

GENDER ROLES AT THE VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN TURKEY

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to investigate gender roles in vocational high schools. Hence, this study attempted to determine whether gender distributions in schools are influential in the gender roles of students. The sample included 423 students studying in five different types of high schools (vocational, health, multi-program, girls' vocational, and boys' religious). The study was designed in the survey model. Bem's Gender Role Inventory was used to collect the data. The results of the research revealed the differences between sex and gender roles. In addition to that, there was a significant difference in the gender role ratios of male and female students, depending on the type of high school. To conclude, gender weight in the vocational school affects gender roles, primarily vocational high schools.

Keywords: Bem's gender role, coeducational schools, gender, gender roles, gender role inventory, vocational high schools

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INTRODUCTION

Girls and boys socialise in different ways, with which they develop different gender roles in social life. The gender determination in adolescence has an impact on both preferences of profession and work behavior. In other words, gendered socialization of teenagers influences their choices in education and work. It implies the fact that people apply for different jobs by accepting their distinct gender roles. At this point, role and socialization theories consider that women prefer 'women's jobs' because they are more compatible with women orientations. The roots of this idea stretch through the dominant cultural and historical tradition related to women's role in raising children and care. Therefore, some would believe that they fit with these role requirements better than men's jobs. As a result, they argue that girls have tended to such careers as teaching, nursing, or part-time job opportunities. Although this argument has weakened over time, it has still been reproduced and maintained in various cultures (Alvesson and Billing, 2009, 13), especially by the education systems.

People learn to be girls or boys according to the gender-specific roles of society through internalising gender norms. At the same time, they create gender identity while they are growing up (Ryle, 2011, 133), and schools are primary agents in teaching and reinforcing cultural expectations for gender roles (Finn, Reiss, and Dulberg, 1980, 34; Lee, Marks and Byrd, 1994, 210). For example, the school creates masculinities through sports, peer culture, and discipline (Connell, 1996, 220; Stromquist, 2007, 6). Most of the gender construction in schools produces dichotomous about the meaning of being a man and a woman. Furthermore, the process of creating this construction continues throughout the education levels in schools. Nonetheless, most educational policies disregard the socialization role of schools (Stromquist, 2007, 30).

Gender roles often determine the traditional responsibilities and tasks assigned to men, women, boys, and girls (Ryle, 2011, 133). Accordingly,

individuals learn many associative networks of concepts throughout life and many potential cognitive schemata. So, society determines the importance of these schemas (Bem, 1983, 608). Also, school settings such as toilets might influence the students' role creation. In this sense, gender as a concept needs to be examined in great detail in schools.

However, little progress has been made on transformations in policy and practice from a gender perspective. Specifically, the literature focused on how schools shaped students' self-concept and expectations. In general, the researchers examined gender socialization processes in the contexts of the formal curriculum, the teacher-based dynamics, the peer dynamics, the school environment, and the teacher qualification in schools (Stromquist, 2007, 30). So, we aimed to investigate the distribution of gender roles in different high types of vocational schools in this study. We hope this study contributes to the literature by exploring the dominant gender distribution of these schools.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gender refers to the behaviors, roles, attributes, activities, and opportunities that society assumes appropriate for girls and boys. Gender interacts with each other. However, it is different from the binary categories of biological sex (Lindsey, 2016, 4; WHO, 2019). According to Freud (as cited in Giddens, 2012; 213), being a woman or a man is achieved through identification, not biologically. Similarly, Connell (1998, 190) sees gender as an unfixed structure. He argues that personal experiences, social values, religious, economic structure, the social division of labour, or even the social atmosphere shape gender roles in society. Furthermore, Bourdieu (2014, 14) explains gender with the concept of social practice. From his point, the body is a concrete element of gender identity obtained through social experiences; therefore, it adapts to the measures determined by the society. As a consequence, it creates a new pattern like gender.

Gender roles point out to behavioral and social that are broadly aforesought to be socially proper for individuals of one particular sex within a specific culture. (John et al., 2007, 29). They are normative

because they are ideal behavioural expectations (Alvesson and Billging, 2009, 63) of the community. Gender norms are the sets of rules for what is appropriate feminine and masculine behavior in a specific culture (Ryle, 2011, 133). Similarly, gender identity refers to the way individuals consider themselves as male or female (American Psychological Association, 2011, 1-7; John et al., 2007, 2). In this context, gender indicates socio-cultural differences (Dökmen, 2014, 3-10) in a community.

