



Gender roles in school: the case of teachers and administrators

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Abstract

This study aims to explore gender perceptions in school from the perspectives of teachers and administrators and to investigate if any of those perceptions might have an effect on the disproportionate representation of female administrators. The study was carried out using a sample of public school teachers. The participants were selected using convenience sampling. The study was conducted with a quantitative approach using a questionnaire. A sample of 71 male and 111 female teachers and administrators were asked to complete a questionnaire of 21 statements, which measures gender views. It was found that there is a noticeable dependence between teachers' work experience and their viewpoint of gender equality, and this indicates that as work experience increases, a teacher is more likely to have a gender-neutral view. More than half of the teachers who prefer head of the school to be a woman reported that female administrators are better at public relations than their male counterparts. Overall, the survey reflects a gender-neutral view of managerial skills, however, there is room for improvement in the promotion of female teachers to administrative positions.

Keywords: Gender differences, gender roles, implicit stereotype, glass ceiling

Okulda cinsiyet rolleri: öğretmen ve yöneticilerin durumu

Öz

Bu araştırma, öğretmen ve yöneticilerin bakış açılarından okuldaki cinsiyet algısını belirlemek ve bu algılar ışığında kadınların okul yönetiminde orantısız olarak daha az temsil edilmelerinin altında yatan nedenleri belirleyebilmek amacıyla yürütülmüştür. Araştırma, kolay ulaşılabilir durum örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak devlet okullarında çalışan 71 erkek ve 111 kadın öğretmen ve yönetici ile yürütülmüştür. Nicel yaklaşımla yürütülen çalışmada katılımcılardan mesleklerinde

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cinsiyete ilişkin rolleri ele alan 21 maddelik bir anketi doldurmaları istenmiştir. Analizler sonucunda öğretmenlerin meslekteki deneyimleri ile yönetici pozisyonlarına yönelik cinsiyet algıları arasında anlamlı bir bağımlılık bulunmuştur. Araştırma sonucunda meslekteki deneyimi artan öğretmenlerin yönetici cinsiyetine ilişkin daha eşitlikçi bir görüşe sahip olma olasılıklarının da arttığı bulunmuştur. Yapılan analizler kadınların daha iyi yöneticilik yapabileceğini düşünen öğretmenlerin yarısından fazlasının bunun altında yatan neden olarak onların halkla ilişkilerde etkili olmalarını gördüklerini göstermiştir. Bu araştırma, öğretmenlerin çoğunluğunun yönetici cinsiyetine ilişkin eşitlikçi bir görüşe sahip olduklarını göstermesine karşın kadın öğretmenlerin yönetici pozisyonlarına terfilerinde orantılı bir temsil olmadığını da göstermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Cinsiyet farklılıkları, cinsiyet rolleri, örtük kalıpyargı, cam tavan

Introduction

Education, like any field, is riddled with gender prejudices and assumptions. While the primary aim should consistently be to educate students of all ages, races, genders, and nationalities, there are inevitable underlying influences on educators themselves that can sometimes get in the way of their profession. Efforts to establish gender equality at school have always been a challenge. Most European countries are concerned about gender inequalities in education. However, the legislative scope differs widely. The most widely accepted goal of gender equality policies in educational institutions is to challenge traditional gender roles and stereotypes (Eurydice, 2010). The literature suggests that demographic matches between teachers and students may influence educational outcomes. Teachers' ethnic and gender identity can be considered one of the possible underlying causes of students' academic performance (Dee, 2005; Wigfield, Cambria, and Eccles, 2012).

The concept of gender stereotypes in any workplace is not a new one, and is not limited to a particular region of the world (Eurydice, 2010). Certain perceptions still keep women out of administrative positions or limit their abilities through stereotyping (Young and McCleod, 2001). Male-centric leadership norms have served to limit women's aspirations in regard to educational leadership, as well as their access to administrative positions (Dunn, Gerlach, and Hyle, 2014). Most European countries are concerned about gender inequalities at schools. However, the comprehensiveness of legislative and policy frameworks differs widely, and there is often a lack of policy altogether (Eurydice, 2010: 12). Turkey is no exception of this situation. As generally seen in other countries as well, women are underrepresented in administrative leadership positions in all areas of Turkish work life. This pattern can be attributed to many factors, including cultural, economic, and social norms, among others.

