, open minded and empathetic. (S08)

Masculinity, which is shaped in the interactional processes, creates its greatest source through the relationships. A man has to carry out his duty of protecting and guarding towards his close environment. In fact, that a man feels all the responsibilities of his loved ones on his shoulders is the result of the imposition of hegemonic masculinity. S14 uttered his opinion about relationship responsibility as such:

> *Bana göre erkek olmak sevdiklerini sahiplenmek, onları korumak kollamak yani yeri geldiğinde fiilen de mecazen de onlar için savaşmak, bir yerde haksızlık gördüğünde karşısında durmak demek. (S14)*

> For me, being man means to embrace and protect the loved ones and fight for them if need be. It means to resist in case of injustice. (S14)

Almost all the participants expressed the discourse that it is the character that makes a man male. Throughout the expression of S07, it can be understood that the base of these are the characteristics fictionalized by societal norms:

> *Çalışmak demek. Ciddi olmak, oturuşu, kalkışı, konuşması ciddi olan demek. Daha net kararlar verendir. Aynı Ertuğrul gibi en iyi kararları verir. Herkes ona danışır, ileriyi görür, güçlüdür. Erkekler daha mantıklıdır. Ciddi konular tartışırlar. Erkekler, kızlar gibi saçma konular, aşk meşk, sevgili muhabbeti yapmaz. (S07)*

> It means to work. It means to be serious with his all behaviors, manners and speaking. A man is who takes more precise decisions. Just like Ertuğrul he takes the best decisions. Everyone seeks advice of him. He is foreseeing and powerful. Man is more reasonable. They debate on serious matters. They don't talk about stupid matters as love affairs and boyfriends. (S07)

After the answer of S07, I wondered who Ertuğrul is. Thus, I asked him to give more information about him. Upon my question, he expressed that Ertuğrul is the main character in a television series called Diriliş. This reveals that other than school, family and friendship groups, media is also influential on shaping one's shaping his masculine identity.

As it is understood from the comments of the participants, the meanings of becoming a real man is not based on a single quality. Accordingly, it requires having multidimensional characteristics including physical, emotional, economic, personal and social features at the same time. However, as mentioned in previous chapters, physicality is the most significant element in describing one's masculinity especially in adolescence period. So, most of the participants underlined the characteristics such as having a good appearance, being charismatic, having a fit body, being well groomed and having a strong body. However, as long as they are not completed with success in economic situation, education, having a good personality and ability in fulfilling the responsibilities in family life, the meaning of becoming a man will always be deficient. Moreover, a man takes his own place in the classification of masculinities according to the adequacy of these qualifications.

4.4. Male Students in Different Parts of the School

This part presents how male students behave and act in other parts of the school by regarding observation notes. To make an in-depth inquiry about male students' construction of their masculine identity, students were also observed in hallways, canteen and garden.

4.4.1. The Behaviors of Male Students in Hallways, Canteen, and Garden

The canteen of school A has been established on a very large area on the bottom floor of the school building. Since it is in the basement, the canteen has small windows, thus, owns a bleak and dim atmosphere. There are 15 tables placed with wide spaces. There is a television hanging on the wall. A music channel that plays

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pop music is always on. During class hours, the sound of the TV is muted; however, it is amplified as soon as break time starts. During the break times, the canteen has an atmosphere of a cafe when volume of music is amplified rather loudly along with the crowd of students. Although a hall monitor controls each part of the school, the floor where the canteen is located is not monitored ordinarily because of insufficient number of teachers. The monitoring teachers check the canteen only when the bell rings for the lesson. Most of the time teachers can skip controlling canteen in order to catch up the lesson on time. Therefore, the canteen can often be out of control. This situation turns the canteen into an area where students can act freely. Therefore, it is quite crowded during break times. Generally, students hang out in groups in the canteen. It is possible to see both mixed and single-sex groups here. However, mixed groups are less in number than single- sex groups. Another important point is that there are more male students than females in mixed groups. Two table tennis are placed in the canteen and these are mostly used by male students. While playing table tennis in the breaks, male students do not leave the match unfinished, terminate their conversations or other activities even if the bell rings for the start of the lesson. This situation happens more especially when the hall monitors or administrators do not control the canteen. However, most of the female students leave the canteen as soon as the bell rings. Female students are observed as more careful about being in class on time.

For example, in one of the observation sessions in the canteen of school A, the following dialogue was witnessed in a group of girls soon after the bell rang for the beginning of course:

> F_1: Öner hocanın dersine geç kalmayalım. Adam keser bizi!
> F_2: Ders matematik mi? Haydi o zaman. Yine bir ton azar işitmeyelim. (İsteksiz ve telaşlı)
> F_1: Let's not be late for Öner teachers' class. He kills us!
> F_2: Is the lesson math? Come on, then. Let's not be rebuked again. (Reluctant and fussy)

On the other hand, such a conversation occurred among three male students in the canteen of school A during another observation:

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M₁: Oğlum ne sallanıyorsunuz lan! Ders başlayalı kaç dakika oldu (eliyle saatine vurarak)
M₂: Dur oğlum şunu bitireyim gideriz. Kaçtı mı ders? (Tost yerken)**M₃:** Kanka bence bitirme. Böyle iyi. Şimdi kim çekecek dersi (güldü)
M₁: Dude, why are you hanging around? Are you aware how long it's been since the lesson started (tapping his watch with his hand)
M₂: Let me eat this. What is the rush? (While eating his toast)
M₃: Dude, I think you should keep eating. That is fine. (laughed)

In addition, male students can perform violent actions such as hitting, pushing or kicking each other even when joking in the canteen. These kinds of behaviors are a sort of entertainment for them. This situation can sometimes turn into a serious fight suddenly among boys. Also, when compared with boys, female students have more physical intimacy with each other. It is possible to see female students hugging each other, holding hands or dancing when a romantic music plays on TV in the canteen. Apart from these, female students can hug or kiss each other on the cheek or lie on each other's shoulder. These kinds of intimate acts among girls is not subject to any external criticism or judgmental treatment. However, this situation is not valid for males. On the contrary, male students are more distant to each other while chatting. Furthermore, they especially avoid such kind of intimate behaviors with their fellows. In addition, males frequently use slang expressions especially in the conversations with their fellows as in the following dialogue between two male students playing table tennis during lunch break in the canteen:

S₁: Şu topa doğru düzgün vursana Ahmeett.
S₂: Vurmuyoruz da ne yapıyoruz abicim?
S₁: Oğlum top toplamaktan oynayamıyoruz. Öküz gibi vuruyorsun top taaa kantinin diğer ucuna gidiyor lan.
S₂: Tamam uzatma gönder hadi.
S₁: Bak bir daha o kadar uzağa atarsan seni top yapar oynatırım haberin olsun.
S₂: Kimi top yapıyorsun lan sen? Şerefsiz misin? Adam gibi konuş. (Elindeki raketi masanın üzerine fırlattı).
S₁: Hit the ball properly Ahmet.
S₂: What am I doing bro?
S₁: Dude, we cannot play as we always run after the ball. You hit the ball like an ox; it goes to the other end of the canteen.
S₂: Okay. Cut it short. Shoot the ball.
S₁: If you throw it away again, I will make you ball and play with you.
S₂: Whom are you doing ball? Are you bastard? Talk decently. (threw the racket on the table)

On the other hand, the interaction in the canteen of school B was not as intense as in school A. In school B, the canteen is located on the entrance floor just opposite the school's entrance door. A small field is allocated for the canteen to avoid occupying much space in the hallway of the school entrance. The sitting area of the canteen is rather narrow with five tables. Therefore, it is very difficult to move freely here. In addition, since it is located in the main entrance, both administrators and teachers can easily monitor here. Even most of the time, teachers sit in the canteen to rest while monitoring the hall. For these reasons, the number of students who spend time in the canteen during breaks or other leisure times is very small. Besides, female students spend more time in the canteen when compared to male students. As it is both narrow and easily observable, male students do not prefer to pass time in the canteen in this school.