According to Bem (1974, 158), gender roles do not include only masculine or feminine. Besides, they change in different situations. In other words, the individuals can behave feminine or masculine according to the circumstances, or can also develop different patterns of behaviour that involve high or low rates of both. On the other hand, Connell (1998, 190) associates gender roles with the concept of hegemony. According to him, the power developing with feminine and masculine sex roles constitutes a hierarchical structure. The hegemonic masculinity represents power. It appears at the top of this hierarchy and exerts pressure on both sexes to be more masculine. He mentioned two hegemonic influences based on this hierarchy that emerges in gender roles. In this regard, internal hegemony refers to the pressures of the sexes against their congeneric. At the same time, the external one points out the oppression of masculine identity towards the feminine. In this context, the exclusion of women who refuse to dress in "women style" or of men who wear pink shirts by their congenics may be an indicator of internal hegemony. In addition to that, the pressures for being more masculine towards men who do not prefer to display behaviors specific to the male gender might also be an indicator of hegemonic masculinity. The analogy of the "stone oven man" may be an example of this pressure.

GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Individuals learn gender roles in the process of socialization (Bhasin, 2003, 10), named gender socialization. Gender socialization is a multi-dimensional process that happens over time. People acquire gender norms and rules of society through that process. As a result, they develop an

internal gender identity (Connell, 1993, 599; 1996, 220; Ferree and Hall, 1996, 935; Stromquist, 2007, 4; John et al., 2007, 7-9; Ryle 2011, 120).

According to the psychology perspectives, masculinity and femininity are not strictly biological (West and Zimmerman, 1987, 137). They are results of gender socialization that occurs through social learning, and children are not passive agents of socialization but have cognitive capabilities that allow them to process and internalise pertinent information (John et al., 2007, 9). The gendered meanings are constructed through processes of 'gender performance' or 'doing gender' during gender socialization. Doing gender means creating differences out of biological between girls and boys. Besides, once these differences emerged, they are used to reinforce the "essentialness" of gender. In other words, being a girl or a boy is being competently female or male, which creates female or male identity. Thus, new members enter in an automatic process through monitoring their and others' actions related to their gender implications in society. Children and adults always have to 'perform' or 'do' their masculinity or femininity (West and Zimmerman, 1987, 142).

The process of gender socialization is dynamic and changeable (Finn, et al. 1980, 35; Lee et al. 1994, 227). For the socialization models, individuals are not born with specific behavioural and personality characteristics but learn role expectations imposed by a particular society as sex roles through processes such as modelling, imitation, and applications of rewards and punishments (Sabbe and Aelterman, 2007, 522). However, at the same time, it has the autonomy to produce new and progressive identities (Apple and Weiss, 1986, 21; Stromquist, 2007, 6). Multiple institutions such as school, family, peers, social media, and new communication technologies influence gender formation of individuals. For example, schools simultaneously shape and are shaped by individual agencies (Bourdieu and Paseron 1990, 74-75; Giddens, 1979). Therefore, an essential aspect of gender socialization is the interaction between a single agency and social structural forces. Individuals reinforce gender identity by doing, producing, and reproducing gender-related practices every day. As a result, gender

performance, and gender socialization differs according to class, sexual identity, beliefs, cultural expectations, race, and other factors (John et al., 2007, 11).

Researches categorised gender roles according to the femininity and masculinity dimension until the 1970s. One of the recent theories to understand gender socialization was Gender Schema Theory, introduced by Bem (1981, 354-363, 1993). According to Bem (1983, 603-604; John et al., 2007, 3), gender socialization takes place as children assimilate their self-concept, way of thinking about themselves, to their gender schema. A schema is a cognitive structure or network, and it helps to organize and process information from the outside world. In this context, it helps to classify characteristics and behaviors as masculine and feminine categories and finally forms how to perceive the world around us.