One area in particular in which women are underrepresented in Turkey, which actually differs from other countries, is the education sector (İpek and Yazar, 2010). In all European countries, except for Turkey, women make up the majority of primary school teachers with percentages varying from 65 percent in Greece to 98 percent in Slovenia. Teaching in European countries is a very female-centric occupation, in particular at lower levels of education. In Turkey, however, female teachers make up 48 percent of all primary school teachers (Eurydice, 2010). In one

particular study on this matter, there was not a significant difference revealed between male and female school teachers regarding leadership and managerial behaviors (Mohammadi, Alaie, and Pourghaz, 2012). However, in the study by Abu Sharbain and Tan (2013) that reveal female teachers seemed to have more positive attitudes towards teaching than their male colleagues. In a study carried out by Özan, Türkoğlu and Şener (2010) it was found that teachers' opinions about school administrators were positive with regard to gender but opinions of female teachers were more positive than those of male teachers. Çetin and Alpanık (2012), in their study based on perceptions of motivation levels of school administrators, teachers and students, found evidence that both male and female teachers and administrators regarded themselves positively in terms of motivation at work.

Although the roots of the teaching profession can be traced back to the very early years of the Republic, the number of female administrators at school in Turkey seems to remain exceptionally low. Based on this observation, some would claim that managing a school is perceived as a male-oriented profession (Çetin and Atan, 2012). However, Mohammadi, Alaie and Pourghaz (2012) found that female administrators paid more attention to managerial and leadership behaviors than male administrators. The proportion of women among teaching staff in higher education institutions declines with every step on the academic career ladder (Eurydice, 2010: 14). Some researchers explain this phenomenon by stating that there are some invisible barriers blocking a particular group's (i.e., women) advancement (Blake-Beard, 2001; Çetin and Atan, 2012). The term "the glass ceiling" is used to define invisible barriers preventing a minority group from advancing to an upper level or position (Morrison and von Glinow, 1990).

İpek and Yazar (2010) concluded that either male or female teachers do not have negative attitudes and views towards the promotion of females to school leadership positions. In a study to investigate female school administrators' perceptions towards the glass ceiling and the current condition of female school administrators, Çetin and Atan (2012) found that perceptions of female administrators towards the glass ceiling is low, which might have a negative effect on career expectations. According to Çizel and Çizel (2014) so as to understand female teachers' perception of the glass ceiling effect, both socio-demographic and psychological factors should be taken into consideration (p. 64). Vekiri (2013) deduced that teachers do not possibly view gender segregation or any gender imbalances in class as problematic if they perceive gender differences as natural.

Research shows that prospective teachers have a conventional viewpoint for gender roles and that education at colleges does not generally enable pre-service teachers to question prescribed gender roles (Diktaş and Kızılaslan, 2012; Yılmaz et al., 2009). Current systems at college of education generally do not tend to make prospective teachers question traditional value judgments with regard to gender roles (Baba, 2007). In looking at perceptions of those working directly in the field of education, either as teachers or as administrators, from a variety of locations and demographics across Turkey, this study seeks to shed light on how much instilled stereotypes and personal background affect the gender roles related to administrative positions in schools.

The present study

The under-representation of women in certain occupations is still a gender segregation among post-industrial societies. The profession of teaching is described as “women-friendly” as female teachers generally outnumber male teachers at schools (Moreau, 2008: 553). However, the gender of teachers has a large influence upon the students’ engagement with lessons and has an indirect effect on students’ test performance (Dee, 2005; Eurydice, 2010: 8). Teachers play a key role in promoting learning environment with equal opportunities; but researchers propose that they do not begin a profession prepared in a way to teach in an equitable manner (Sandholtz and Sandholtz, 2010, 131). On the other hand, teachers may be sharing varying viewpoints in regard to gender. Esen (2013) concluded that the gender issue is perceived more important by women than men in her study group. All in all, the purpose of this study was to generate a consensus from a variety of teachers and administrators in three different regions of Turkey (north, south, and southeast) on their perceptions of gender roles in the workplace, and to analyze if any of these perceptions might have an influence on the lack of female representation in managerial positions in education throughout Turkey. This study reveals the gender dynamics at school from the point of view of teachers and administrators. In this regard, the following research questions were addressed in this study:

1. Is there a relationship between teachers’ background characteristics and their perceptions of gender roles related to administrative career in school?
2. Is there a relationship between administrators’ background characteristics and their perceptions of gender roles related to administrative career in school?
3. What are the participants’ views about gender stereotypes by some variables (profession of teaching, contacting parent, subject areas boys and girls are better at)?