The schoolyards in both schools is quite large. Both schools have a security cabin next to the garden gate and security staff waiting on guard throughout the day. In this way, school entrances and exits are strictly controlled. In addition, in both schools, a teacher monitors the garden during breaks. There are two basketball playgrounds, one football field, one volleyball field and a parking area in the garden of school A. Male students use the football field extensively during lunch breaks, course breaks or in physical education classes. The volleyball court is sometimes used by boys and mixed groups, but mostly female students occupy this field. Male students' groups are generally more crowded than female students' in school garden. It is possible to see two girlfriends arm in arm or shoulder-to-shoulder in the schoolyard; however, it is not possible to see two boyfriends so.

The garden of school B includes a car park, a football field, a volleyball court and a basketball court. Only male students use the football field. Even though female students occasionally use the basketball court, male students use it much more. Football field is an area where male students benefit especially in physical education classes. Beside single-sex groups, mixed groups can be observed in the garden during breaks. However, the number of single-sex groups is always higher in number than mixed groups. In addition, boys wander around in larger groups when compared to girls as in school A. Also, it is possible to see female students

hugging each other, holding hands or walking arm in arm in the garden, but male students are more distant to each other like in school A. Moreover, male students often perform violent acts such as jumping over each other, knocking each other down or bending each other's arms and so on either in real or joke.

In general, male students are more active and dominant in schoolyard of both schools. Male students are more visible in the corridors, canteen and garden most of the time. Female students prefer to spend time in classroom more than male students in break times in both schools. In addition, during the observations, male students staying in classroom were seen throwing rows on top of each other for a number of times in the name of making jokes. Besides, they were laughing and having fun while doing such behaviors as kicking and fighting hard with each other. In addition, male students' using prayer beads both in lessons and in other areas is too common.

4.5. Summary of Findings

As I mentioned in the previous chapters, the concept of hidden curriculum is one of the most important factors reflecting the gender culture of school. Accordingly, not all of the rules are written at school. School life is mostly based on unwritten rules determined by the contribution of all the individuals including in school setting. In this sense, noticeboards are mentioned as one of the most important indicators of hidden curriculum in the literature. Although the usage of noticeboards is not specified among written rules, the way they are used by teachers and administrators provides important data about the culture of school. Therefore, the visuals and writings hanged on these boards can indicate significant information about the gender culture in school. Accordingly, the noticeboards in the schools where I realized my research were quite remarkable. In this context, they generally reflect a dominant masculine domination in the culture of school. In addition to this, the prevailing masculinity characteristics in these boards bring the hegemonic masculinity type to the forefront among other masculinities. As a result of the observations made in the classroom, corridors, canteen and schoolyard, it was observed that male students predominantly apply this type of masculinity

supported by the school. The most observed characteristics of male students were summarized in the Table 4.18.

Table 4.18. *The most observed characteristics of male students' attitudes and behaviors in hallways, canteen and garden.*

• wander around the school in much more crowded groups.
• often perform violent acts such as pushing, kicking and jumping on each other etc. while joking or playing.
• use much more slang words.
• act quiet carefully at the point of physical intimacy with their fellows in comparison with female students.
• have a more dominant role in canteen, schoolyard, corridors and classroom, which are important socializing scopes of school.
• more visible and interactive in school-wide

By regarding Connell's claim that rather than "masculinity" the concept of "masculinities" should be used as it is not a single category, the first inquiry of this research was made on whether there are different masculinity forms at school or not. It was explored that schools includes various forms of masculinity although it supports the hegemonic type. Within the context of this question, the masculinity forms mentioned in Connell's theory were detected in school setting as in the Table 4.19.

Table 4.19. *Identified form of masculinities in School A*

Hegemonic	Complicit	Subordinated	Marginalized
E1	E2	E5	E8
E3	E13		E9
E4	E14		
E6	E15		
E10			
E11			
E12			

According to the Table 4.18, hegemonic male form comes to the fore among other masculinities in the researched school. As complicit masculinities are evaluated in the same category with hegemonic ones, it might be said that the researched school mostly inholds hegemonic masculinity type. This classification was made based on male students' attitudes and behaviors observed during the data collection

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period and their answers in the interviews. The characteristics of these identified masculinity forms are stated in the Table 4.20 as such:

Table 4.20. *The Characteristics of Identified Types of Masculinities in School A*

Hegemonic	Complicit	Subordinated	Marginalized
• Tough- looking • Highly known by teachers and among other students • At the forefront in courses • Often display agonistic behaviors and violent acts • Act like a big shot • İntense use of cuss words • Bitter criticism towards others who are not like him, teachers and school administration	• Not visible like hegemonic group • Do not display harsh characteristics and violence act like hegemonic forms • Participate common activities with hegemonic forms and close contact with them • Middle of the road in relationships with teachers, administrators and others	• Homosexual • Thought to be as being minger both by teachers and by friends • Excluded by his friends as thought to be silly and sluggish	• Rejects traditional thought and belief systems • Has a wearing style different from others

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Overview of the Chapter

This chapter discusses the findings obtained from the data in relation to the literature particularly Connell's theory of masculinity. It also present implications for further studies and for practice.

5.2. Discussion

Education can be defined as a set of systems based on a philosophical and ideological basis consisting of various components in social, economic and political terms. Because of its cultural and historical background, it cannot be contextualize independent of societal norms and values. Likewise, these dominant value judgements in society cannot be interrogated without touching on the ideological perspective on which education systems are established. Education includes the inequalities and contradictions caused by the power relations that emerge in the historical and cultural context of the society in which it takes place. In addition, it serves to the legitimization of these inequalities through the curriculums and educational pedagogies, which are put into practice in educational processes. In this sense, education systems, as the means of legitimacy, transmits the dominant ideology to the society through institutions and reproduce itself on the same ground. As one of the prevailing inequalities of educational scopes, gender inequalities are constructed through the interactions based on unequal roles and statues in school setting. As emphasized by Connell (2005, 2003, 1998), as a process rather than being an object gender is constructed in various ways in the educational processes in school setting which is the most important socialization environment for individuals after family. An organization emerges as a social reality and perpetuates itself as a social system that provides individuals to have a sense of identity while giving their members a feeling of belonging. In this sense,

as an educational organization, school has both a direct and indirect influence on the process of gender identity development of individuals within a unique cultural environment. This culture becomes concrete, thus, can be observed in the behaviors, attitudes and discourses of teachers, students or administrators. Although school removes sexuality from its official discourse, it actually serves as a mediator for both sexist practices and their transference to the future generations. These sexist and discriminatory practices against female students in educational fields have been examined extensively by the scholars and become a government policy. On the other hand, the issue of masculinity in school is mostly stayed out of these discussions. However, the male-dominated structure, which pushes woman to the secondary position, also forces man to stay in a hierarchical masculine order. Therefore, patriarchy reproduces itself not only through the oppression of women, but also through the exclusion of all masculinities except idealized masculinity. At this point, masculinity appears as an intricate structure containing many social contradictions in itself. As the leading name in masculinity studies, Connell (1998) puts forward that gender is constructed in different ways in different historical periods of different cultures. This approach rejects the immutable nature of masculinity and draws attention to the dynamic structure of it. She also makes a hierarchical classification of different types of masculinity and examines how power relations occur between these masculinities. She (2005: 834) claims that masculinities "are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action". Accordingly, within the scope of this research it was aimed to reveal where the school stands on the issue of masculinity by regarding the cultural and interactional characteristics that appears as a result of the hidden curriculum. In line with this purpose, a critical questioning of masculinity was conducted and the influential factors in the construction of masculinity within school setting were explored. By regarding Connell's claim that rather than "masculinity" the concept of "masculinities" should be used as it is not a single category, the first inquiry was made on whether there are different masculinity forms at school or not. In line with this question, the masculinity types mentioned in Connell's theory were explored in school setting. As a result, the four masculinity types spoken by Connell were found in school. Among them, the hegemonic male group included

the majority while the subordinated male group came to the forefront as including the least number of students.