THE GENDER-SCHEMA THEORY

According to Bem's (1974, 155-161, 1981, 362) approach, the gender roles that emerge from these studies can be considered as traditional gender role orientations. In addition to these two gender roles, Bem (1974, 156) put forward the androgen gender role, which is outside the conventional gender roles. Androgens have attitudes that refuse to act according to gender stereotypes. According to this theory, gender schemas influence the information process of individuals and beliefs that direct gender-appropriate behaviors. So, children create a schema related to what men and women can or cannot do through observing their environment. For instance, a child raised in a traditional culture might believe that a woman's role is mothering or caring, while man's part is in work and industry. Besides, schemes determine the value and potential of people in that culture. For example, a girl raised in a traditional culture may believe that the only way for her as a woman is to marry and raise children. On the contrary, a girl raised in a more progressive culture may pursue a career and decide not to marry (Cherry, 2019).

Bem (1974, 155-161; 1981, 356; 1983, 608; HRF, 2019) offers four different categories into which an individual may fall into with her gender schema theory: Sex-typed individuals, cross-sex-typed

individuals, androgynous individuals, and neutral individuals. People who are sex-typed individuals will process and then integrate information that is consistent with their physical gender. The sex-typed individuals process information and regulate their behavior according to whatever definitions of femininity and masculinity their culture happens to provide. In contrast, cross-sex-typed individuals treat and integrate information opposite to their physical gender. Besides, the androgyny implies the individuals' self-description of relative amounts of masculinity and femininity. The androgynous individuals process information and integrate traits that they find in both genders. Finally, neutral individuals struggle to process data from either gender. Bem (1983, 602-603) argues that gender schema theory is a theory of process, not content. When children learn the contents of gender schema in the culture in which they grow up, they also determine which attributes linked with their sex. In this context, gender-schematic processing involves spontaneously sorting attributes and behaviors into masculine and feminine categories or "equivalence classes."

According to the theory, individuals acquire their sex-typing by cognitive processing through the sex-differentiated practices of the social community. Therefore, nearly all societies teach the generation a substantive network of sex-related association as a cognitive schema at first. Secondly, they show the dichotomy between males and females intensively and extensively in every domain (Bem, 1983, 603-605), such as in schools.

SCHOOLS AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION

The establishment of institutions or social relations with a sexist understanding emphasises the power relationship between sexual identities. In this context, the distinction between man-specific and woman-specific increases providing the basis for gender-based discrimination. As one of these institutions, schools are social environments in which gender and sexual identities are built, negotiated, and formally confirmed (Thorne, 1993; Stromquist, 2007, 20). Although sexual identity is developed based upon cultural practices and unconscious identification processes during adolescence (Redman, 1996, 178), schools have been accepted

as the critical cultural settings where sexuality is placed or discussed (Connell, 1993, 600; 1996, 220; Thorne, 1993; Redman, 1996, 181). Schools orient students to the behaviors that conform to traditional gender roles by conveying stereotypes of gender roles with explicit and implicit messages. Thus they reproduce gender inequality paving the way for gender discrimination. The arrangement of classrooms, toilets, playgrounds, the seating arrangement in classes, the kinds of duties and responsibilities attributed to students, expectations of teacher and school administrators following traditional gender roles, education programs, materials, and textbooks are all contained gender-discriminatory elements. This situation reproduces gender inequality through schools' hidden curriculum and influences students' preference of professions in line with gender roles (UNESCO Bangkok, 2009, 24). These arrangements are distinct, especially in single-sex schools.

One of the crucial functions of educational institutions is strengthening the shared values of society and improving the community. However, there are values causing problems such as gender-based discrimination in societies. Moreover, increasing violence against women, especially in developing or underdeveloped countries, reflects the gender understanding in these societies. For instance, stereotypes function mainly against women in a wide range, such as violence in the public sphere or being prevented from reaching senior managerial positions. In addition to the gender schemes, stereotypes reproduce and maintain primarily in schools, fostering gender discrimination against women. Stromquist (2007, 22) argues that the single-sex environment encourages stereotypical attitudes toward the other sex.