Method

This study was conducted using a quantitative approach through a questionnaire. The study benefitted from a survey methodology. The general purpose of this study was to reveal the views of teachers and administrators on gender roles related to administrative career in school.

Participants

The sample for the current study was obtained from the teachers working in state schools located in the north, south and southeastern parts of Turkey. Teachers from two urban and one rural primary schools in Zonguldak and the teachers of a regular high school in the city center of Mardin participated the study. Data were also obtained from Adana where three schools took part in the study. Two of these schools were urban high schools but one of them was located in a poor urban area. The other school from Adana was located in a rural setting. The sample consisted of teachers from almost every field and school administrators. A convenience sample is a group of individuals who (conveniently) are available (Fraenkel, 2012: 99). This sampling was

used because generalization was not our primary purpose. This type of sampling can be possible when the primary purpose of the research may not be to generalize but to better understand dynamics and relationship that may exist (Christensen, Johnson and Turner, 2010).

A total of 182 participants from 7 schools were recruited from December 2013 to June 2015. The participants are composed of 71 men (60 teachers and 11 administrators) and 111 women (107 teachers and 4 administrators). The mean age for the sample was 39.96. 147 participants were married and 33 of them were single.

Procedure

Participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire consisting of items related to gender. Respondents of the sample were invited to fill in a questionnaire at their own workplace. It took approximately 15 minutes for the respondents to complete the questionnaire. Participation in the study was voluntary. The respondents were assured that their answers would be treated with anonymity and confidentiality.

Collecting and analyzing data

In relation with the research questions, a questionnaire to collect the views of the teachers was used. The questionnaire measured gender views. The questionnaire used was a set of structured and semi-structured questions organized in a way to elicit information from our respondents. It included multiple choice items and open-ended questions. The more sensitive questions regarding gender appeared later in the questionnaire as this is something desirable in this kind of data collection tools (Nyariki, 2009). The questionnaire consisted of a total of 21 statements. Apart from these questions there are also 13 demographic questions including position in school, years of teaching, gender of the head in your school. In parallel with the aims of this study, the items in the questionnaire were composed. In order to provide expert validity evidence, the questions in the tool were sent to an expert from College of Education and one from the department of Psychology to be reviewed for clarity. In the light of the feedback provided, we revised and finalized the items. The questionnaire contained questions about the teachers' gender, age, place of birth, civil status, affiliations to associations etc.

In general, the analysis focused on similarities and differences between the two genders from the point of teachers and administrators. We used descriptive statistics such as frequencies, crosstabs, means, standard deviation and chi-square in the data analysis in order to describe the characteristics and views of the respondents.

Findings

In order to answer the first and second research questions which investigated whether there is a relationship between teachers and administrators' background characteristics and their views of gender roles at school, a descriptive analysis was run. A question from the questionnaire was

selected as an indicator of the participants' views of gender roles at school. The question was "would you prefer the head of your school to be a man or a woman."

Various variables were analyzed to determine the factors for gender issues. However, only some of them showed differences in the observed frequencies. Demographic variables included gender, age, years of teaching, marital status, place of birth, position in school, in-service training in gender issues and sex of the head in the school. Table 1 reports the results of the descriptive analysis for the participants who answered the question "would you prefer the head of your school to be a man or a woman?" Out of 182 participants, 15 were a member of the school administration. A total of 167 teachers participated the study and 107 of them were female.

Table 1

Teachers and administrators' perceptions of gender roles towards administrative career at school.