As the structure of school culture is influenced from its members' previous experiences, the perception of masculinity in the familial environment of the participants was questioned before school setting. In the result of the questions asked to understand the distribution of responsibilities and the sharing of tasks within family, the theme 'gendered division of domestic labor' appears as the ultimate result. Accordingly, woman, as the mother of the family, has the responsibility of housework and child caring. On the other hand, man is given a higher rank and has a superior position as the head of the household and always has the last word. In the same way, while the girl shares the same area of responsibility just like the mother, the boy is given the duties and responsibilities related to the outside just like father's role. This conclusion demonstrates that family institution is constructed as a scope where motherhood is associated with housewifery and man is glorified as a person who governs and controls the area he lives (Sancar, 2014). Accordingly, the perception of masculinity of male students who are exposed to such gendered process of interaction in this environment develops a masculinity sensation parallel with it. Besides, the vast majority of students expressed satisfaction with the distribution of domestic tasks and they expressed their preference for the role of father rather than mother's. From these statements, it is understood that the family environment, surrounded with gendered features, has been identified as a ground where male domination is glorified. As a result, the participants internalize the dominant gender roles and they accept it as an innate requirement of masculinity.

In order to understand the prevailing gender culture of school and how this culture is reflected on male students, masculine and feminine features that are associated with school were explored from male students' perspectives. Participants identified the school with different gender characteristics, but mostly attributed masculine traits to it. Accordingly, school was described with the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, which are both physically and spiritually strong, durable, authoritarian, oppressive, protective, harsh, but also generous and merciful when it

is necessary. This reveals that while the researched school's culture supports the hegemonic form of masculinity, it constructs it over power and authority. Furthermore, all the administrative staff were male in both of the researched schools. Also, as the results of the observations made in 20 different classrooms, it was seen that the class chairman in 16 classrooms were male students. Only in four classroom females were tasked as chairman. The fact that the administrative staff is mostly male and the position of class chairman that is mostly given to male students transmit the idea that the administrative ability is an innate characteristic of being a man.

Some studies conducted on the gender discrimination in classroom setting shows that teachers often exhibit attitudes and behaviors in line with stereotyped gender roles (Kessler et al., 1985, Swain, 2001, Martino, 1999). Most of the participants often referred to the authoritarian teacher trait and gender- biased attitudes of both female and male teachers. Participant's answers reveal that teachers are more lenient to female students; however, they reported teachers as being harsher both physically and emotionally toward male students. That is, being strong and durable both physically and psychologically is reflected as an innate consequence of being a man as the results of teachers' approach. Moreover, this nepotism towards girls as they are thought to be weak both physically and emotionally underlines that being weak is unique to girls, thus, teaches male students how they should not be to be a real a man. In addition, it is observed that both male and female teachers have a sexist attitude in the distribution of classroom duties. This displays that gendered division of domestic labor appears at school as in the family. Therefore, teachers and the school administration at school reinforce the experienced gendered attitudes in family. In this respect, while the school determines the areas of responsibility of males with a sexist approach, it actually determines the boundaries of being a man according to the idealized masculinity. In this way, it determines its position and grounded ideology in the issue of masculinities

Another important element that influence the shaping of masculinity identity at school is friendship groups (Connell, 1998; Lesko, 2000; Pollard, 1985). Friendship groups has a significant place for high school students, as it is a kind of

identity indication among adolescences. In this sense, it gives significant clues about how males construct their masculinity. Male students determine their own masculine features according to the dynamics of the group they are involved in. In addition, they evaluate others' masculinity in line with the dominant understanding of masculinity in their groups. When describing their groups, participants often emphasized a lot about the points of supporting each other, having the same attitude of mind and trust. In addition, it was observed that there is no sharp hierarchical order in the groups of participants. They especially stressed that every member of group has the right to speak and everything is fair for everyone. They also stated that if there were someone trying to be dominant, they would not want to be in that group anyway. Although these groups often seem to have a democratic tendency, they in fact act in this way as a strategy of not being exposed to the hegemony of another man as paid attention by Selek (2014).

Participants mostly described school's expectations from them with the characteristic of being respectful and honest, following school rules, having a job in future, being religious and patriotic. These features show hegemonic male characteristics, which is the type of masculinity supported by school culture. School's expectations from male students actually reflect society's expectation from being a male at a macro level (Sancar, 2014; 2008). Dignity, having an occupation and a proper income is a requirement for a man to be accepted socially. Also these qualities must be proved through physical characteristics and acts. The masculinity, which is constructed on these features, will face a social inquiry at the point where one of them is lost. Because the lack of these qualities leads to a loss of status both in the family and in social life, causing a crisis of masculinity. At this point, it turns out that there are many disadvantages of being a man besides its advantages. When we examine this situation at school, male students mostly uttered that being born as a man is the biggest advantage. However, they mentioned their dissatisfaction about being overloaded with the responsibilities of the job requiring physical strength and teachers' harsh attitudes against them. Finally, it can be said   that the meaning of being a man at school intersect at the point of physical strength and other references attributed to the male body as it is revealed in this study.

5.3. Implications for Practice

Educational environments are gendered areas as it is revealed in this study. The practice of education is mainly based on student-teacher interaction within a limited field in school setting. The stereotyped perceptions of teachers and students about sex and gender determines the type of this interaction in classroom environment. School culture and the hidden curriculum are the most important factors determining the attitudes and behaviors of the members of a school. As it is demonstrated in this study, these two factors mostly support the hegemonic form of masculinity and ignore the differences. Thus, the visibility of traditional masculinity features is mostly supported through various ways such as verbal, written and visual in school setting. Besides, teachers who adopt traditional gender roles as a result of their own life experiences carry their experiences to the classroom environment. Like teachers, school administrators reflect their previous experiences to the school administration and contribute to the creation of a school culture in this direction. This situation manipulates the viewpoint of the members including in that school culture. The hegemonic masculinity form that is reinforced perpetually in school setting leads to a competition among male students towards achieving the idealized characteristics of masculinity. Also, it results in the exclusion of male students who cannot achieve this goal or have another tendency out of societal norms. In recent years, seminars and workshops on gender have been held commonly for teachers. However, it is mostly focused on the sexist practices that female students are exposed to in school setting while male students are reflected as gaining the advantage of the superiority of their sex in these trainings. The pains of masculinity and the oppression experienced by male students are mostly ignored. For this reason, the content of seminars and workshops on gender issues given to teachers by the Ministry of National Education and private institutions should be updated by authorized scholars. In this way, the exclusion of differences will be eliminated while providing to an increase in awareness about different states of masculinity. In addition, the paradigmatic change towards to a more radical critical standpoint in teacher's education will lead to significant transformations in the experiences that teachers bring to the school environment. For this reason, masculinity should be an important part of

gender issue in educational faculties. It should be underlined that men's liberation is as important as women's emancipation on the way to gender equality. In this way, teachers can be more aware of different states of masculinities and reflect these differences as richness and diversity on their courses. Thus, both the hegemony of masculinities on genders and the hegemonic masculinity model dominating different masculinities will lose its superiority.