The rise of violence against women also suggests that gender is not addressed correctly and adequately in sociology teaching or through the hidden curriculum. However, the physical or psychological abuse reinforced by gender roles is one of the most critical subjects of both sociology and education, as it affects human relations and relationships between sociological institutions. Vocational high schools have an effective

mechanism in establishing gender roles following traditional patterns due to their single-sex structure. At this point, these schools would have adverse effects on students' social role identity formation and participation in employment in the future. In this context, repeated research on the role of schools in reproducing and promoting gender roles would guide effective measures in this area.

Studies have been examining the effects of prominent gender relationships on student behaviors in educational settings for years. They try to explain the construction of masculinity and femininity in the school settings (Stromquist, 2007, 28). For example, the findings of Lloyd et al. (2000, 126, 127, 136) showed that educators gave more advice to boys while they discouraged girls in school environments. Besides, they allow boys to harass girls in school environments. Similarly, Hilliard and Liben (2010, 1789) claimed that gender-based division reduces the opportunities for girls and boys in schools to work together for a specific purpose. Besides, they argued that teachers' attention to the sex of students led to gender-based grouping or spending less time with the other group.

Furthermore, Sancar (2009, 2011) pointed out that the emphasis on gender differences and male-dominated culture are re-created by gendered male places such as boarding boys schools. The separation of girls and boys in schools is supposed to improve the academic performance of girls and boys. However, the effectiveness of single-sex schools depends on how they are organized and how the teachers are qualified to promote non-sexist environments (Stromquist, 2007, 23). The literature review (Datnow, et al. 2001, 184-206; Stromquist, 2007, 4-30) for single-sex schooling in the U.S. concluded that these schools provided stronger academic environment boys and girls rather than co-educational environments. Besides, girls' self-esteem and leadership engagement enhanced in math and science. Moreover, boys, especially low-income and minority students, gained more significant character development and educational achievements. On the other hand, Yolcu (2011) examined factors that affected the individual education demand for vocational high

schools for girls and gave evidence that gender role is the most influential factor in girls' choice of girls' schools. Moreover, Aslan (2007) concluded that studying vocational high schools has more effect on girls' preference in domestic role-like professions. Parallel to this, Yolcu (2012, 454-480) studied the demand of student teachers to enter the of pre-school teaching in the context of perceptions of gender roles. He found that gender roles influence students' choice and motivation to become pre-school teachers. Besides, while the females want to work as teachers, the males aspire to leave the classroom after gaining some experience to become a school administrator or supervisor.

Moreover, Sarı (2011, 494-502), examined male students studying at a nursing college and found that these students perceived nursing as a profession compatible with feminine roles. In this study, students stated that they would have difficulty in the nursing profession because they are men. Also, some of the students indicated that they feel excluded because of the department they studied in society. Furthermore, Demir et al. (2016, 3), studied gender attitudes of 1643 students 3117 of which were girls and 1474 of which were boys high school students in 10 provinces in Turkey. The study revealed that vocational and religious high school students had more traditional attitudes compared to other high school students. These students indicated that women and men should have different roles and duties in society.

Finally, studies indicate the limitations of single-sex education regarding social relations. For example, Ferrara (2005, 2-8), Herr and Arms (2004, 547) and, Parker and Rennie (2002) mentioned that while student behavior improves in female-only environments, it negatively increases in male-only settings. Parker and Rennie (2002, 881, 894) indicated that students were subjected to less bullying when they participated in all-girls classes than they were in coeducational classrooms. Moreover, negative behaviors were more shown in all-male classes. Similarly, Ferrara (2005, 2-8) and Herr and Arms (2004, 544-545) found more significant adverse reactions in all-male classes. Moreover, Spielhagen (2006, 69-71)

presented that more students reported bullying in all-male classes.

Furthermore, Crawford-Ferre and Wiest (2013, 301-312) examined the effectiveness of single-sex schools. They found that the most critical weaknesses of the single-sex-education were the lack of social experience with the other sex and increased behavior problems. They concluded that boys' behaviors were different in a coeducational class, which was the evidence of the lack of socialization.

It is clear that, for a better future in social life, determining whether single-sex schools are supportive or preventive is not only an educational problem but also a sociological, economic, and even ideological issue. In this context, researchers need to examine the reproduction of gender, especially in single-sex schools, over and over again.