	Teachers			Administrators		
	N	f	%	N	f	%
A man exclusively and a man only	167	22	13.2	15	3	20
A man more than a woman	167	27	16.2	15	2	13.3
Either	167	110	65.9	15	9	60.0
A woman more than a man	167	8	4.8	15	0	0
A woman exclusively and a woman only	167	0	0	15	1	6.7

Results from Table 1 showed that for both the administrators and teachers, the most frequent answer is "either." This clearly tells readers how teachers and administrators believe with regard to gender stereotypes at schools. It is widely believed that either gender is good at administrative positions. However, almost 30% of the teachers and 34% of the administrators believe that men are better at achieving administrative tasks and responsibilities. So as to investigate gender stereotypes prevalent among teachers and administrators, the respondents were asked to answer the prompt "teaching suits..."

A descriptive analysis was run so as to reveal the respondents' views about the profession stereotypes each gender belongs to. The results of the descriptive analysis for the participants who answered the question "would you prefer the head of your school to be a man or a woman?" are shown below. Out of 182 participants, 119 of them stated "either." The participants who chose "a man exclusively and a man only" and "a man more than a woman" were categorized as one group and their responses are showed in Table 2.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics for respondents who prefer head of the school to be a man.

Gender	Total	f	%
They are better at management	54	14	25.9
They are born leaders	54	8	14.8
They are better at public relations	54	11	20.4
They have better communication skills	54	12	22.2
They have ambitions	54	3	5.6
They dedicate more time	54	14	25.9
They are eager	54	6	11.1
They are more responsible	54	7	13
They have a positive attitude towards the other sex	54	10	18.5
They are better at financial management	54	5	9.3
They are more concerned with their educational role	54	8	14.8
They can deal with a crisis in school better	54	17	31.5
They are more democratic	54	9	16.7
They are less competitive	54	14	25.9
They are more emotional	54	0	0

Results displayed in Table 2 showed that the highest frequency belonged to the item “they can deal with a crisis in school better.” The other most frequent answers were “they are better at management,” “they dedicate more time,” and “they are less competitive” with a percentage of 25.9. Table 3 reports the results of the descriptive analysis for the participants who answered the question “would you prefer the head of your school to be a man or a woman?” The participants who chose “a woman exclusively and a woman only” and “a woman more than a man” were categorized as one group. A total of nine participants stated their preference as woman and their responses are displayed below. Unlike the teaching force, there was a noticeable gender imbalance in the representation of women at management levels. There were only four out of 15 administrators in the study sample.

Table 3

Descriptive statistics for respondents who prefer head of the school to be a woman.

Gender	Total	f	%
They are better at management	9	2	22.2
They are born leaders	9	0	0
They are better at public relations	9	6	66.7
They have better communication skills	9	5	55.6
They have ambitions	9	0	0
They dedicate more time	9	2	22.2
They are eager	9	1	11.1
They are more responsible	9	5	55.6
They have a positive attitude towards the other sex	9	2	22.2
They are better at financial management	9	0	0
They are more concerned with their educational role	9	3	33.3
They can deal with a crisis in school better	9	1	11.1
They are more democratic	9	3	33.3
They are less competitive	9	2	22.2
They are more emotional	9	1	11.1

When Table 3 is analyzed, it is clearly seen that the highest frequency was the item “they are better at public relations.” The other most frequent answers were “they have better communication skills” and “they are more responsible” with a percentage of 55.6.

Table 4

Teachers and administrators' perceptions of teaching profession with regard to gender roles in school.

	Teachers			Administrators		
	N	f	%	N	f	%
Men exclusively	167	1	0.6	15	0	0
Men more than women	167	1	0.6	15	1	6.7
Equally men and women	167	120	71.9	15	9	60.0
Women more than men	167	43	25.7	15	5	33.3
Women exclusively	167	2	1.2	15	0	0

As can be seen in Table 4, majority of teachers and administrators considered teaching as a unisex profession. The most interesting result was that a great number of teachers and administrators believed that the profession of teaching is indigenous to women. However, it is obvious that for the majority of teachers and administrators teaching suits both genders.

The respondents were asked to state their types of birthplace by choosing urban, semi-urban and rural. To find a possible relation between type of birthplace and views of gender roles towards administrative career, some analyses were run and Table 5 shows the results.

Table 5

Teachers and administrators' perceptions of gender roles at school in the light of place of birth.