5.4. Implications for Further Research

This study shows how masculinity is constructed in school, with which practices it is internalized and how the problems experienced by male students during this construction process are justified. In addition, this thesis tries to reveal how the hegemonic model of masculinity, which is brought to the forth in educational environments and supported by school culture, is elevated against other masculinities. Also, it presents in what ways the traditional perception of masculinity is reinforced and maintained through hidden curriculum under the discourse of pedagogical necessity, thus, transferred to future generations. Moreover, this study deals with the influence of the school in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of male students as it has a significant effect on male students' acquiring gender role identity by providing an important socialization ground for students. In this sense, it contributes to the development of gender roles by conveying stereotyped masculine roles to the students through hidden messages. The type of the interactional processes among the members of the school both in classroom and in other parts of the school affect students' perception about masculinity. In addition, while self-expression is an important factor in every kind of interaction, it is revealed in this study that male students cannot express themselves as they wish under the direct and indirect oppression of achieving idealized masculinity. Interviews and observations conducted during the data collection put forth this situation clearly. In addition, since qualitative studies on education and masculinity are few in our country, people are less familiar with this issue. Therefore, it can be quite unusual to study on female students in school environment while studying on male students comes to the forth as an astonishing situation as in my research. Scholars searching for education and gender might

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focus more on the issue of masculinity, to increase awareness on this question. In this context, this study can encourage further studies on how different masculinities are constructed in school especially in the context of the hidden curriculum and school culture. In this study, I examined the construction of masculinity from the perspective of male students. However, in further studies, it can be examined more deeply in a comparative way from the perspectives of both female and male students. A comparative approach will contribute to masculinity literature significantly as it is a rarely studied issue in school ground. In addition, although I realized my observations in all parts of the schools, I allocate more time for the observations in classroom settings in my research. However, in the result of the study, it has turned out that garden, canteens and corridors are as influential as the classroom setting in different ways in male students' constructing their masculine identity. For this reason, other parts of school outside the classroom can be examined in a more detailed way in order to obtain more diverse data explaining the relations between masculinity and education in further studies. Besides, I benefited in-depth interviews and non-participant observation techniques in data collection process. While deciding the appropriate research techniques before starting to my research, I thought that focus group study would lead to some difficulties for such a sensitive issue and it could be hard to handle. Therefore, I avoided using that method. However, in the result of the experiences I have gained during the study, I have concluded that focus group discussions can also provide rather significant contributions to the research by increasing diverseness of the data. Moreover, it cannot be so hard to handle with a moderate and controlled attitude within a reliable atmosphere. The use of focus group technique in further studies searching on the relations between education and masculinity will provide a better understanding of the theory of masculinities and will contribute to new expansions in this field.

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APPENDICES

A. ODTÜ İNSAN ARAŞTIRMALARI ETİK KURUL ONAYI / APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

Sayı: 28620816 / 626

11 ARALIK 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Cennet Engin DEMİR

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Esra KIRIKIŞLA'nın **"Erkek Öğrencilerin Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rolü Kazanımlarında Okul İçi Süreçlerin Etkisi"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2018-EGT-193** protokol numarası ile araştırma yapması onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımla bilgilerinize sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

Prof.Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI (4.)
Üye

Dr.Öğr.Üsi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

Doç.Dr.Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

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B. YARI YAPILANDIRILMIŞ MÜLAKAT SORULARI / SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİLER:

Doğum yılın:

Doğduğun yer:

İkamet ettiğin semt:

1. Evinizde kimlerle yaşıyorsun?

2. Annenin eğitim ve mesleki durumu nedir?

3. Babanın eğitim ve mesleki durumu nedir?

4. Ailenizin yaklaşık aylık geliri ne kadar?

5. 5.Kardeşin var mı? Varsa kardeşlerin hakkında kısaca bilgi verir misin?

6. Evinizde aile bireyleri arasındaki görev dağılımı nasıldır? Bu dağılım nasıl ve kim tarafından yapılır? Bu görev dağılımından memnun musun? Sen olsan nasıl yapardın? Evde annenin mi yoksa babanın mı rolünde olmak isterdin?

7. Okula bir cinsiyet atfetsen hangisi olurdu? Neden?

8. Kendine rol model aldığın bir öğretmenin var mı? Varsa kimi neden model olarak alıyorsun? Bu kişinin örnek aldığın özellikleri neler?

9. Öğretmenler sınıfta öğrencilere hitap, davranış ve cezalandırma şekillerinde farklılıklar gözlüyor musun? Nasıl? Neden? Örnek verir misin?

10. Sınıf içinde herhangi bir görev dağılımı yapıldığında bu dağılım nasıl yapılır? Ne gibi farklılıklar gösterir?

11. Okulda dâhil olduğun bir arkadaş grubun var mı? Varsa grubun hakkında bilgi verebilir misin? Grup arkadaşların senin için ne anlam ifade ediyor?

12. Kızların ilgi odağı olan erkek öğrenciler var mı? Varsa bunların özellikleri neler? Kızlar neden o kişi ya da kişilere hayranlık duyuyor sence?

13. Erkek olarak okulda senden beklenen şeyler nelerdir?

14. Erkek olmanın okuldaki avantajları ve dezavantajları nelerdir?

15. Erkek olmak ne demek? Bir erkek nasıl olmalı?

16. Erkek olarak en çok korktuğun/çekindiğin şey nedir? Neden?

Tarih/Okul: 07.04.2019 / A Okulu

Saat: 16:10 – 16:50

Öğretmen: Ö. Hoca

Sınıf: 9-I

Ders: Matematik

Ortamın Tanımı: Sınıf mevcudu 16 erkek ve 13 kız olmak üzere toplam 29 kişi. İkişer kişilik öğrenci sıraları üç sıra şeklinde arka arkaya düzenlenmiş. Öğretmen masası sınıf tahtasının sağ tarafına yerleştirilmiş. Duvarda bir tane küçük pano var ve bu pano boş. Koyu sarımtırak duvarlar yarıya kadar koyu kahve yağlı boya ile boyanmış. Pencereler duvar doyunca uzanmasına rağmen küçük olduğu için sınıfta basık ve loş bir ortam var. Pencerenin önünde bulunan geniş çıkıntıya öğrenciler çantalarını ve diğer eşyalarını koymuşlar. Ayrıca bütün camlarda korkuluk var. Arka duvarda boydan boya uzanan montlarla dolu bir askılık var. İkişerli sıralarda erkek öğrenciler erkeklerle, kızlar da kızlarla oturuyorlar. Ön sıralarda çoğunlukla kızlar otururken erkek öğrenciler arka taraflara doğru yığılmış.

Ders Süreci: Öğretmen sınıfa girdiğinde sınıf başkanı tahtada bekliyordu. Sınıf başkanı erkek bir öğrenci. Öğretmen sınıfa girer girmez "oturun" dedi ve masasına geçti. Sınıf başkanına yoklama almasını söyledi. Sınıf başkanı yoklama aldıktan sonra derse gelmeyenlerin ve gelenlerin sayısını ve numaralarını öğretmene söyledi. Öğretmen yoklama fişini doldurduktan sonra direkt derse geçti. Geçen haftaki konunun tekrarıyla derse başlayan öğretmen sorular sorarak öğrencileri kontrol etti ve ardından konuyu anlamayanların olup olmadığını sordu. Kız ve erkek öğrencilerin derse katılımları arasında önemli bir fark görülmedi. Ancak erkek öğrenciler daha konuşkan ve öğretmenle daha çok diyalog içerisine giriyor. Öğretmen tahtaya yazdığı örnek soruları öğrencilerin deftere geçirmesini istedi. Bu duruma erkek öğrenciler " hocam yaa!", "yazmasak olmaz mı?" şeklinde tepkiler

verdiler ve erkek öğrencilerden bir uğultu çıktı. Ancak kızlar tepki göstermedi. Bütün kızlar tahtadakileri deftere yazdılar ama birkaç erkek öğrenci yazmadı. Öğrenciler yazı yazarken öğretmen sıraların aralarında dolaşarak öğrencilerin defterlerini kontrol etti. Bir kız öğrencinin defterine bakınca: " Bak iste deftere! Maşallah!" dedi. Öğretmen, o sırada arkada uyuyan bir erkek öğrenciye: " Hayırdır hasta mısın yoksa Konyaspor maçına mı gittin?" diye sordu. Bunun üzerine öğrenciler gülüştüler ve arkada oturan bir grup erkek öğrenciyle öğretmen arasında maç muhabbeti başladı. Bu sohbete ön sıralarda oturan erkek öğrenciler de katıldılar. Kızlar konuşmaya dâhil olmadan bir taraftan tahtadakileri yazarak gülerek dinlediler. Erkek öğrencilerden biri tahtanın parladığını ve bu yüzden göremediğini söyleyince öğretmen parlamanın florasan lambalarından kaynaklandığını söyledi ve ekledi: " Aslında önceki yıllarda florasan lambalarının parlamasını önlemek amacıyla etrafına aşağıya doğru sarkan ahşap bir koruma yapmıştık. O zaman ben okul müdürüydüm. Ama, erkek öğrencilerin tehlikeli hareketlerinden dolayı yeni idare güvenlik gerekçesiyle kaldırdı". Devamında öğretmen öğrencilerin tehlikeli hareketleri halen yaptığını söyledi ve buna şu örneği verdi: "Mesela geçenlerde öğrencinin biri hoplamış kafasını florasan lambasına çarpmış. Hem de kız öğrenci bunu yapan". Öğretmen bütün öğrencilere "yavrum" şeklinde hitap etti. Sadece sınıf başkanına her seferinde "başkan" diyerek hitap etti.