TURKEY, AS THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

There have been single-sex schools in Turkey since 1923. The names of these schools, which were girls' vocational high schools and boys' vocational high schools, were changed to vocational high schools in 2011. This change seems to aim to eliminate gender issues in education. However, gender-based practices have been continuing in these high schools up to date. For example, Çelikel Education Foundation prepared a noteworthy report on vocational high schools in 2015. The report showed (Çelikel Education Foundation (2015, 40) that the motivation of female students was low, they were unhappy, and they did not even want to go to school, because their number was few in these schools.

In another noteworthy study, Vatandaş (2007, 43-44) found that gender perception influences the selection of the profession, and the participants differentiated occupations by gender. In this study, 94% of the female participants and 86% of the men revealed that the policy was suitable for men. Besides, the same rate of participants indicated that chauffeuring is fit for men, nursing, daily/cleaning, and secretarial work are ideal for women. Furthermore, Sayılan (2012, 63) pointed out that vocational and technical high schools

create a sexist division of labour. These studies are noteworthy in terms of showing the prevalence of sexist attitudes towards occupations in society.

There are 2,068,212 students 858.737 of which are girls and 1.209.475 of which are boys in vocational high schools in Turkey in 2017. However, there are 1,504,111 girls and 1,632,329 boys in coeducational high schools in 2017 (MEB, 2017, 122-123). As is seen, the ratio of girls and boys studying coeducational high schools is quite close to each other. In contrast, the number of boys is quite higher than girls in vocational high schools. According to Dollar and Gatti (1999, 20), a 1% increase in the share of women with secondary education improves annual per capita income growth by 0.3%. However, women receive less vocational training than men in developing countries (ILO, 2010, 1). This reality produces a strong argument for investing in girls' professional education. In this case, the limited number of girls in vocational education is one of the indicators of economic issues as well as the negative academic or gender-based results in Turkey.

The Gender-based mentality education in vocational high schools reduces the rate of female students who prefer these schools in the country. Eren-Deniz (2014, 165, 187-189) found that the students in girls' vocational high schools frequently used the expression "befitting a girl." This study revealed that teachers gave positive grades to these students because of their characteristics, such as "respectful, dignified, docile, quiet, and calm." Besides, Ayas and Pişkin (2011, 550) indicated that industrial vocational high school students more bullied or overbearing than high school, and general high school students have determined that they exhibit behaviors. Furthermore, according to the EARGED (2008, 13) report, more than half of the teachers working in vocational high schools observed that their students were involved in violence outside the school.

This study aims to reveal the gender roles of the students in coeducational high schools, in male

vocational high schools, in health vocational high schools for female students, and religious high schools for male students. The research questions are as follows:

1. Are the gender roles of students related to their gender?
2. Do the gender roles of students vary according to the type of high school they study?
3. Do the gender roles of female and male students in different high school types vary according to the dominant gender distribution of the high schools they attend?

METHOD

RESEARCH DESIGN

We carried out this research in quantitative design with a single survey, one of the survey models. Survey models are researches aiming to describe the sample. Büyüköztürk (2013, 231) states that survey models are more effective in answering descriptive questions such as "what, where, when." Karasar (2007, 77) says that the variables of a group, individual, event, institution, and situation are tried to be defined separately in the single survey model. In these models, certain features should be determined directly and following specific standards.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The sample of the study consists of 423 students, 232 of whom were females, and 191 of which were males. The participants are studying ninth, 10., 11., and 12. grades in five different vocational high schools in Istanbul. We aimed to understand the effect of gender distribution in high schools on gender roles in this research. In this context, we determined the sample by random sampling method in single-sex schools and by proportional cluster sampling in the coeducational school. Through cluster sampling, we aimed to prevent the dominant gender in mixed schools from dominating sampling. The distribution of female and male students by high school types is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. High school types and gender distribution of participants

	Girls	Boys
Type of School	n	N
Multi-Programmable	59	71
Vocational	29	44
Health	51	20
Girl Occupation	93	?
Religious	-	56
Total	232	191