	Teachers (N=167)			Administrators (N=15)		
	Urban (F)	Semi-urban (F)	Rural (F)	Urban (F)	Semi-urban (F)	Rural (F)
A man exclusively and a man only	15	3	4	1	1	1
A man more than a woman	14	7	6	0	1	1
Either	55	26	29	7	1	1
A woman more than a man	5	2	1	0	0	0
A woman exclusively and a woman only	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total (Freq.)	89	38	40	8	4	3

Chi-square test did yield no significant dependence between the birthplaces and views toward gender roles of teachers and administrators. The most frequent answer was “either” both for teachers and administrators. Regardless of birthplaces, majority of the respondents believed that both male and female teachers can serve well as administrators.

As we believe that teachers who have just begun the profession would adopt different viewpoints regarding gender roles in school compared to teachers who are more experienced. Years of teaching were categorized according to 1-5, 6-15, 16-25 and 26-40 work experience. We conducted some analyses for both teachers and administrators. No significant dependence was found within the administrators’ group in terms of gender views and work experience. Table 6 shows the teachers’ perceptions of gender roles related to administrative career by work experience.

Table 6

Teachers’ work experience and their perceptions of gender roles related to administrative career at school.

	Teachers (N=166)				Total
	1-5 years	6-15 years	16-25 years	26-40 years	
A man exclusively and a man only, A man more than a man, A woman exclusively and a woman only, A woman more than a man	7 (4.2%)	34 (20.5%)	10 (6.0%)	6 (3.6%)	34.3%
Either	9 (5.4%)	40 (24.1%)	44 (26.5%)	16 (9.6%)	65.7%
Total	9.6%	44.6%	32.5%	13.3%	100%

Table 7

The results of chi-square tests for years of teaching.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.532 ^a	3	,009
Likelihood Ratio	11.998	3	,007
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.495	1	,011
N of Valid Cases	166		

^a 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,49.

According to Cooper and Schindler (2011) Chi-square test should not be used if more than 20 percent of the expected frequencies are smaller than five. Expected frequencies can often

be increased by combining adjacent categories (p. 470). For this reason, the groups *a man exclusively and a man only*, *a man more than a man*, *a woman exclusively and a woman only* and *a woman more than a man* were combined under the same group. The test was conducted between the groups *those chose either* and *those who preferred male or female as the head of their school*. The output showed Pearson chi-square and significance level for the table above. The Pearson chi-square value in the Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed) is 0.009 and less than .05. The tests pointed out that work experience and teachers' perceptions of gender roles related to administrative career were not significantly independent. The answers of teachers within the groups 16-25 and 26-40 years of work experience indicated a more gender equal viewpoint. However, the test towards administrators' work experience did not yield any significant independence.

In answer to the third research question which asks the participants' views about gender stereotypes by some variables (profession of teaching, contacting parent, subjects, boys and girls are better at, some descriptive and correlational analyses were run. In relation to the question "in your opinion, at which subjects are boys or girls better?" five different subjects (mathematics, language, science, arts and sports respectively) were analyzed. Of all the subject areas, no subject area was found to be statistically significant.

The support of parents is crucial to the promotion of gender equality in schools (Eurydice, 2010). As long as administrators, teachers and parents work in cooperation, negative attitudes toward gender equality can be prevented more effectively. In an attempt to investigate the gender of parents contacting teachers and administrators, the question "do the mothers or the fathers of your pupils contact you more?" was addressed. The Table 8 displays the statistics on the contacting parents.

Table 8

Teachers and Administrators' views of parents contacting them the most.

	Teachers			Administrators		
	N	f	%	N	f	%
Fathers exclusively and fathers only	167	1	0.6	15	0	0
Fathers more than mothers	167	2	1.2	15	0	0
Equally fathers and mothers	167	27	16.2	15	3	20.0
Mothers more than fathers	167	116	69.5	15	11	73.3
Mothers exclusively and mothers only	167	21	12.6	15	1	6.7

In line with the data in Table 8, mothers were by far the largest group who contacted the teachers in the sample. Although 60 of the teachers were male, mothers were almost invariably in touch with teachers.

Discussion and conclusions

This paper has examined the gender roles and gender stereotypes at school from different perspectives by gathering data from teacher and administrators. The present study, thus, benefits from using data from different regions as well as from urban, semi-urban and rural locations of the country.