1. Eğitim ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet İlişkisi Bağlamında Erkeklik Çalışmaları, Bu Çalışmanın Amacı ve Araştırma Soruları

Önceleri kadın sorununa bakılırken hasıraltı edilen erkeklik problemi, yavaş yavaş sosyal hayatın farklı alanlarında değerlendirmeye alınmaya başlandı. Eğitim bilimleri ve kurumlarındaki feminist bakış açıları ve değerlendirmeler de bu bağlamda ivme kazanmaya başladı. Son yıllarda, erkekliği irdeleyen birçok önemli akademik çalışma, eğitim bilimi ve kurumlarını mercek altına almıştır. Bu çalışma da bu sözü geçen alanları yakından incelemenin erkeklik sorununa dair önemli cevaplar ve ipuçları içerdiğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Okul atmosferi, diğer birçok şeyde olduğu gibi aileden sonra hem çocukların sosyalizasyonunda hem de onların erkekliklerinin oluşturulmasında çok önemli bir yere sahiptir. Sosyal bir varlık olarak insanlar içinde bulundukları toplumsal grupla birebir etkileşim içine girerek kendi toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerini toplumun karakteristik özellikleri ışığında oluşturmaktadır (Kramer, 2014). Bu bağlamda, okul kültürü, erkek çocuklarının hem kendi erkekliklerini hem de çevrelerindeki diğer erkeklikleri oluşturmasına ortam sağlamaktadır. Bu araştırma, okulu eğitim ve güç ilişkilerinin eyleme döküldüğü oldukça deneyimsel bir alan olarak değerlendirmektedir. Okul, sadece toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin üretildiği bir yer olmaktan ziyade, geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin kendi kültürü ve toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi içerisinde sürekli yeniden oluşturulduğu bir hegemonik alan olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Althusser, 1989; Freire, 2005).

1970'lerden itibaren sosyal bilimlerdeki eleştirel perspektiflere yönelik değişen paradigmalar, özellikle okul ortamının nasıl cinsiyetleştirildiğini anlamak açısından eğitim alanı üzerinde büyük bir etkiye sebep olmuştur. Bu durum eğitim ve erkeklik arasındaki bağı anlamamızı ve irdelememizi daha da kolaylaştırmıştır. Resmi okul kültürü, resmi söylemi içerisinde farklılıklara karşı nötr ve sıklıkla

düşmanca bir tutum sergilemektedir (Arnot, 1982). Bütün eğitim uygulamaları, resmi müfredat üzerinden yürütülmektedir ve her bir eğitim uygulaması resmi müfredatta yer almaktadır. Ama yazılı olmayan ve müfredat dışı olan uygulamalar, okul atmosferi ve çeşitli pratikler davranışların şekillendirilmesinde çok daha önemli bir yere sahiptir (Ahwee et. al, 2001:26; Giroux, 1978; Apple, 2006). Alanyazında belirtildiği gibi davranışlar, tutumlar, inançlar, değer yargıları, okul kültürü ve baskın etkileşim biçimleri gizli müfredat tarafından üretilmektedir (Hemmings, 2000). Bu bağlamda gizli müfredat bize bir okulun kültürel yapılanmasında ve erkek öğrencilerin erkekliklerinin inşasında çok önemli bilgiler sağlamaktadır. Dahası, ailede edinilen değerlerin okuldaki yapılanmaya olan etkilerinden de bahsetmektedir. Elde edilen bulgular erkek öğrencilerin bu değerleri okulun kültürel ortamına nasıl taşıdığını ve eğitim kurumlarındaki eril kültürü ne şekilde temellendirdiğini anlatmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, sınıf ortamında kullanılan çeşitli materyaller, öğretmenler tarafından kullanılan yöntem ve teknikler ile öğretmenlerin tutum ve davranışlarının toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini ve erkekliği nasıl şekillendirdiği yapılan görüşmelerde ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Alandaki çalışmalar daha çok erkeklik rollerini kadınlık rollerinin karşısına alıp ikili bir perspektiften değerlendirmekteyken bu araştırma, farklı erkeklik türlerinin birbirleriyle ve diğerleriyle etkileşimleri sonucu nasıl oluşturulduğunu incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Okul ortamındaki en önemli alanlardan birisi de spor olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bedenin, fiziksel gücün ve performansın erkeklik türleri arasındaki hiyerarşinin yapılandırılması ve yeniden şekillendirilmesinde son derece etkili bir sosyal araç olduğu bilinmektedir (Butler, 2010). Bu da bazı erkeklik türlerinin baskılanmasını normalleştirirken, idealize edilen erkeklik türünün geleneksel roller bağlamında yüceltilmesini sağlamaktadır (Koca, 2006). Bütün bunlar göz önüne alındığında bu çalışma, lise çağındaki erkek çocuklarının aileden getirdikleri ve okulda edindikleri deneyimlerinin erkekliklerini nasıl oluşturduğunu ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu bağlamlarda araştırmanın sorduğu sorular şöyle sıralanabilir;

1. Erkek öğrenciler okul ortamında erkekliklerini nasıl inşa etmektedirler?

2. Okuldaki tanımlanan kültürel ortamda hangi erkeklikler destekleniyor ve hangileri baskılanıyor?

3. Okul içinde ve dışında erkek öğrencilerin erkekliklerinin inşasını etkileyen faktörler nelerdir?

Bu tez, erkek çocukların erkekliklerinin okulun cinsiyetlendirilmiş kültürel ortamında nasıl şekillendirildiğine cevap aramaya çalışmıştır. Bunu yaparken de okulun sadece eğitim uygulamalarını kullanan bir alan olmadığını, bireylerin sosyal ve kültürel değerleri benimsediği ve tekrar tekrar ürettiği devinim halindeki bir sosyalizasyon merkezi olduğunu kabul etmiştir. Okul her ne kadar önceden belirlenmiş bir müfredata bağlı resmi bir kurum gibi görünse de dışardan gelen her türlü etkileşime maruz kalmaktadır: içine katılan eğitimcilerin ve öğrencilerin kendi gündelik hayatlarından getirdikleri kültürel bagajlarının burada el değiştirmesi gibi. Her bir bireyin deneyimlerinin biricik ve eşsiz olduğundan yola çıkılarak, bu araştırmada yer alan bireylerin kendi evlerinde ne tür erkeklikleri deneyimlediklerine ışık tutulmaya çalışılmıştır. Dahası, öğretmenler, eğitimciden ziyade rol model olarak görüldüğünden, ataerkil değerlerin aktartılmasında öğretmenlerin öğrenciler üzerindeki etkisi de araştırmada belirleyici etken olarak tanımlanmıştır. Eğitimciler tarafından kullanılan materyaller, eğitimcilerin konuşma, davranma ve öğrencilerle iletişim biçimleri 51 saat süren yapılanmamış gözlemlerle eleştirel bir bakış açısı kullanılarak incelenmiş ve erkekliklerin üretilişinde ne tür bir etkiye sahip oldukları anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Öğretmen-öğrenci etkileşimi esnasında erkek öğrencilerin hangi davranışlarının kabul edilebilir, hangilerinin kabul edilemez olduğu ve bunların erkekliklerin inşasında ne gibi bir rol oynadığı bu araştırmanın sorunları arasında yer almaktadır. Dahası, akran ilişkilerinin ve arkadaşlık gruplarının okul içerisinde nasıl temellendirildiği de erkekliklerin inşasındaki önemli etkenlerden birisi olarak görülmüştür. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, bu araştırma farklı arkadaş gruplarındaki farklı erkekliklerin nasıl inşa edildiğini ve bu türler arasında hiyerarşik bir düzen olup olmadığını resmetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, okul içerisinde erkek öğrencilerden ne tür beklentiler olduğu da bu araştırmada ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu şekilde okul tarafından dayatılan erkeklik türünün ne olduğu sorusunun cevabı bulunmaya çalışılmıştır.