INSTRUMENT

To collect data, we used the Gender Roles Scale developed by Bem (1974, 155). The scale includes two essentially uncorrelated scales that are masculinity and femininity (Payne, 1987). In the scale, the participant with high scores for both masculinity and femininity was defined as 'androgenic'. However, they who got low scores on both measures defined as 'undifferentiated' (Bem, 1977,197-203). Özkan and Lajunen (2005, 103-110) shortened and adapted the scale to Turkish. This shortened instrument, as a 7-point Likert-type scale, has three dimensions and ten items. The first ten items indicate masculinity with the power, aggressive, and dominant features; the ten items indicate femininity with emotional, sympathetic, and understanding elements; and the last ten items show neutral items such as friendly, helpful, reliable. In Özkan and Lajunen's work, the Cronbach's alpha was .80 for masculinity and .73 for femininity for the male participants. On the other hand, the alpha was .80 for masculinity and .66 for femininity for the female participants in the same research. Besides, the factor structure yielded consistent results with the original scale dimensions of femininity and masculinity. In this study, Cronbach's alpha value of the women was estimated .83 for the femininity dimension and .70 for the masculinity dimension. The Cronbach's alpha value of the men was estimated .83 for the masculinity dimension and .90 for the Femininity dimension. These scores are consistent with the findings obtained by Bem (1974, 159-162) and the results of Özkan and Lajunen (2005, 106). For the four sub-dimensions of the gender roles scale, we used the median value as a point of estimation, as Bem (1974, 155) and Özkan and Lajunen (2005, 106) did. In the data analysis, the median of masculinity scores was 48.0, and the median of

femininity scores was 58.0. Accordingly, the median score above 48.0 points determined the feminine gender role of the participants, while the scores above 58.0 indicated the masculinity gender role. Also, the median score above both femininity and masculinity median scores was determined to show the androgen gender role. We applied these scores to determine the gender roles of male and female students in different school types.

DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

We administered the scale to the participants in predetermined classrooms and out-of-class periods in 23 sessions in the sample schools. We informed the participants about the study and declared ethical considerations such as the anonymity of the data. Finally, we collected the data with the participation of volunteer students.

DATA ANALYSIS

Firstly, we examined whether the scores obtained from the gender roles scale meet the underlying assumptions of parametric tests to determine the data analysis technique appropriate for the research. Tabachnick and Fidell (2013, 67-68), indicate that the scores show a normal distribution if the skewness coefficients of a variable are within ± 1 . According to the analysis, the skewness coefficient of the scores obtained from the Gender Roles Scale resulted in .172 for gender, .226 for high school type, and -.371 for gender role. Also, the kurtosis coefficients were -1.980, -1.291, and -1.129 in the same order. According to these results, the gender roles scale showed normal distribution in terms of school type and gender variables. As a result, we used the Chi-Square test to determine the relationship between students' gender roles and high school types.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Gender roles of the students related to their gender According to results, there is a significant relationship between students' gender and perceptions of gender roles at $p \leq .001$ level ($X^2 = 30.831, p = .000, df = 3$) when we ignored the other variables.

GENDER ROLES OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF SCHOOL

The results revealed that there was a significant relationship between students' gender roles, and school types at $p \leq .05$ level when we ignored the other variables (Table 2).

Table 2. Chi-square Test Results of the Gender Roles and Type of Schools

School type	X ²	df	P
Vocational	7.067	3	.070
Multiple programs	13.309	3	.004
Health	6.763	3	.080

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GENDER ROLES OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN SCHOOLS

The results showed that 33.3% of the female students who study in vocational high schools in

which mainly male students study had “feminine,” and 23.3% had “masculine” gender roles (Table 3).

Table 3. Gender Roles Distribution by High School Types and Gender of Students

School type	Gender	Gender role			
		Masculine	Feminine	Androgen	Neutral
Vocational	Girl	23,3	33.3	20.0	23.3
	Boy	18.2	11.4	25.0	45.5
Multiple programs	Girl	9,8	27.9	32.8	29.5
	Boy	18.3	5.6	33.8	42.3
Health	Girl	17,6	27.5	35.3	19.6
	Boy	28.6	4.8	28.6	38.1
Religious (Boys)	Boy	25.8	11.3	35.5	27.4
Girls vocational	Girl	12.9	28.0	33.3	25.8

According to the results of the analysis, it is interesting that the masculine ratio of female students is higher than male students in vocational high schools. However, the high percentage of neutrality in the gender roles of male students in these high schools is significant.