In relation with the first and second research questions, although two third of the respondents believe that either gender is equally good at being an administrator, a number of respondents preferred that males should be administrators at school. More than two thirds of the respondents also considered that male and female teachers are equally good at teaching, yet the second most frequent viewpoint was that female teachers are more suitable for the teaching profession. The latter finding was supported by Sharbain and Tan (2013) and Yeşil (2010) as well. Esen's (2013) study also indicated that male teachers sometimes stand aloof from the teaching profession as they consider it a feminine occupation. No significant dependence was found between the types of birthplaces and teachers and administrators' views of gender roles in school. This is probably because of the fact that people, despite their rural background, may have spent most of their lives in urban settings (Fombad, 2014). A significant relationship was found between work experience and teachers' perception of gender roles related to administrative career. The higher the work experience of a teacher pointed out the higher gender equality viewpoint. On the other hand, As Moreau et al. (2008) suggested that school administrators often tended to interpret gender imbalance in schools as an issue took root in the differential investment of both sexes in the domestic sphere. Given the fact that Diktaş and Kızılaslan (2012) prospective teachers had a traditional perspective on gender roles, the reason of the shift in perspectives of teachers as they get more experience at work should be understood in a sense which focuses how to liberate men from culturally prescribed gender stereotypes.

It is widely accepted that there is an over-representation of women in the teaching profession; however, there is also a large gap between man and women at administrative positions. Sixty-four percent of all the teachers stated that gender is not related to the performance of the administrative staff. It is worth noting that the majority of the other respondents disproportionately believe male carry out managerial tasks better than women administrators do. It was seen that the item "they can deal with a crisis in school better" had the highest frequency. The other most frequent answers were "they are better at management," "they dedicate more time" and "they are less competitive." Almost all of the respondents who believed that men can be better administrators at school give administrative-based reasons for it. On the other hand, the respondents who stated they prefer head of their school to be a woman are relatively few in number compared to those who prefer "men". Women are over-represented in the education system, but they are consigned to lower administrative positions (Dunn, Gerlach and Hyle, 2014; Sanchez and Thornton, 2010). In spite of the fact that it is difficult to detect, the underlying reasons can be cultural gender roles. According to İpek and Yazar (2010) the reason why women are underrepresented at management level is gender stereotypes prevalent in the society. As for the respondents who preferred women as their ideal administrators, the item with the highest frequency was "they are better at public

relations.” The other most frequent answers were “they have better communication skills” and “they are more responsible.” Unlike the reason such as managerial roles, the case is different this time. Their communicative skills and public relations are mostly considered as the underlying reasons. Bakioğlu and Akkaya’s (2013) study concluded that female administrators’ perception of legal managerial responsibilities is significantly higher than their male counterparts.

In answer to the third research question which investigates the relationship between subject areas and gender stereotypes, five areas of subjects were analyzed and no subject area was found to be statistically significant. From the responses to this section of the questionnaire, it was found that mothers were by far the largest group contacting the teachers in the sample. Regardless of their gender, teachers are almost invariably contacted by mothers. This finding was also concluded by Eren (2011) which states that mothers visit schools and see teachers of their children more than father do. Pepe and Addimando (2014) remarked that low parental educational levels seem to be associating with uninvolved behaviors of parents which are quite the contrary of parents with a degree or more can exhibit excessively worried behaviors. Another finding is also worth mentioning, female administrators are underrepresented although they are the majority in the teaching profession. The finding related to the fact that men were expected to be better administrators can be the underlying reason for this finding. Moreau et al. (2008) also showed that gender imbalance at management level was obvious. According to the study of İpek and Yazar (2010) female teachers in primary schools and female pre-service teachers did not have negative attitudes and views for their fellow female colleagues promoting to school leadership as much as their male counterparts. However, female teachers and prospective teachers appeared to accept voluntarily the social female roles more than their male counterparts do.

This study faced some limitations. Although it gives the readers some clues, one limitation to this study is the administrators’ sample size, which is not enough to make generalizations to the entire study population. Future research should include more administrators and the reasons why women are underrepresented in the managerial positions should be studied deeply. On the basis of the findings, a recommendation can be put forward to data collection. A semi-structured or unstructured interview should be added following the questionnaire to enable in-depth understanding of the choices they made. This kind of “interview” can play a significant role in generating detailed data. Last but not the least, low parental educational level seemed to be associated with uninvolved behaviors, yet in this study educational history of the parents was not gathered.

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