Bu çalışma, hem eğitim bilimlerine hem de toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmalarına katkıda bulunma potansiyeline sahiptir. Her ne kadar erkeklik çalışmaları son on yılda artış kazanmış olsa da hala bu alanda büyük eksiklikler mevcuttur. Dahası, alanyazın taraması gözler önüne serdi ki okul ve toplumsal cinsiyet odaklı çalışmaların büyük bir çoğunluğu kız çocukları üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Erkek çocukları hali hazırda var olan ayrıcalıkları nedeniyle çoğunlukla araştırmaya gerekli görülmemiştir. Yine de, son yıllarda, özellikle Connell (2005, 1998, 2005) tarafından ortaya atılan farklı erkeklik türleri teorisi ışığında, bu alana duyulan ilgi artmıştır ve yapılan çalışmalar alanyazını zenginleştirmiştir. Ancak, lise çağına giren erkeklerin aktif okul yaşantıları, okulun erkeklik meselesinde kendini hangi ideolojik zeminde konumlandırdığı ve bütün bunların erkek öğrencilerin erkeklik kimliği inşa sürecine ne şekilde yansıdığını derinlemesine inceleyen nitel bir araştırma Türkiye bağlamında bulunmamaktadır. Yurt dışında bu yönde yapılan çalışmaların sayısı ise önceki yıllara göre fazla olmakla beraber erkeklik çalışmaları alanyazınında halen yeterli değildir. Ayrıca, yapılan çalışmaların birçoğu ilkokul ve ortaokul seviyelerini kapsamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu araştırmanın popülarite kazanmakta olan bu alana ciddi katkılar sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

2. Çalışmanın Yöntemi

Bu çalışmanın amacı, lise çağındaki erkek çocuklarının okul ortamında erkeklik olgusunu nasıl inşa ettiklerini ve kendilerini bu üretim süreci çerçevesinde nasıl konumlandırdıklarını araştırmaktır. Araştırmanın özneleri olarak seçilen erkek öğrencilerin görüşleri detaylı bir şekilde irdelenmiştir. Araştırmanın amacına uygun olduğundan, 15 erkek öğrenciyle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca, öğrencilerin erkeklik kimliğini şekillendiren çeşitli faktörleri incelemeyi mümkün kılacağı düşünülerek katılımsız gözlem tekniği kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın temel alanı sınıf ortamı olarak belirlense de kantin, koridorlar ve okul bahçesi de gözlemlere dâhil edilmiştir. Dahası, gözlenen dersler, farklı disiplinlerden seçilmiştir. Böylece erkek öğrencilerin ve erkekliklerinin farklı çevrelerde ve arka planlarda incelenmesi mümkün kılınmıştır. Görüşmeler ve gözlemler dört aylık bir zaman dilimi içinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Veriler, içerik

analizi yöntemi kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Kodlama ve tema oluşturma süreçlerinde, Nvivo 10 programından faydalanılmıştır.

Araştırmamı, iki farklı lise ortamında gerçekleştirdim. Özellikle veri toplama sürecinde yaptığım görüşme ve gözlemler beni de araştırmanın bir parçası haline getirdi. Bütün bunları yanı sıra, sınıf, kantin, koridor gibi okulun birçok farklı yerinde erkek öğrencilerin davranışlarını, eğitimcilerin tutumlarını ve yöneticilerin yaklaşımlarını yakından inceleme fırsatı elde ettim. Daha da önemlisi, erkek öğrencilerin gözünden okul içindeki toplumsal cinsiyet kültürünün nasıl işlediğini daha net bir şekilde görmeye başladım. Bu süreç, araştırma boyunca okul ortamında öğrencilerle yakın etkileşim içinde olmamı da mümkün kıldı. Öğrencilerle kurduğum yakınlık, görüşmeler esnasında bir güven ortamı oluşturmamın önünü açtı. Bu durum, öğrencilerin sorulara cevap verirken kaygı ve endişe duymalarının önüne geçerek görüşme sırasında samimi bir ortam oluşmasını sağladı. Böylece, araştırma sorularına yönelik net ve derinlemesine cevaplar elde edebildim.

Araştırma beş temel bölümden oluşacak şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Giriş bölümü, araştırmayla ilgili arka plan bilgisi sunmakta ve araştırma konusuyla ilgili giriş niteliğindedir. Dahası, sorunun nitelendirilmesi, araştırmanın neden önem taşıdığı ve beklentileri ve kısıtlamalarıyla ilgili de bilgi vermektedir. İkinci bölüm, araştırma konusunu ilgilendiren alanyazını sunmaktadır. Bu bölüm, erkeklik çalışmalarının kaynağını oluşturduğundan biyolojik cinsiyet ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişkiyi irdelemektedir. Araştırmanın ana unsuru eğitim kurumu ve bu kurumun erkekliklerin inşasında oynadığı roller olduğu için, okul ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişki ve takip eden feminist eğitim yaklaşımları alanyazında gözden geçirilmiştir. Kültürel değerlerin, özellikle de geleneksel rollerin erkekliğin inşasındaki temel etkenler olduğu unsurundan yola çıkarsak, okul kültürünün öneminin altını çizmek gerekmektedir. Araştırma, gizli müfredatın erkekliklerin inşasında oynadığı rollere ışık tutmayı amaçlamıştır. Bunu yapmasındaki neden ise bütün uygulamaları ve yazılı olmayan kuralları içermesidir. Araştırmada kullanılan eleştirel dil modellerine ek olarak, erkeklik çalışması okul ortamına çekildiği için, öğretmenler ve feminist araştırmacılar tarafından desteklenen pedagoji, tartışmanın

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eleştirel boyutunu güçlendirmek için kullanılmıştır. Daha sonra, toplumsal cinsiyet odaklı kimlik gelişimi teorileri, erkek çocukların erkeklik algısını oluştururken geçirdikleri süreci daha iyi anlamak amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Son olarak, Connell tarafından geliştirilen 'Erkeklikler' teorisi alanyazında gözden geçirilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümdeyse, araştırmanın yöntemleri sıralanmıştır: araştırmanın tasarımı, veri toplama teknikleri ve araçları, veri değerlendirme süreci, araştırmanın numunesi, araştırmacının rolü ve etik değerlendirme gibi. Analiz süreci sonrasında elde edilen sonuçlar, dördüncü bölümde sunulmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu bulgular gözlem sırasında tutulan notlarla desteklenmiştir. Son bölümde ise, bulgular tartışılmış ve uygulama çıkarımları sunulmuştur.

3. Bulgular ve Tartışma

Gizli müfredat kavramı okul kültürü içinde toplumsal cinsiyetin şekillendirilmesinde en önemli faktörlerden birisi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Araştırma bulguları göstermiştir ki kuralların tamamı yazılı formda karşımıza çıkmamaktadır. Okul yaşamı, bu konumda yer alan bireylerin katkıda bulunduğu yazılı olmayan kurallar üzerine temellendirilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, duyuru panoları alanyazında gizli müfredatın en önemli göstergelerinden birisi olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Her ne kadar kullanımları yazılı kurallar çerçevesinde dile getirilmese de öğretmenler ve yöneticiler tarafından kullanılış biçimleri bizlere okul kültürünü şekillendirmedeki önemiyle ilgili kayda değer bilgiler vermektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu panolara iliştirilen görseller ve yazılar bizlere okul içindeki toplumsal cinsiyet kültürüyle ilgili önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Bu noktada, bir gözetleme ve uyarma kulesi görevi gören bu panolar, baskın eril tahakkümün iletişim araçlarından birisi olarak görev yapmaktadır. Dahası, hegemonik erkekliğin bu panolarda hüküm süren erkeklik tipleri içinde de baskın bir pozisyonda olduğu görülmüştür. Sınıf içinde, koridorlarda, kantinde ve okul bahçesinde yapılan gözlemler de göstermiştir ki bu baskın erkeklik modeli, okulun farklı bölümlerinde aynı pratiklerle yüceltilmektedir.