Concerning the multi-program high schools, where gender distributions are relatively homogeneous compared to other vocational high schools, we found that both girls and boys have their gender roles. This result shows that in mixed schools where two genders are balanced, both sexes develop their gender roles more. Interestingly, according to the results, both of their

androgen scores were higher than the scores of their gender roles. Besides, the results indicated that these students see themselves as androgen, and as neutral rather than feminine or masculine. Similar to the multi-program high schools, we found that girls have feminine roles, and boys have masculine gender roles at a high rate in health high schools. Moreover, according to the results, these students see themselves as androgen, and as neutral rather than feminine or masculine. Another impressive result was related to religious schools, where only male students study. The results showed that the androgenic score of the boys in this school was higher than their masculine scores. Similarly, the androgenic rating of the girls in girl

vocational schools, where only female students study, was higher than their feminine scores.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

GENDER ROLES IN VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

Results revealed that, although the androgen identity of boys and girls in vocational high schools was equal, the neutral gender role in boys was higher than that of boys in other high school types. The traditional gender role orientation of female students in vocational high schools is high compared to different kinds of high school. However, the traditional gender role of male students attending vocational high schools is low compared to the students attending vocational high schools and religious high schools. Among the high school types, the highest level of traditional femininity emerged in vocational high schools. The masculinity gender role scores of girls in vocational high schools are more elevated than female students in other high school types. Arsel and Batıgün (2011, 9) argue that the high rate of masculine gender role in girls increases resistance to difficulties. In this context, we conclude that the masculinity for girls might increase with the influence of male-dominant culture in vocational high schools. Demirtaş-Madran (2012, 73, 74) states that masculinity among female students in vocational high schools emerges with the effect of male grouping culture in these schools.

Moreover, Adams (1995) argued that androgen identity provides more benefits to young girls than young boys, mainly because of the masculinity it contains. The results revealed that the neutral gender role of male students in vocational high schools was highest among the high school types. We might explain this result with Connel's (1998, 190) concept of hegemonic masculinity, which points out the pressure environment that increases the tendency of power and violence. According to Türk (2015, 87-89), hegemonic masculinity and destruction are in a structure that produces each other rather than a simple extension of each other. Hegemonic masculinity contains violence, which is the source of both the external hegemony towards women and the internal domination towards men (Yarar, 2015, 5, 6). Pleck, Sonenstein ve Ku (1994) found that boys with a masculine

gender role were more likely to tend to problematic behaviors and harmful habits. The data in the press CNNTÜRK (2017) on disciplinary events in vocational high schools confirm the discourse of hegemonic masculinity in vocational high schools. In this context, we conclude that the high rate of the neutral gender role among boys in vocational high schools is significant compared to other gender roles. We concluded that boys in vocational high schools have tended towards the neutral gender role because of the difficulties of adopting the gender role based on the violence and violence created by the male-dominant culture. When we focus on Bem's (1983, 608-616) gender roles theory, vocational high schools are impressive in terms of the high rate of neutral gender roles and the low score of androgen gender roles of girls and boys and. Similar to these results, the research findings of the Çelikel Education Foundation (2015, 45) reveal that gender-based discrimination is an essential problem of vocational high schools.

GENDER AND MULTI-PROGRAM HIGH SCHOOLS

In multi-program high schools where the number of female and male students is relatively equal, while the meagre rate of the masculinity for female students, and the femininity for male students, the androgen identity of both sex groups is quite high. Steinberg (2007, 327) states that less masculine boys and less feminine girls cannot be popular enough among their peers. They are also less accepted by peers of the opposite sex. In this context, the rate of popularisation in multi-program high schools might be low compared to other high schools. The results revealed that the highest relationship between high school type and gender roles was in multi-program high schools. Students in schools may have developed gender roles that are compatible with their gender, as their gender is relatively equal.