Sonuçlar göstermektedir ki okul genel anlamda cinsiyetçi bir kültürel ortama sahip olmakla birlikte, erkeklik meselesini geleneksel kurallara ve normlara

indirgemektedir. Bun, araştırma sonucunda okul ortamında farklı erkeklik modellerinin bir arada varlıklarını sürdürdüğü görülmüştür. Buna ek olarak, hegemonik grup içinde yer alan erkek öğrenci sayısının daha yüksek olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Okulun hem sınıf içindeki hem de sınıf dışındaki uygulamalarda hegemonyaya öykünen erkeklik modellerini desteklediği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, hem hegemonik erkekliğin hem de bu idealin dışında kalan erkeklik modellerinin beden ve bedene yüklenen anlamlar aracılığıyla okul ortamında temsil bulduğu görülmüştür.

Eğitim; sosyal, ekonomik ve politik kurumların oluşturulmasında ve sürdürülmesinde önemli bir yere sahip olan felsefi ve ideolojik bir araçtır. Kültürel ve tarihi açılardan bakacak olursak, eğitimin toplumsal değerlerden ve normlardan bağımsız bir şekilde değerlendirilmesinin mümkün olmadığını görebiliriz. Eğitim sistemini, sadece üzerine inşa edildiği ideolojik bakış açısı üzerinden anlayabiliriz. Eğitim, içinde yer aldığı toplumun tarihi ve kültürel yapısına işleyen, güç ilişkilerince şekillendirilen, bir dizi eşitsizlikleri ve tutarsızlıkları da içeren bir kurumdur. Dahası, pedagoji ve müfredatlar tarafından eyleme dökülen eşitsizliklerin haklı kılınmasında da büyük bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, yasallaştırma aracı olarak eğitim sistemleri, kurumlar aracılığıyla baskın ideolojileri topluma geçirmekte ve kendilerini aynı temeller üzerinden sürekli yeniden üretmektedir (Freire, 2005). Bir eğitim organı olarak okul, bir yandan içinde yer alan bireylerin kimliklerinin oluşumunu doğrudan etkilerken diğer yandan da bu bireylere bir aidiyet duygusu aşılamaktadır. Bu da okulun toplumsal cinsiyet kimlikleri üzerinde doğrudan ve dolaylı etkiler oluşturan eşsiz bir kültürel ortama dönüşmesini sağlamaktadır. Bu sosyal ve kültürel gerçeklik, bireylerin davranışlarında ve tutumlarında, öğretmenlerin, öğrencilerin ve yöneticilerin söylemlerinde vücut bulmaktadır.

Her ne kadar okul, cinselliği resmi söyleminden çıkarmış gibi görünse de cinsiyetçi uygulamalarda ve bunların gelecek nesillere aktarılmasında ara bulucu görevi oynamaktadır (Tisdell, 1998). Eğitim bilimlerinde kız öğrencilere yöneltilen bu cinsiyetçi ve ayrımcı uygulamalar, araştırmacılar tarafından derin bir şekilde araştırılmıştır. Öte yandan erkeklik meselesi, tartışmaların dışında

bırakılmıştır. Ama bu araştırma da göstermiştir ki kadınları dışarda bırakan bu erkeklik algısı, farklı erkeklikler arasında hiyerarşik bir düzen kurarak birçok erkeği de dışlamaktadır. İşte tam da bu noktada şu görülmektedir ki ataerkil toplum, sadece kadının baskılanması üzerinden değil, ideal baskın erkeklik modelinin dışında kalan erkekliklerin baskılanması üzerinden de kendisini yeniden üretmektedir. Erkeklik, kendi içinde de tutarsızlıklar gösteren, kırılgan bir yapı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Connell (1998), bizlere erkekliğin çeşitli türlerden oluştuğunu, tarih içindeki değişimlerini sunarak nasıl dinamik bir yapıya sahip olduğunu ve bu yapının güç ilişkileri tarafından nasıl etkilendiğini de anlatmaktadır. Bu araştırma, gizli müfredat üzerinden kültürel ve etkileşimsel boyutlarına bakarak okulun, erkeklik meselesinin neresinde durduğunu göstermeye çalışmıştır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, eleştirel bir erkeklik sorgusu yapılırken, okul atmosferinde erkekliğin inşasını etkileyen önemli etmenler değerlendirilmiştir. Yapılan ilk şey, birden fazla erkeklik modeli olup olmadığını gözlemlemek olmuştur. Bunun için de Connell tarafından öne sürülen modellerin okul ortamına aktarılması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunun sonucunda da Connell tarafından tanımlanan dört erkeklik türüne denk gelinmiştir. Bunların arasında, baskın tür olan hegemonik erkeklik modeli, öğrencilerin çoğunluğunu oluşturmaktadır. En az sayıya sahip olan ise ikincil erkeklik modeli olmuştur.

Okul kültürünün yapısı büyük oranda bireylerin okul dışı deneyimlerinden etkilendiği için katılımcıların aileden gelen erkeklik algısı da araştırmanın sorgusuna dâhil edilmiştir. Ev içi görevlerin ve sorumlulukların dağılımını görmek amacıyla sorulan sorular da göstermiştir ki işlerin dağılımında toplumsal cinsiyetin rolü oldukça etkilidir. Kadınlar, annelik rolleri dolayısıyla ev işleri ve çocuk bakımından sorumlu tutulurken, erkekler evin direği olarak konumlandırılmaktadır. Kız ve erkek çocuklarının da anne ve babanın rollerine öykündüğü, aynı ya da benzer görevlerden sorumlu tutulduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu sonuç göstermektedir ki bu tür çevrelerdeki toplumsal cinsiyet etkileşimlerine maruz kalan erkek çocuklarının erkeklik algılarının, yetiştirildikleri çevrelerdeki temsilleriyle paralel olması kaçınılmazdır (Czajkowski & Melon, 1975). İlginçtir ki erkek çocuklarının büyük bir bölümü, bu dağılımdan memnun olduğunu dile getirmiştir. Dahası, çocuklar annenin rolünden ziyade babanın rolünü

benimsemeyi tercih etmektedir. Buradan da anlaşılıyor ki cinsiyet özellikleriyle tamamlanan aile çevresi, erkek egemenliğinin yüceltildiği bir alandır (Sancar, 2014). Sonuç olarak, araştırma göstermektedir ki katılımcılar baskın cinsiyet rollerini içselleştirmiş ve bunları erkek olmanın içten gelen gereklilikleri olarak kabul etmiştir. Okul içerisinde öğretmenlerin öğrencilere karşı tutumu da ailelerin tutumlarını yansıtmaktadır. Öğretmenlerin kız ve erkek öğrencilere karşı tavrı, cinsiyet rollerinin dışına çıkamamaktadır. Bu, hem öğretmenlerin sınıf içindeki kız ve erkek öğrencilere karşı tutumlarında hem de okul içerisinde öğrencilere verilen görevlerde görülebilir (Abbott and Wallace, 1997; Burr, 1998; Francis and Skelton, 2001; Swain, 2001). Ve benzer şekilde, arkadaş grupları da bu rollerin pekiştirilmesinde ve yeniden üretilmesinde çok önemli bir yere sahiptir (Demir, Baran, Ulusoy; 2005). Erkek öğrenciler, genelde içinde bulundukları grupların dinamiklerine göre hareket etmekte ve birbirlerini kontrol etmektedir. Katılımcılar gruplarının yapısını tanımlarken birbirlerini desteklemekten, aynı fikirlere sahip olmaktan ve ortak bir güven duygusunun öneminden bahsetmektedir. Ayrıca, katılımcılar okulun beklentilerini şu şekilde sıralamıştır: Saygılı, dürüst, inançlı ve milliyetçi olma, kurallara uyma, gelecekte iş sahibi olma. Bu özellikler, eğitim kurumu tarafından yüceltilen erkeklik modelinin dış hatlarını oluşturmaktadır. Bu değerlerin kaybedilmesi hem aile içinde hem sosyal yaşamda statü kaybına neden olacak ve erkeklik krizine yol açacaktır (Sancar, 2009). Erkek öğrenciler, erkek olarak dünyaya gelmeyi büyük bir avantaj olarak nitelendirmektedir. Yine de fiziksel güç gerektiren işlerin sorumluluğunun kendilerine yüklenmesinden ve öğretmenlerin onlara karşı sert tutumlarından şikâyet etmektedirler.

Bu araştırmada da görüldüğü üzere eğitim çevreleri cinsiyet rollerinden büyük oranda etkilenmektedir. Öğretmenler ve öğrenciler arasındaki tek tipleştirilmiş toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, sınıf ortamındaki etkileşimin yapısını büyük oranda etkilemektedir. Sınıf kültürünün ve gizli müfredatın, okul içindeki bireylerin tavırlarını ve tutumlarını etkilediği göze çarpmıştır. Bu araştırmada gösterildiği üzere bu iki faktör, hegemonik erkeklik modelini yüceltip, bunun dışında kalan diğer bütün modelleri görmezden gelmektedir. Böylece, geleneksel erkeklik türleri sözlü, yazılı ve görsel ifadeler üzerinden okul içerisindeki varlıklarını

sürdürmektedir. Tıpkı öğrenciler gibi, öğretmenler ve yöneticiler de kendi hayatlarında edindikleri geleneksel cinsiyet rollerini okul çevresine taşımaktadır.

Okul içerisinde benimsenen hegemonik erkeklik modeli, öğrenciler arasında bir yarışmaya sebebiyet vermektedir. Dahası, bu ideal modele ulaşamayan öğrencilerin dışlanmasına ve onların bu konuda kaygı yaşamasına yol açmaktadır. Son yıllarda toplumsal cinsiyet üzerine gerçekleştirilen bazı seminer ve atölyeler, eğitimcileri hedef almaktadır. Bu etkinliklerin asıl konusu, kız öğrencilerin maruz kaldığı cinsiyetçi uygulamalar olmuştur. Erkek öğrencilerin yaşadıkları zorluklar ve baskı bu etkinlikler tarafından genellikle görmezden gelinmektedir. Bu araştırmanın amaçlarından birisi de bu sorunların çözülmesinde gerekli olan adımların atılırken erkeklik sorunun da göz önünde bulundurulması gerektiğini göstermektedir. Bu noktada, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ve özel kurumların yetkili araştırmacılar tarafından bilgilendirilmesi ve yönlendirilmesi gerektiğinin altı çizilmektedir. Bunun başarılması durumunda, farklılıkların yok edilmesinin önüne geçilecektir ve farklı erkeklik modelleri hakkında bilinç yükseltme sağlanacaktır. Dahası, öğretmenlerin eğitiminde daha radikal eleştirel bir duruşa geçilebilir. Bu yeni duruş ise okul ortamında önemli değişimlerin önünü açabilir. Bu nedenle erkeklik meselesi, eğitim fakültelerinde toplumsal cinsiyet meselesinin önemli bir parçası olmalıdır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanmasında, erkeklerin özgür kılınması, kadınların özgür kılınması kadar önemlidir. Bu noktada öğretmenlere düşen görev ise farklı erkeklik türlerinin varlığını kabul etmek ve bu farklılıkları kültürel zenginlik ve çeşitlilik olarak görmektir. Bunu yaparak, hegemonik erkekliğin cinsiyetler üzerindeki tahakkümü ve diğer erkeklik modelleri üzerindeki baskısı zayıflatılabilir.

Bu araştırma, erkekliğin okul içerisinde nasıl inşa edildiğini, hangi uygulamalarla içselleştirildiğini ve bu inşa sürecinin ne tür sorunlara sebep olduğunu göstermeye çalışmıştır. Bu tez, hegemonik erkeklik modelinin çalışma mekanizmasını incelemekte ve onun diğer erkeklik modelleri karşısında nasıl yüceltildiğini göstermeye çalışmaktadır. Dahası, bu araştırmada hegemonik modelin dışında kalan erkekliklerin temsil alanlarının nasıl daralttığı incelenmiştir. Bu tez, geleneksel erkeklik algısının pedagojik gereklilik söylemi altında kuruluşunu ve

gizli müfredat aracılığıyla gelecek nesillere aktarımının nasıl muhafaza edildiğini göstermeye çalışmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, bu çalışma okulun çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri hakkındaki davranış ve tutumlarının biçimlendirilmesinde ne kadar önemli bir yere sahip olduğunu sorunsallaştırmıştır. Bu bağlamda, okulların gizli mesajlar ve semboller aracılığıyla öğrencilere aktarılan tek tipleştirilmiş toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin geliştirilmesine katkı sağladığı görülmektedir. Kendini özgürce ifade etmek, herhangi bir sosyal etkileşimin sağlanmasında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Fakat, araştırma gözler önüne sermiştir ki öğrencilerin ideal erkeklik modeline ulaşmada karşılaştıkları doğrudan ve dolaylı baskılar, onların kendilerini özgürce ifade etmesine engel olmaktadır. Veri toplama aşamasında yürütülen görüşmeler ve gözlemler bu durumu açık bir şekilde gözler önüne sermiştir. Ve maalesef, ülkemizde eğitim ve erkeklikler üzerine yapılan nitel araştırmalar kısıtlı olduğundan bu konular çok bilinmemektedir.

Eğitim ve toplumsal cinsiyet üzerine ilerde yapılacak araştırmaların, bu konularda duyarlılık arttırmak adına daha çok erkeklik meselesi üzerinde yoğunlaşması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Ben araştırmamı yaparken daha çok erkek öğrencilerin bakış açısı üzerinde durdum. İlerde yapılacak araştırmalar, karşılaştırmalı bir tutum takınarak hem erkek hem de kız öğrenciler açısından konuya eğilebilir. Ayrıca, araştırmamı daha çok sınıf ortamında yürütmeyi tercih ettim. Fakat, sınıf dışı alanların da erkek öğrencilerin erkekliklerinin inşasında çok önemli ipuçları içerdiğini gözlemleme fırsatı buldum. İlerdeki çalışmalar, araştırma odaklarını kantin, koridor ve bahçe gibi sınıfın uzantısı olan diğer alanlara kaydırarak erkeklik ve eğitim ilişkisine dair daha detaylı ve çeşitli veriler elde edebilir. Buna ek olarak, araştırmamda veri toplama sırasında derinlemesine görüşmelerden ve katılımcı olmayan gözlemleme tekniklerinden büyük fayda sağladım. Araştırmama başlamadan önce, çalışmam için en uygun olan araştırma tekniklerini uzun uzun değerlendirdim. Konu çok hassas olduğundan ve baş etmesi zor olabileceğinden odak grup görüşmelerinin benim için bazı zorluklara yol açabileceğine karar verdim. Bu yüzden, bu metodu kullanmaktan vazgeçtim. Yine de araştırma boyunca edindiğim deneyimlerin ışığında şunu söyleyebilirim ki hedef grup mülakatları, veri çeşitliliği açısından önemli faydalar sağlayabilir. Dahası, güvenilir bir ortam sağlanabilirse ve uygun, kontrollü bir yaklaşım

benimsenebilirse bu yöntemin araştırmacıyı çok da zorlayacağını düşünmüyorum. Eğitim ve erkeklik arasındaki ilişkileri irdeleyen gelecek çalışmalarda, hedef grup kullanılmasının çoklu erkeklik teorisinin daha iyi anlaşılmasına yardımcı olacağını düşünmekteyim. Bu da alandaki yeni gelişmelerin önünü açacaktır.

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