GENDER AND HEALTH VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

According to the results, the highest traditional masculinity is in the health vocational high school. Hence, we can conclude that girls and boys tend to develop conventional gender roles when they are in predominate opposite-sex settings. The results

showed that the androgyny was high, and neutrality was low in female students in health vocational high schools. Male students have a little rate of femininity and a high level of uncertainty. Students are supposed to acquire values such as care, conscientiousness, empathy, and caring for the suffering of other people in health vocational high schools. In this context, the low level of androgenic and feminine gender roles among male students is noteworthy in predicting their predisposition to the occupation in these schools.

GENDER AND RELIGIOUS VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

According to the results, the highest androgen identity is in the religious vocational high school. Besides, male students in these high schools have high masculinity and low femininity. Furthermore, these students have a high tendency towards traditional male gender roles. The "feminine gender role" ratio of male students in religious high schools is higher than the rate of students in coeducational schools, as it is in vocational high schools. We might explain this outcome by the socio-economic conditions of these students and the programs implemented in these schools. The study conducted by Timav (2016, 12-46) reveals that society expects students from religious high schools to be harmonious, dignified, respectful, and conscientious. Since the impact of social expectations and the "religious values that emphasise being good people" in the curriculum are compatible with the feminine gender role characteristics, the femininity of these students may have emerged at a high level.

GENDER AND GIRLS VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

According to the results, the rate of female vocational high school students' femininity roles was higher than of masculinity. Eren-Deniz (1999, 165) emphasises the enhancing effect of the hidden curriculum or the language used by teachers on the femininity of students in girl schools. Steinberg (2007) also states that girls develop a traditional gender role in high school, mainly because of the pressure to act compatibly with their gender, which increases their intensity with adolescence. Also, according to the results, although girls were relatively more masculine, the

female rate of boys was low. This result supports the argument that the male gender role is more widely accepted in society. Many studies (e.g., Frome and Eccles, 1996; Orr and Ben-Eliahu, 1993) show that western and non-western young men feel better in the masculine gender role than in androgyny.

Massad (1981, 1290) found that peer acceptance in adolescence was high in androgen girls and masculine boys. Also, Aydın ve Kavuncu (1993, 57) found that the neutral identity in boys is one-third, while Demirtas-Madran (2012, 73-74) found it in quarter rates. However, this research revealed that the gender role of neutral is higher than these results in boys, especially in all vocational high schools. Therefore, the high rate of the neutral gender role in male students might not be explained with the identity complexity in adolescence, as Steinberg (2007) suggested. In this research, we found a significant relationship between gender and gender roles at $p=.000$ level. Schools create and maintain gender ideologies, leaving a narrow margin for the questioning and the reframing of gender beliefs and practice. Schools tend to mirror society. So, for schools to bring positive change to their treatment of gender, they would have to *counteract social influences actively*. Most of the attention to gender issues in education has highlighted the importance of *access to schooling while ignoring the critical socialization process* that takes place in educational settings (Stromquist, 2007, 28). Especially in terms of the students who are in the late in adolescence and have secondary gender characteristics (such as thickening of the voice, pubescence, increase in muscle mass) late compared to peers, one-sex schools may harm sexual development. Identifying these students in schools, especially in the types within the scope of the research, providing them with consultancy services and conducting preventive studies will support the gender development of such students. In this context, we propose to raise teachers' awareness of gender development and such students. Tansel (2017, 21-22) points out that vocational education contributes to girls more than boys. However, vocational high schools already give the impression that they are in sex-based decomposition. Moreover, some vocational high

schools are called girls' or boys' high schools, which results as a preventing factor for orienting students to these schools. Ignoring the gender distribution of the school in preference vocational high school will provide students with appropriate training for their abilities and interests. As a result, graduates of these schools will work in their fields where they trained. Thus the effectiveness of vocational training, which is quite costly, will increase. In this regard, we recommend enhancing the rate of policies to reduce the relationship between vocational high school and gender and to ensure that students' interests and abilities are valued more during the education process. In schools where only a type of gender is predominant, places such as social settings, classrooms, dining halls or toilets should be designed so that all gender identities can use these places without gender discrimination. Finally, we suggest to the researchers that they weight gender studies in vocational schools.

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